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TO

The Right HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PULTENEY,

Earl of BATH, Viſcount PULTENEY,

This FIFTH VOLUME

OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

Is moſt humbly inſcribed, by

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt faithful, and

Moſt obedient Servant,

Thomas Osborne.

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THE CONTENTS TO THE *HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.*

A True Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all *Italy*, orderly set down, and in sure Manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee or neglect any Thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reasonable Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many Miles from one Place to another as followeth: *First*, what is to be seen principally in *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and until you come to *Malta*, from thence back again another Way to *Genoa*, and *Milan*. MS. Page 1

An honourable Speech made in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by the Earl of *Argyle* (being now Competitor with Earl *Morton* for the Chancellorship) the Thirtieth of *September*, 1641, touching the Prevention of National Dissension, and Perpetuating the happy Peace and Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, by the frequent Holding of Parliaments. *London*, Printed by *A. N.* for *J. M.* at the *George* in *Fleetstreet*, *Anno* 1641. *Quarto*, containing six Pages 39

Copies of two Papers written by the late King *Charles the Second*, of blessed Memory. *Folio*, containing four Pages 40

A Copy of a Paper, written by the late Duchess of *York*. *Folio*, containing two Pages 42

The Earl of *Strafford* Characterised, in a Letter sent to a Friend in the Country. Printed in 1641. *Octavo*, containing eight Pages 43

The *Jacobite*'s Hopes frustrated, Or, the History of the Calamities attending the *French* Conquest. Licensed *November* 29. *J. Fraser*, 1690. *London*, printed for *Jeremiah Wilkins*, near the *Green-Dragon* Tavern, in *Fleet-street*, 1690. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 46

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Ghost: Or, *England*'s Forewarner. Discovering a secret Consultation, newly holden in the Court of *Spain*. Together with his Tormenting of Count *de Gondomar*; and his strange Affrightment, Confession, and publick Recantation. Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subversion of *England*.

Cresce, cruor, sanguis satietur sanguine, cresce,
Quod spero sitio, vah sitio, sitio.

Destruction and Unhappiness is in their Ways, and the Way of Peace have they not known; there is no Fear of God before their Eyes, Psal. xiv. 7. *Utrecht*, Printed by *John Schellem*. 1626. *Quarto*, containing forty-four Pages 52

The Qualifications of Persons, declared capable by the Rump-Parliament, to elect, or be elected, Members to supply their House. Printed in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages 65

The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be used. Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of *John Bill*, 1633. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 70

A worthy Speech, spoken in the honourable House of Commons, by Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, for Accommodation, betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament. *July* the Ninth, 1642. *July* 18. Printed for *Richard Lownds*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 73

A Discourse, shewing in what State the three Kingdoms are in at this present. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 74

Considerations touching a War with *Spain*. Written by the Right Honourable *Francis* Lord *Verulam*, Viscount of St. *Albans*. Imprinted, 1629. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages 76

The Assembly-man. Written in the Year 1647.

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤ. Χαρακ. ιγ'. περὶ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑΣ.

Διεγείρειν τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ ἧς οὐ γινώσκει ἀτραποῦ ἡγήσασθαι· καὶ ὀμνύναι μέλλων, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς περιεστηκότας, ὅτι τὸν πρότερον πολλάκις ὀμώμοκα, i. e.

He seditiously stirs up Men to fight: He will teach others the Way whereof himself is most ignorant; and persuades Men to take an Oath, because himself had sworn it before.

London, Printed for *Richard Marriott*, and are to be Sold at his Shop under St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1662-3. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 93

Aphoriſms relating to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, humbly ſubmitted to the moſt Noble Aſſembly of Lords and Commons at the great Convention at *Weſtminſter*. *London*, printed for *Joſeph Watts*, at the *Angel* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 99

A true and moſt exact Relation of the Taking of the goodly Ship, called, The *Saint Eſprit*, belonging unto the *French* King; which was built in *Holland*, and furniſhed with fifty-four Pieces of great Ordnance; was ſurpriſed on the twenty-eighth Day of *September*, by Sir *Sackville Trevor*, Knight, and ſince brought over, by him, to *Harwich* in *Eſſex*. Likewiſe, the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Grace, in the Iſle of *Ree*; the Killing of the baſe Brother of the *French* King, at the new Fort before *Rochelle*, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and alſo the appointed Place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet threatened from Foreign Parts to raiſe the Siege at the Iſle of *Ree*: With many other Particulars. Publiſhed by Authority. *London*: Printed by *A. M.* for *Thomas Walkley*; and are to be ſold at his Shop, at the Sign of the *Eagle* and *Child*, in *Britain*'s *Burſe*. 1627. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 102

News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, or *Oxford Mancheſtered*, by *Michael Oldſworth* and his Lord, who ſwore he was Chancellor of *Oxford*. And proved it in a Speech made to the new Viſitors in their new Convocation, *April* 11, 1648. As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath. Printed at *Montgomery*, 1648. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 105

The Parable of three Jackdaws, *&c.* Printed in the Year 1696. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 107

Two Speeches ſpoken by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and *John Pym*, Eſq; as a Reply to his Majeſty's Anſwer to the City of *London*'s Petition, ſent from his Majeſty. By Capt. *Hearne*, and read at the Common-hall, on *Friday* the Thirteenth of *January*, 1642. Alſo a true Narration of the Paſſages of that Day.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that theſe Speeches be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

H. Elſing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, printed for *John Wyman*, for the Good of the Commonwealth, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 111

The Negotiations of *Thomas Wolſey*, the great Cardinal of *England*, containing his Life and Death, *viz.* 1. The Original of his Promotion. 2. The Continuance in his Magnificence. 3. His Fall, Death, and Burial. Compoſed by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman-Uſher. *London*, Printed by *William Sheers*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred twenty-ſix Pages 115

A Speech made by Alderman *Garroway*, at a Common Hall, on *Tueſday* the Seventeenth of *January*, upon Occaſion of a Speech, delivered there the *Friday* before, by Mr. *Pym*, at the Reading of his Majeſty's Anſwer to the late Petition. Printed in the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 166

The Humble Petition and Addreſs of *Edward*, Earl of *Clarendon*. MS. 172

The Parable of the Bear-baiting. *London*, Printed for *J. Johnſon*, 1691. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 175

The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Counſellor of State, and a Juſtice of Peace. Written by the worthy Knight, Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Dedicated to the King's Majeſty, and to the Houſe of Parliament now aſſembled. Preſerved to be now happily, in theſe diſtracted Times, publiſhed, and printed 1640. *Quarto*, containing Seventy-four Pages 180

The Method of paſſing Bills in Parliament. Written by *Henry Elſinge*, Cler. Parl. Now Printed from the original Manuſcript, under theſe Heads, *viz.* 1. Proceedings upon Bills. 2. The Commitment of Bills. 3. Manner how Committees are named. 4. Who may not be of a Committee, and who ought to be. 5. Council heard at the Committee. 6. A Bill recommitted. 7. The third Reading. 8. *Nova Billa*. 9. Amendments and Additions, or Proviſo's added afterwards, how lawful. 10. Amendments of Amendments how lawful. 11. A Proviſo added after a third Reading, not uſual. 12. A Proviſo added by the one Houſe, and deſired to be taken by the other Houſe, whether lawful. *London*, printed by *F. L.* for *Matt. Gilliflower*, at the *Spread-Eagle* and *Crown* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, 1685. *Twelves*, containing thirty-ſix Pages 211

Robert Earl of *Eſſex*'s Ghoſt; ſent from *Elyſium*, to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*.

Virtutum Comes Invidia.

Printed in *Paradiſe*, 1624. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages 218

A true Copy of a Letter, from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Mulgrave*, to Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dean of *Canterbury*. *Folio*, containing four Pages. 228

The laſt Memorial of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. Faithfully Tranſlated into *Engliſh*. *London*, Printed for *Francis Smith*, at the *Elephant* and *Caſtle*, near the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages 230

An Anſwer to the Propoſitions made by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, as they ſtile themſelves, the Nineteenth

Nineteenth of *March*, in the great Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States-General* of the United Provinces. As also, to their Memorials of the Sixteenth of *April*, and the Ninth of *May*, 1651, respectively. And likewise, to the thirty-sixth Articles of the desired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir *William Macdowal*, Knight, Resident for his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, after his Return to *Holland*, in the said Great Assembly. *June* the Seventeenth, 1651.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.

For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them? Prov. xxiv. 21. 22. Printed at the *Hague*, by *Samuel Brown*, *English* Bookseller. 1651. *Quarto*, containing sixteen Pages 233

The Orders, Proceedings, Punishments, and Privileges of the Commons House of Parliament in *England*. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 240

The Protector's Declaration against the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, and the true Worship of the Church of *England*. Printed and published by his Highness's special Commandment. *London*, printed by *Henry Hills* and *John Field*, Printers to his Highness. From a *Folio* Page 249

An honourable and worthy Speech, spoken in the High Court of Parliament, by Mr. *Smith* of the *Middle-Temple*, *October* 28, 1641, concerning the Regulating of the King's Majesty's Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subjects. With a Motion for the speedy Redress of all Grievances, under which the Church and State do lie. *London*, printed by *Bernard Alsop*. 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 250

A compendious History of the Taxes of *France*, and of the oppressive Methods of raising them. *London*, Printed by *J. M.* and *B. B.* for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms*, in *Warwick-Lane*, 1694. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages 252

A Catalogue of Books, of the newest Fashion, to be sold by Auction, at the *Whigs* Coffee-House, at the Sign of the *Jackanapes*, in *Prating-Alley*, near the *Deanery* of St. *Paul's*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 267

A short Account of the Siege of *Bantam*: And its Surrender to the Rebels, who were assisted by the *Dutch*, and their Fleet, in the *East-Indies*. In a Letter from an *English* Factor to a Merchant of *London*. *London*, printed for *John Smith*, 1683. *Folio*, containing two Pages 271

The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner, made by the most vertuous and right gratious Ladie, Queene *Catherine*, bewailing the Ignorance of hir blind Life, led in Superstition; verie profitable to the Amendment of our Liues. *Quarto*, containing Forty-seven Pages. 277

Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at *Picquet*: Being acted from the Year 1653, to 1658, by *O. P.* and others, with great Applause.

Tempora mutantur, & nos ——

Printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages 298

Cases of Treason. Written by Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knight, His Majesty's Sollicitor-General. Printed at *London*, by the Assigns of *John More*, and are sold by *Matthew Walbanck*, and *William Coke*, *Anno* 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages 301

The last Will and Testament of Father *Peters*: As it was found quilted into my Lord Chancellor's Cap, with a Letter directed to his Lordship, &c. and his Prayer to the Blessed Virgin of *Loretto*. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 313

An Expedient for the Preventing any Difference between his Highness and the Parliament. About the Recognition, the Negative Voice, and the Militia. By a Lover of his Country, that desires, at this Time, to be nameless. *London*, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black-spread-Eagle*, at the West-end of St. *Paul's*, 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 317

A Relation of the Execution of *James Graham*, late Marquis of *Montrose*, at *Edinburgh*, on *Tuesday* the Twenty-first of *May* Instant. With his last Speech, Carriage, and most remarkable Passages upon the Scaffold. Also a Letter out of *Ireland*, more fully, concerning the Taking of *Clonmell*. *London*, printed by *E. Griffin*, in the *Old-Bailey*. *May* Twenty-eighth, 1650. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 319

The Continuation of the Travels of three *English* Gentlemen. Sect. V. 321

A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of *Mustapha*, Prince of *Turkey*, eldest Son of *Mahomet*, present Emperor of the *Turks*. Together with an Account of the Marriage of his Daughter to his great Favourite *Mussaip*, at *Adrianople*, as it was sent in a Letter to a Person of Honour. By Mr. *Coke*, Secretary of the *Turky* Company; being in Company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Sir *John Finch*. Licensed, *January* 10, 1675-6. *Roger L'Estrange*. *London*: Printed by *J. C.* for *William Crook*, at the *Green-Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*. 1676. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 345

A brief Account of many memorable Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, sometime Lord High-Chancellor of *England*; who departed this Life the twenty-first Day of *December*, 1683; giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majesty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours, he used, to bring in the King into *England*, unto his just Rights, in Peace and Safety; with his Majesty's grateful Acknowledgments of these his Kindnesses to him, in preferring him to several eminent Place.

Places of Honour and Truſt; together with his great Patience under the Loſs of the ſame Alſo, his twice Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and his witty Anſwer to one of the Popiſh Lords upon his Impriſonment; his Releaſement; and ſeveral Plots and Sham-Plots of the Papiſts, uſed to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Proteſtant Religion, and their Diſappointments. Of his Arrival in *Holland*, and his kind Entertainment there. Together with his Sickneſs, and worthy Speeches a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer worthy of the Peruſal of all Perſons. Printed for *J. Conyers* in *Duck-Lane*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 348

A Speech of a Fellow-Commoner of *England*, to his Fellow-Commoners of the Convention. Printed in the Year 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 352

A Philoſophical Eſſay, treating of the moſt probable Cauſe of that grand Myſtery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea. *London*, Printed by *T. M.* for *T. Paſſinger*, at the *Three Bibles*, on the Middle of *London-Bridge*, 1673. *Quarto*, containing eighteen Pages 354

Brief Notes on the Creed of St. *Athanaſius*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages. 359

A Deſcription of the moſt glorious and moſt magnificent Arches erected at the *Hague*, for the Reception of *William the Third*, King of *Great-Britain*. With all the Motto's and *Latin* Inſcriptions that were written upon every one of the ſaid Arches. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* from the *Dutch*. *London:* Printed for *F. S.* and are to be ſold by *Richard Baldwin*, at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1691. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 366

A Qvip for an vpſtart Courtier: Or, a quaint Diſpute between Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches. Wherein is plainely ſet downe the Diſorders in all Eſtates and Trades. *London:* Imprinted by *John Wolfe*, and are to bee ſold at his Shop at *Poules Chayne*, 1592. *In black Letter*, *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages 371

The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament: Or, a Collection of the Acts, Orders, Votes, and Reſolves, that have paſſed in the Houſe. By *Samuel Butler*, Author of *Hudibraſs*. *London*, Printed according to Order, 1659. And reprinted in this Year 1710. And ſold by *J. Baker*, at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-noſter-Row*. *Octavo*, containing ſixteen Pages 396

A farther brief and true Narration of the late Wars riſen in *New-England*, occaſioned by the quarrelſome Diſpoſition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous and ſavage *Indian* Natives there; with an Account of the Fight, the 19th of *December* laſt, 1675. *London*, *February* 17th, 1675-6. Licenſed, *Henry Oldenburgh*. *London*, Printed by *J. D.* for *M. K.* and are to be ſold by the Bookſellers, 1676. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 40

Providence diſplayed: Or, a very ſurpriſing Account of one Mr. *Alexander Selkirk*, Maſter of a Merchant-Man called, The *Cinque Ports*; who dreaming that the Ship would ſoon after be loſt, he deſired to be left on a deſolate Iſland in the *South-Seas*, where he lived Four Years and Four Months, without ſeeing the Face of Man, the Ship being afterwards caſt away as he dreamed. As alſo, How he came afterwards to be miraculouſly preſerved and redeemed from that fatal Place, by two *Briſtol* Privateers, called, The *Duke* and *Dutcheſs*; that took the rich *Aquapulco* Ship, worth one-hundred Ton of Gold, and brought it to *England*. To which is added, An Account of his Birth and Education. His Deſcription of the Iſland where he was caſt; how he ſubſiſted; the ſeveral ſtrange Things he ſaw; and how he uſed to ſpend his Time. With ſome pious Ejaculations that he uſed, compoſed during his melancholy Reſidence there. Written by his own Hand, and atteſted by moſt of the eminent Merchants upon the *Royal-Exchange*. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 403

Sir *Robert Sherley*, ſent Ambaſſadour, in the Name of the King of *Perſia*, to *Sigiſmond the Third*, King of *Poland* and *Swecia*, and to other Princes of *Europe*. His Royall Entertainement into *Cracovia*, the chiefe Citie of *Poland*, with his pretended Comming into *England*. Alſo, the honorable Praiſes of the ſame Sir *Robert Sherley*, giuen vnto him in that Kingdom, are here likewiſe inſerted. *London:* Printed by *I. Windet*, for *John Budge*, and are to be Sold at his Shop, at the great South Doore of *Pauls*, 1609. (In *Black Letter.*) *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 407

The Speech of the Lord *Digby*, in the High Court of Parliament, concerning Grievances. Printed for *Thomas Walkely*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 414

The Levellers: A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony, propoſing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing ſingle Perſons. With the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. *London*, Printed and Sold by *J. How*, at the *Seven Stars* in *Talbot-Court*, in *Grace-church-ſtreet*, 1703. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 416

A Continuation of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*. With a Declaration of all his Time employed ſince the Battle in *Africk* againſt the Infidels, 1578, until this preſent Year 1603. *London:* Printed for *James Shaw*, and are to be Sold at his Shop near *Ludgate*, 1603. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-eight Pages 433

The

The Judges Judgment. A Speech penned in the Beginning of the Parliament againſt the Judges *Per ignotum quendam.* Printed for *John Aſhton*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 466

The Character of an *Oxford* Incendiary. Printed for *Robert White*, in 1643. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 469

The Life of *Henry the Second*, King of *England*. Shewing what Troubles befel in his Reign, concerning the Wars between him and his Subjects; and alſo the Manner how he ſet up his Standard near *Rutland*, *Henry* of *Eſſex* being General, and the Manner how he left his Crown; neceſſary to be obſerved in theſe dangerous and diſtracted Times of ours. Printed at *London* for *H. B.* 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 475

A perfect Narrative of the Apprehenſion, Trial, and Confeſſion of the Five ſeveral Perſons that were Confederates in ſtealing the Mace and the two Privy Purſes from the Lord High Chancellor of *England*. As it was atteſted at the Seſſions held at *Juſtice-Hall* in the *Old-Bailey*, the Seventh and Eight of *March*, *Anno* 1676-7. With Permiſſion. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 477

The Parlement of Byrdes. Impsynted at *London*, in *Paules* Churche yarde, at the Sygne of the *Lamb*, by *Abraham Vele*. In *Black Letter*. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 479

Aphoriſms of State: Or, Certain ſecret Articles for the Re-edifying of the *Romiſh* Church, agreed upon, and approved in Council by the College of Cardinals in *Rome*, ſhewed and delivered unto Pope *Gregory the Fifteenth*, a little before his Death. Whereunto is annexed a Cenſure upon the chief Points of that which the Cardinals had concluded. By *Thomas Scott*. Very needful and profitable for all thoſe, who are deſirous to underſtand the Event of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and of the State of the Princes Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, in the Behalf of the Clergy in *Rome*. Fit for the *Britiſh* Nation eſpecially to take Notice of, that they may evidently ſee the Iſſue of all our Treaties, Ambaſſages, and Promiſes, with other Hopes depending; wherein we have been long held in Suſpence, and are ſtill like to be, to our irrecoverable Loſs. Faithfully tranſlated, according to the *Latin* and *Netherlandiſh Dutch*, into *Engliſh*. Printed at *Utrecht*, 1624. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 483

A Viſion, concerning his late pretended Highneſs *Cromwell*, the Wicked: Containing a Diſcourſe in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the Confutation thereof, by the Author, *Abraham Cowley*.

—— *Sua cuique Deus fit dira Libido.* Virgil.

London, Printed for *Henry Herringman*, at the *Anchor* in the *Lower-walk* in the *New-Exchange*, 1661. *Twelves*, containing ninety Pages 495

The Marquis of *Huntley*'s Reply to certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Miniſters, Covenanters of *Scotland*: Sent from their Aſſociates, to ſignify unto him, that it behoved him either to aſſiſt their Deſigns, or to be carried to Priſon in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the 20th of *April*, 1639. Now publiſhed, becauſe of a falſe Copy thereof lately Printed without Authority, or his own Conſent. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 513

The Lieutenant of the *Tower*'s Speech and Repentance, at the Time of his Death, who was executed upon *Tower-hill*, on the 20th Day of *November*, 1615, for the Murder of Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

London, printed by *G. Eld* for *Na. Butter*, and are to be Sold at his Shop near St. *Auſtin*'s Gate. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages 514

A Diſcourſe touching *Tangier*. In a Letter to a Perſon of Quality. To which is added, The Intereſt of *Tangier*. By another Hand. *London*, printed in the Year 1680. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages 519

The Accuſation and Impeachment of John Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, by the Houſe of Commons. Printed *Anno Domini* 1640. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 532

The true Copy of a Letter, ſent from the moſt Reverend *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, when he reſigned his Office of Chancellor. Publiſhed, by Occaſion of a baſe Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And alſo the Anſwer of the Univerſity to the ſaid Letter. *Oxford*, Printed by *Leonard Litchfield*, Printer to the Univerſity, *Anno Dom.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 535

A Letter to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, this 9th of *July*, 1680. From *Tom Tell-Troth*, a downright *Engliſhman*. *Folio*, containing four Pages. 536

Mr. *John Milton*'s Character of the Long-Parliament and Aſſembly of Divines, in 1641. Omitted in his other Works, and never before printed, and very ſeaſonable for theſe Times. *London*, Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* at the Weſt-end of St. *Paul*'s, 1681. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages

An Eſſay on the Theatres: Or, the Art of Acting. In Imitation of *Horace*'s Art of Poetry. *MS.* Never before Printed.

Ex Noto Fictum Carmen. HOR. 543

The Cuckows Neſt at *Weſtminſter*: Or, The Parliament between the two Lady-Birds, Queen *Fairfax* and Lady *Cromwell*, concerning Negociations of State, and their ſeveral Intereſts in the Kingdom; ſadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer and ab-hor'ed Huſbands.

Who

Who buys a Cuckow's Neſt, hatch'd in an Air
That's not far diſtant from *Weſtminſter-Fair?*
The Hedge-Sparrow, that fed her t'other Day,
Is, for her Kindneſs, now become her Prey;
O 'tis a precious Bird, wer't in a Cage,
'Twould pleaſe both King and People; cure this Age
That ſurfeits with Rebellion, and can have
No Help to keep her from Deſtruction's Grave.
She cuckows Treaſons, Strifes, cauſes great Stir,
But muſt pack hence 'twixt this and *Mid-ſummer:*
Though *Goatham* hedge her in with Pikes and Gun,
She ſhall not 'ſcape us, though ſhe flies, or runs;
For all the Birds with one Conſent agree,
To ſpring her for baſe Diſloyalty.

By *Mercurius Melancholicus.* Printed in Cuckow-time in a Hollow-tree, 1648. *Quarto,* containing ten Pages 550

A Neſt of perfidious Vipers: Or, The Second Part of the Parliament's Calendar of black Saints. Pictured forth in a Second Arraignment, or Gaol-delivery of Malignants, Jeſuits, *Arminians,* and Cabinet-Counſellors; being the fatal Engineers, Plotters, and Contrivers of Treaſons againſt the Parliament, our Religion, Laws, and Lives. Condemned according to their ſeveral Crimes. *London,* Printed according to Order, for *G. Biſhop, September* 21, 1644. *Quarto,* containing eight Pages 553

Hiſtorical Collections of the Church of *Ireland,* during the Reigns of King *Henry* VIII, *Edward* VI, and Queen *Mary:* Wherein are ſeveral material Paſſages, omitted by other Hiſtorians, concerning the Manner how that Kingdom was firſt converted to the Proteſtant Religion; and how, by the ſpecial Providence of God, Dr. *Cole,* a bloody Agent of Queen *Mary,* was prevented in his Deſigns againſt the Proteſtants there: Set forth in the Life and Death of *George Browne,* ſometime Archbiſhop of *Dublin,* who was the firſt of the *Romiſh* Clergy in *Ireland* that threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and forſook the Idolatrous Worſhip of *Rome;* with a Sermon of his on that Subject. Printed at *London,* and ſold by *Randal Taylor,* 1681. *Quarto,* containing twenty Pages 558

A Word for the Army. And two Words to the Kingdom. To clear the one, and cure the other. Forced in much Plainneſs and Brevity from their faithful Servant, *Hugh Peters.*

——— *Nunc nunc properandus & acri*
Fingendus ſine fine rotâr. ———

London, Printed by *M. Simmons,* for *Giles Calvert,* at the *Black Spread-Eagle* at the Weſt End of *Pauls.* 1647. *Quarto,* containing 14 Pages 569

The Character of *Holland.* *London,* Printed by *T. Mabb,* for *Robert Horn,* at the *Angel* in *Pope's-head-alley,* 1665. *Folio,* containing 8 Pages 575

A True

A true Deſcription and Direction of what is moſt worthy to be ſeen in all *Italy*, orderly ſet down, and in ſure Manner, as that the Traveller may not overſee or neglect any Thing that is memorable in thoſe Countries, but may compaſs that Journey at an eaſy and reaſonable Charge, and in a ſhort Time, ſignifying how many Miles from one Place to another as followeth: *Firſt*, what is to be ſeen principally in *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and until you come to *Malta*, from thence back again another Way to *Genoa*, and *Milan*. MS.

VENICE.

THE City of *Venice* hath ſixty-two Pariſh Churches, and forty-one Monaſteries of Friars and Nuns: There are, in *Venice*, as many Channels as Streets, over which there are eight-hundred open Bridges to paſs.

The City of *Venice* is, in Circuit, eight *Italian* Miles; and, although it lies in the Sea, yet, nevertheleſs, it is defended from the raging Waves thereof, by a natural Bank under the Water, compaſſing the City round about, like unto a conſtant Wall, which repels the Storms of the Sea, that they cannot aſſail the City; there are about the City twenty-five Iſlands inhabited by ſpiritual Perſons.

When you come to *Venice*, enquire for the *White Lion*, or *Black Cattle*, or elſe for the *Wletta*, where (in my Time being there) dwelt an Hoſt, named Signior *Bongratz*, which is the chiefeſt of the Three: There you ſhall have one appointed to go with you, or elſe take a Gondola, and row to the *Arſenal*, or Houſe of Artillery.

The Houſe of Artillery.

BEFORE you go to the *Arſenal*, or Houſe of Artillery, you muſt crave Licence to ſee the ſame, of certain particular Gentlemen, deputed to have the Cuſtody thereof; and, as then, you muſt leave your Weapons in the Porter's Lodge, until you come out again.

When you are within, there will be one appointed to go about with you; but my Counſel is, that you provide yourſelf with ſingle Money, to beſtow here and there, according to the Cuſtom. Firſt you go over a Bridge, through which the Ships and Gallies do paſs, which are to go to Sea; over-againſt that, there is a Houſe, wherein are two-hundred Perſons daily, who do nothing elſe but make Corſlets and Harneſs, that are uſed in the Ships and Gallies.

Another Houſe; hard by that, wherein there are daily working two-hundred Perſons, making nothing but Anchors, and other Irons, for the Gallies and great Ships. A little farther, you ſhall be led into a Cellar, wherein are ſixty great Veſſels, filled with Wine, which they give to the Workmen, as much as they deſire to drink, every Day, and you alſo may drink as much as you pleaſe.

Moreover, there are ſix extraordinary great Galleaſſes, which have been in the Battle of *Lepanto*.

There are alſo forty-ſix Galleaſſes, all ready furniſhed, ſave only two, laying the Ordnance thereupon. Right over-againſt that, you ſhall be led into a Gallery, about five-hundred Paces long; therein are made the

Cables and Ropes for the Ships and Gallies; hard by that, is another Houſe, in which are forty Kettles and Ovens, to make Salt-petre; beſtow there to drink.

Then, a little back again, there is a great Houſe, in which there are two Rooms; in the Firſt, is all Manner of Furniture to arm ſeventy-four Thouſand Men into the Field; here alſo give to drink. In the other Room, there are long Guns, Pikes, and other Armour, to furniſh into the Field one-hundred ſeventy-four Thouſand Men; give to drink. Coming down again, you ſhall ſee, in another Room, ſix-hundred Pieces of great Ordnance, lying on Wheels; alſo, hard by, a Mortar, that carries a Bullet of ſix-hundred Pounds Weight.

Hard by that Room, there is another, wherein do lie as many Bullets and Ordnance, as will ſerve for two-hundred Gallies, which are all ready to be uſed; Drink-money more; there are Bullets and Ordnance to furniſh thirty-ſix Galleaſſes, there pertaining to every Galeaſs forty-eight Pieces of Ordnance. Drink-money.

A little further, there is another Houſe, wherein are three-hundred Pieces of Ordnance, which were won from the *Turks* in the Armada, together with the Colours, and twenty-four Bells of the *Low-Countries*, Drink-money.

The Galleaſſes are in Length thirty-ſeven Paces, and the Gallies thirty.

When you have gone about, and ſeen the Gallies, you ſhall come to the extraordinary brave Ship, called *Bucentauro*, which is painted within and without, and richly overgilded: Therein are excellent fine Benches made, on which may eaſily ſit two-hundred Perſons. In that Ship doth the Duke of *Venice*, together with the whole Signiora, or Council, go, in long Crimſon-velvet Gowns, every Year on the *Aſcenſion-day*, in great Triumph, and princely State, to the Sea, to a Port near a ſtrong Fort called *Alio*: And there the Duke doth wed himſelf to the Sea with a very rich and coſtly Ring, for an eſtabliſhed Dominion; the Ring is given to a Page of Honour, who caſteth it into the Sea, and, as then, the Duke returns Home again, and, from the two ſtrong Forts, is rung a main Peal of Ordnance for Joy. When a Duke is choſen, no Man can know to whom the Election will fall, for it is done by Lots, and, therefore, bootleſs for any covetous Man to ſtrive for it, by Bribing or Gifts.

As you go forwards, you ſhall ſee a great Houſe, under which are three Rooms; therein may eaſily be made ready two-hundred Ships and Gallies with Sails. Drink-money.

Go up the Stairs, and you ſhall come into a Room, wherein are two hundred old Women, daily mending old Sails, and ſometimes, when Need requires, there are ſeven-hundred daily working.

Further, there are three Rooms, one above another; therein may be furniſhed and armed twenty-thouſand Men to Sea, and there you ſhall ſee an admirable Number of old Harneſs, uſed in former Times.

Then enquire for the great Hall, called *Real*, in which the Lords, in Times paſt, did uſe to ſit in Council, but now uſed for ſtately Banquets and Feaſts, when ſome great Potentate or Prince comes thither.

In the ſaid Hall, you ſhall ſee Flitz-bows, Corſlets, and broad Rapiers, together with other Weapons, ſufficient to arm two-hundred-thouſand Men; and alſo, you ſhall ſee the Colours, which were gotten from the common Enemies of *Chriſtendom*, the *Turks*.

Not far from thence is a Houſe, wherein do lie ſo many Oars, ready made, as will ſerve for eighty Gallies.

Further, another Houſe, wherein are Oars, ready made, for above one-hundred Gallies, which were uſed in the Armada aforeſaid; on every Oar muſt row eight or nine Perſons. In the ſame Houſe, the Signiora did ſit in Council, becauſe the Duke's Palace was ſet on Fire, by Lightning, or a Thunder-bolt.

There are two-hundred good and ſound Gallies, all ready furniſhed, ſave only the Ordnance to be laid therein, and ſo put out to Sea; and alſo about two-hundred and fifty, which are daily repaired, and made ready. Drink-money.

In this Houſe of Artillery, are twelve great Towers, upon which there is kept the Watch every Night; and, every Hour, there goeth a Gentleman (appointed by the Lords) the Round, with thirty-ſix ſufficient armed Men, about the Houſe of Artillery, to viſit the Sentinel. This Houſe of Artillery is compaſſed round

round about with Walls, and other Buildings, like unto a ſtrong Town.

In the ſame, there are four-hundred Maſters and Servants, who continually do make great Ships, and prepare them to be ready. There are belonging to this Houſe of Artillery eight thouſand Perſons, fit for all Manner of Trades. This Houſe of Artillery, in my Opinion, is as big as the City *Canterbury*. Now it will be Time for you to go Home to your Lodgings, friendly taking Leave at the Gates, and, with Thanks, beſtowing ſome ſuch reaſonable Reward, as to the Company of Gentlemen-travellers, who went in with you, may be found fitting. And thus much concerning the incomparable Houſe of Artillery in *Venice*.

Hereafter follows what is chiefly to be ſeen within the City of Venice.

GO forward from the Houſe of Artillery to the Water, or Channel, and there you ſhall ſee many brave and great Ships of War.

Not far from thence, a great Houſe, built only to make Biſkets for the Gallies. Therein are fifty Ovens, and all *Dutch* Bakers; there pertain to theſe Ovens fifty Bakers, but, if it be needful to ſet out Gallies with Bread, then there muſt be one-hundred of them.

Further you will ſee a new Monaſtery, named *Santo Sepulchro*, which is naturally like to the holy Grave in *Jeruſalem*.

Then you ſhall come to the Duke's Palace; there take a Gondola, and row over to St. *George*'s Monaſtery, which is built ſo pleaſantly, and with ſuch various Cloiſters and Gardens (which remain Winter and Summer) as that you have not ſeen the like; eſpecially the Convent-Hall, wherein the Monks do dine and ſup. This Monaſtery hath as great a Circuit about it, as a reaſonable Town.

Over-againſt that is yellow Wax bleached, worthy the Seeing. Drink-money.

Then you ſhall go to the Capuchins Monaſtery, which, in Times paſt, was built in perpetual Memory, at the Charge of Prince *Nicholo di Ponte*, ordered on the Day of his Death; upon which Day, there is yearly made a great Ship-bridge, that the People may not be troubled to go ſo far about thither in Pilgrimage to offer.

Then row over the Channel to St. *Stephen*'s, where you ſhall ſee a great ſpacious Place, and there all Duels are fought, being a privileged Place, where no Serjeant or Officer dare meddle with them; and alſo, hard by the Church, there is a Stable, beſides which there is not one Stable more within the whole City of *Venice*.

After which, going Homewards, you may aſcend up to St. *Mark*'s Steeple, from whence you may very pleaſantly behold the whole City. As the King of *France* came thither out of *Poland*, he rid up this Steeple, with his Horſe, as high as the Bells do hang: It was built *Anno* 1146, at which Time the *Paduans* and *Venetians* were at Wars. The Ships may be ſeen from this Steeple thirty Miles. After, go into the Minting-houſe, which is hard thereby, as alſo the Library, which you ſhall take great Delight to ſee. Coming out thence, you will ſee two great Pillars erected, which are caſt; between thoſe the Malefactors are executed.

Alſo, juſt thereby is an extraordinary great Houſe, wherein is kept in Store double-baked Biſket, ready for any Armada which is to be ſet out to Sea; and hard by that Houſe is the Place, whereout are delivered all their Billets, or Paſſes, that intend to travel.

Then go to the Duke's Palace, and up the Stairs you ſhall ſee two great Statues, or Pictures of *Adam* and *Eve*, of white Marble-ſtone; and, when you come to the Top, there is, on your left Hand, a Quader-piece, over-gilded and faſtened into the Wall, on which is written or engraven the Manner, Day, and Hour of the King of *France*'s Coming thither out of *Poland*. Go up higher the Stairs, towards the great Chamber, wherein is uſually held a General Council; which, being compleat, conſiſts of ſixteen-hundred Lords and Counſellors, all from the moſt ancient Nobility deſcended; where they ſit in comely Order, the Duke ſitting uppermoſt, and on each Side of him twenty-four *Clariſſimi*, or Lords, all in long red Velvet Gowns; out of which one is elected, when the Duke dies, and they caſt Lots for the Election.

The upper Cieling of this Council-chamber is of Wood moſt excellently carved, and richly gilded with pure *Zechini* Gold; the Hiſtories and artificial Pictures are wrought upon very coſtly Linnen, with Oil Colours. They do conſtantly affirm, that this Chamber coſt

above four Tons of Gold, which, in *Engliſh* Money, is above one hundred-thouſand Pounds Sterling. Hard by the ſame is another Chamber, almoſt like unto it, which ſometimes is uſed for a Council-chamber.

This Palace of the Duke's, about thirty-two Years paſt, was ſet on Fire by a fiery Squall, and burnt; it was covered with Lead at that Time, but now with Copper; for Furniſhing of which, there were ſent for very artificial Maſters out of *Germany*. They ſay, that the Covering of this Palace coſt three hundred-thouſand Crowns.

When you come out of the Palace, you ſhall ſee, on St. *Mark*'s Place, two Columns or Pillars of Marble-ſtone erected, which *Emanuel*, Emperor of *Greece*, ſent thither for a Preſent; for, at ſuch Time as the *Venetians* made an Agreement with the King of *Sicily*, the ſaid Emperor was much diſpleaſed therewith, but afterwards, they having pacified his Anger, he preſented them with three Columns or Pillars, two of which ſtand on St. *Mark*'s Place; the third miſcarried, and fell into the Water, which could never be recovered again. And, as concerning the other two, there was at that Time no Man to be found in all their Dominions, that could ſet them up on End; wherefore they made Proclamation, That, whoſoever could erect them, he ſhould be well rewarded for his Pains: Upon which, one came out of *Lombardy*, who told them, that he would venture his Head, that he would ſet them up on End, if they would let him have ſuch Things as were neceſſary for that Purpoſe; which he had, and did effect it accordingly: And, for his Reward, he did deſire, That it might be lawful for any Man, that would, to play at Dice between the ſaid Pillars, notwithſtanding the Dice were falſe; and alſo, That the *Venetians* would give him free Dwelling amongſt them, with a competent Living; all which was granted unto him. If it chanceth, that any Man in their Juriſdiction doth raiſe a Mutiny with the *Turks*, or doth attempt any Treachery againſt the City, then there is a gilded Pole laid overthwart the two Pillars, and a gilded Halter put about the Offender's Neck, and he hanged thereupon.

Here I will relate a ſtrange Kind of Theft, which was done in former Times at *Venice*:

When *Borſius*, Brother to the Duke of *Ferrara*, came to *Venice*, and went to ſee the Treaſure at St. *Mark*'s, there was a certain *Candiot*, named *Sammatius Scarior*, who, being appointed to wait on the Duke, went in alſo to ſee the Treaſure; and, when he ſaw the Riches thereof, he thought with himſelf by what Means he might come ſecretly unto it, and for that Purpoſe ſuffered himſelf to be locked in the Treaſury; and, making looſe a Marble-ſtone in the Wall, behind the Altar of the innocent Children, he carried the Duſt in his Lap, and laid it behind a little Pair of dark Stairs in the Church. By Day he went always away, and came again towards Evening, ſo long, until he had made a Hole into the Treaſure-chamber; and, in the Day-time, he faſtened the Stone ſo cunningly into the Wall, that no Man could mark it: He carried out one rich Jewel after another, ſix Nights together, and at laſt was reſolved to take away the Duke's Hat, eſteemed at two Millions of Zechins, which make, in *Engliſh* Money, more than ſeven-hundred Thouſand Pounds. Now there was another *Candiot*, named *Zacharias Cerio*, to whom *Sammatius* opened his Buſineſs, and ſhewed him the Treaſure, and admoniſhed him in any Caſe to keep it cloſe, ſaying their Lives ſtood upon it. *Cerio* being at the Sight therof ſore aſtoniſhed, *Sammatius* ſtabbed him; but, before, he demanded of *Cerio*, Why he was aſtoniſhed in ſuch a fearful Manner? *Cerio* anſwered, That he was not able to ſpeak, for Joy. *Sammatius* ſaid, Make Haſte, then, and let us be gone; we have Riches ſufficient to ſerve our Turns all the Days of our Lives. *Cerio* ſaid, I will preſently prepare myſelf, and go to inquire after a Ship to be gone: But he went and diſcovered it to the Duke, whereupon *Sammatius* was apprehended. The next Day, a Pair of Gallows overgilded were ſet up between the two Pillars, whereon he was hanged, with a gilded Rope about his Neck.

Over-againſt the ſame, at the one Corner of the Church, is a red Porphyry-ſtone ſet up, on which there are cut the Pictures of the two famous Pirates which brought the ſaid Treaſure to *Venice*.

Hard by is a round Marble-ſtone they uſe to lay the Heads of proſcribed and baniſhed Perſons.

Then go into the excellent Temple or Church of St. *Mark*'s, which is underſet very curiouſly with rich and great Pillars of divers

Sorts

Sorts of Colours. The Doors and Gates of the Church are of Bell-Metal, and about the great Door do ſtand four great Horſes caſt of Bell-Metal, all over gilded with pure Gold, which were ordered to be placed in Memory of the Emperor *Barbaroſſa*. When you come into the Church, on your Left-hand, you ſhall ſee a Crucifix upon an Altar, at which (as they ſay) on a Time a certain Gameſter did throw a Stone, whereupon it fell a Bleeding, and ſtill every Year, on that Day, it doth bleed.

Further, upon the Ground before the high Altar there is a Pavement with four-ſquared Streams, of white Marble-ſtone, like unto a natural Water, which was likewiſe ſo ordered for the aforeſaid Emperor's Sake, which is called a Horſe-pond. For, as the Emperor laid Siege to *Venice*, he made a ſolemn Vow, that, when he had got the City, he would make out of St. *Mark*'s Church a Stable, and a Horſe-pond, and would make St. *Mark*'s Market-place a Ground to ſow Corn on: In the mean Time, it chanced, that the Emperor's Son was taken Priſoner in a Skirmiſh, and brought into *Venice*; then the *Venetians* ſent and gave Notice thereof to the Emperor, and told him, that, unleſs he would preſently raiſe his Siege and be gone, they would ſhoot his Son unto him out of a Cannon: At which the Emperor was ſorely grieved, and deſired of the *Venetians*, that, for the Safeguard of the Vow which he had made, they would cauſe St. *Mark*'s Place to be plaiſtered like a Corn Ground, and that the four Horſes might be ſet over the high Door, to ſignify the Stable, and alſo the Ground before the high Altar to be paved with white Marble-ſtone ſtreamed, to betoken the Horſe-pond; which was all done accordingly, as it is to be ſeen at this Day; whereupon the Emperor took his Son, raiſed his Siege, and departed.

There are right before the Church ſtanding three very high Poles, on the Top of which they hang three great Standards or Colours, upon the Holy and Feaſt Days, ſignifying their three Kingdoms, *viz. Candya*, *Cyprus*, and *Venice*.

If you deſire to ſee the Treaſure, you muſt diligently ſollicit the Duke's Chamberlain; then you ſhall go into St. *Mark*'s Church, through four Iron Doors: So ſoon as you are gone through each one of them, they ſhut themſelves locked, and you are within; they will ſhew you two Unicorns Horns, of which the Red is the Male, and the Yellow the Female; then a great Carbuncle-ſtone, which glitters like a Candle, three Crowns of the Kingdoms of the *Venetians*, twelve Pettorali, with Oriental Stones, amongſt which is one ſtanding in the Midſt, that hath a great Saphire and an Emerald; two Veſſels of Agate, the one of *Chalcedon*, the other of a *Turkiſh*; a little Granate, a great Diamond King *Henry the Third*, of *France*, gave the Duke of *Venice*; a great Diſh of Gold, one Ballaſſo that weighs ſeven Ounces, certain Veſſels of Agate and Emeralds, which, in Times paſt, were the Emperor *Conſtantine*'s, beſides many other rich Jewels and precious Stones, almoſt not poſſible to be written in particular, for it is an ineſtimable Treaſure; there are eſpecially Oriental precious a Saphire and an Emerald, like unto which there are none to be found.

Further you may deſire to ſee the Duke's private Houſe of Artillery, where are rich Furniture of Gold and Silver to arm two-hundred Men, a Lanthorn all of Chryſtal, certain Apparel come from the New World, and brought thither by the *Cyprinenſes*, and preſented to the Duke; then a little Coffer, in the Opening of which, two Pieces, that lie therein, do diſcharge of themſelves, beſides divers other curious Things. Give ſomething to drink.

The Church of St. *Mark* is held to be more rich and ſtately, built with extraordinary coſtly Pillars of Porphyry and Marble-ſtone, than is *Santa Sophia* at *Conſtantinople*, for there are five moſt great excellent Chapels, or round heatheniſh Towers, covered with Copper. When you go from St. *Mark*'s under the great Dial, you will come into the *Merceria*, a long Street, on both Sides full of Shops, furniſhed with all Manner of exceeding rich Wares, eſpecially with Silks; preſently after you ſhall come to the *Dutch* Houſe, wherein do dwell *Dutch* Merchants, who give Weekly to the Duchy One hundred Zechins.

From the *Dutch* Houſe you will go over the Bridge *Rialto*, whither all the Merchants do reſort Mornings and Evenings; there is alſo a little Church, called *Santo Jacobo*, which is the ancienteſt Church in *Venice*, and there was the firſt Houſe built, and the City was named at that Time *Venetequa*, in *Engliſh*,

Come

Come hither, for it was free for every Man to build there; and, from that Word *Venetequa*, it is now turned to *Venetia*.

Then go to *Santa-Maria Formoſa*, upon which the *Dutch* Nation are freely privileged to fight out any Duel or Quarrel.

You may go alſo to *Santo Johanne & Paulo*, which is a wonderful fair Church and Monaſtery, adorned with excellent fair Epitaphs: When you enter in at the Door, you ſhall ſee on your Left-hand the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*, very richly, with ancient Hiſtories, faſtened into the Wall four-ſquare, and the Cover over the ſame, all coſtly over-gilded.

Right without the Church doth ſit upon a Horſe caſt of Bell-Metal, all over gilded with pure Ducat Gold, *Bartholome Coglion* of *Bergen*, Captain-General to the *Venetians*; by whom *Padua* was taken in for the Seigniory of *Venice*. The ſaid General afterwards, on his Death-bed, did earneſtly intreat the *Venetian* State, in any wiſe hereafter, to diſcover their Secrets to none, as they had done to him, ſaying, That, if he had been diſpoſed, he could himſelf have overcome them: The Seignory, for his true Service, did cauſe his Statue to be erected there on a Horſe, as aforeſaid.

In the famous City of *Venice* there are eight-thouſand Gondola's, and, amongſt eight-hundred Bridges, there are but two of Wood. There are alſo divers laudable Companies, or Fellowſhips, touching which it is not here neceſſary to write in particular: The principal ones are thoſe, near a Monaſtery called *Alli Servi*, and by *Al Ponte de More*.

Further; it is but a little Way over to *Murano*, where the pureſt Chryſtal Glaſſes are made; ſo ſoon as you land on your Left-hand, at a Corner-Houſe, you ſhall ſee a Glaſs-maker that hath a whole Caſtle of Chryſtal, with Ordnance on the Bulwarks and Baſtions, as alſo Towers of Defence, which is to be ſold for twelve-hundred Crowns.

In *Murano* almoſt all the Inhabitants are Glaſs-makers, appertaining to the *Venetians*, who have their Trading therewith: You ſhall alſo ſee very fair Gardens with running Water-works, and brave Statues, eſpecially one above the reſt, belonging to a great Gentleman named *Emo*, now dead, which is wrought ſo artificially, as is ſcarce to be believed, unleſs it be ſeen.

Then, in rowing Home again, you will ſee a Monaſtery on your Left-hand, wonderous fairly built in the Water by a *Venetian Courteſana*, whom did love a *Venetian* gentle *Homo*, who lived together like a Man and Wife; he died before her, and left her all that he had, for which ſhe promiſed him to build a Chapel, in perpetual Memory of them both, to have their Funerals therein; which Chapel coſt more than ſixty-thouſand Crowns the Building; it is all of white Marble-ſtone, and covered with Copper: There are adjoining thereunto four Towers of Bell-Metal; within it is coſtly ſet forth, with admirable Pictures and Hiſtories, of white Alabaſter Oriental, and without are cut out of white Marble-ſtone both their Statues or Pictures, according to the true Proportion of their Bodies: After that, ſhe retired herſelf to a very ſtrict and penitent Kind of Life, and, before her Death, ſhe made her Will, having left behind her ſix-hundred-Crowns, all which ſhe beſtowed upon poor People in Hoſpitals and Spittals, and for Maintenance of Widows and Orphans, and appointed a yearly Revenue, to that Monaſtery adjoining to the Chapel, ever to endure, to the End there might be ſolemniſed yearly Vigils for the Sake of both their Souls.

Hereafter follows what is to be ſeen between Venice *and* Ancona, *from thence to* Santa Maria Loretto; *and alſo how many Miles one Place is from the other.*

You may take a Gondola, or Ship, and go to *Chiozza*, a very pleaſant Town of the *Venetians*; it lies alſo in the Sea, built with very fair Houſes; from thence to *Ornaci*, an Inn, eight Miles; then to *Coro*, an Inn, eighteen Miles; there you may have Horſes to hire from *Coro* to *Volani*, an Inn, eighteen Miles; from thence to *Magnanaca*, an Inn, nine Miles; that is a very bare and ſimple Lodging; from thence to *Primara*, an Inn, fifteen Miles; from thence to *Ravenna*, twenty Miles. *Ravenna* is an ancient City, which lies on the Sea, pertaining to the Pope; from thence to *Al Savio*, an Inn, ten Miles; from thence to *Ceſanniro*, a little Town, ten Miles; to *Belaere*, an Inn, fifteen Miles; there you may have Horſes to hire; ſo to *Rimini*, a Town of the Pope's, ten Miles; ſo to *Coriano*, an Inn, eight Miles; to *Cattolica*, an Inn, ten Miles; to *Peſaro*, a Town, ten Miles, which Town belongs to the Duke of *Urbino*, built with very fair and large Streets, Walls and Baſtions, and

and an exceeding ſtrong Caſtle lying on the Sea; it is well provided with all Manner of Victuals, eſpecially with good Wine; the Duke hath there a very fair Palace, and keeps his Court therein; it is a very pleaſant Place, wherein every Thing is to be had at a reaſonable Rate. From *Peſaro* to *Fano*, a Town nine Miles, belonging to the Pope, through which no Man muſt preſume to paſs, unleſs he will go on Foot; it is a very ancient City. From thence to *Sinigallia*, nine Miles; it is alſo the ſaid Duke's; a very ſtrong Caſtle on the Sea Border, wherein the Duke continually maintains a Garriſon; from thence to *Caſa Bruſciata*, an Inn, nine Miles; it lies upon the Stream of the Sea; we received there excellent good Entertainment: From thence to *Ancona*, ſeventeen Miles.

A N C O N A.

When you come to *Ancona*, which is a famous City, you ſhall ſee a *Porta Triumphal*, which the Emperor *Adrian* cauſed to be built, for a Memorial. This City hath a very fair Haven of the Sea, like unto which there are not any found; for there are brought together divers Sorts of Commodities from *Sclavonia* and the *Levant*; there are brought alſo brave *Turkiſh* Horſes, and all Manner of Wares. There is likewiſe a great Traffick, and they do bring many *Moors* and *Schiavons* together, to be ſold; and, above the reſt, there are no Want of *Jews* that travel to and fro, and alſo have their Dwellings in that City.

In the aforeſaid City, doth lie the Body of *Sant Ciriaci Advocati*, buried in a little Church on a high Rock, which is commonly called *Sant Ciriaco*; and, when the Weather is clear, you may diſcover from thence *Schiavonia*, and the Ships upon the Sea.

This City lies but three Miles from *Monte Alto*, where Pope *Sixtus Quintus* was born.

The famous City *Ancona* is adorned with excellent fair Buildings, and Palaces, well provided of all Manner of Neceſſaries, to be bought at a very cheap Price, and it is well defended by great Walls round about. In like Manner there is a ſtrong Caſtle hard above the City, made ſo invincible with Baſtions and with Ordnance thereupon planted, as that it is, in a Manner, impoſſible to be aſſaulted or won; and, if in caſe it were, that the City ſhould be gotten, yet could it not be kept, for, from the Caſtle, every Thing therein would be deſtroyed. So ſoon as one Pope dies, another is elected; the Title of *Ancona* is written in his Stile, for it belongs to the See of *Rome*.

Santa Maria Loretto.

When you go from *Ancona* towards *Santa Maria Loretto*, which is fifteen Miles, you will ſee an extraordinary Pilgrimage and Devotion; eſpecially, note when you come into a long ſtraight Street, which reacheth up to the Church, you ſhall ſee Nothing but Shops, wherein are made only *Pater-Noſter* Beads. When you come into the Church, you ſhall ſee, on both Sides, long Tables ſtanding, on which there are written Directions and Admoniſhments, after what Part every Body may prepare himſelf to the Confeſſion, on each Table being written four ſeveral Languages, to the End, no Man may alledge an Excuſe, that there is no Prieſt to underſtand his Language, for there is ordered to every Table a Prieſt that ſpeaks the ſame Language.

When you approach near the Choir, or Querry, wherein is the Chapel of our Bleſſed Virgin, which (as they ſay) was carried thither by the Angels from beyond the Seas, you ſhall ſee a rare Building, over or above the ſaid Chapel, all of Alabaſter and Marble-Stone, with excellent Hiſtories raiſed.

And, when you are come into that Chapel, you ſhall ſee upon the great Altar the Bleſſed Virgin, with the Child *Jeſus* in her Arms, adorned with ſo many precious Jewels, and Lamps of Gold and Silver burning, that a Man can ſcarce ſee either the Bleſſed Virgin, or the Child.

Then enquire for the *Chriſtia*, whereon do lie the Male Robes; there you ſhall ſee, on your right Hand, the Picture of the Margrave of *Baden*; and there is written the Day on which he came thither, with ſix Perſons *per* Poſt, to his Devotions, in the Year 1584, becauſe, he, having received a deadly Wound by a Bullet, in the Wars of the *Low-Countries*, did direct his Prayers to the Virgin *Mary*, for her Divine Help for his Recovery; after his Prayers ended, he laid him down in Bed. In the Morning he felt Nothing, but was whole and ſound again; whereupon he delayed no Time, but poſted in all Haſte to this Place, and, for a Thankſgiving, preſented the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* with twelve-thouſand Crowns, which is no Fable.

Loretto is made very ſtrong with many Baſtions and Walls, with great Ordnance, and Store of Ammunition, ſo that it is ſure enough for the *Turks* Coming thither to carry away their ineſtimable Treaſure, which (as they conſtantly affirm) is valued at above five Millions of Gold, freely given and preſented out of mere Devotion.

Now, that which is on the Way, between *Maria Loretto* and *Rome*, is ſcarce worth the Seeing: I will therefore only deſcribe the Ways from one Place to another; and, in my Opinion, you were better turn back again from *Loretto*, and take the neareſt Way to *Ferrara*, and from thence, the open Highway to *Rome*, whereby, both Charges and Time may be ſaved.

The direct Way from Loretto *to* Rome.

From *Loretto* to *Recanata* three Miles, which is a fine pleaſant Town, built long-wiſe, on a Hill, with fair Houſes and ſtately Vineyards, planted thereabouts; you need not go through the Town, unleſs you pleaſe, but may go hard by the Wall, from thence to *Macerata*, a little pretty Town, wherein is an Univerſity, fourteen Miles; then to *Tollentino*, a little Town, nine Miles; then to *Alla Mancia*, a little Town, ſeven Miles; then to *Piandignano*, an Inn, ſeven Miles; thence to *Varchiano* and *Samlet*, nine Miles; thence to *Alla Paſſo de Spoleto*, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Spoleto*, a fine City, lying on a Hill, belonging to the Pope; it hath been, in Times paſt, dangerous to travel thereabouts, but now not ſo, ten Miles; from thence to *Stretura*, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Terni*, a pleaſant Town, eight Miles; thence to *Harni*, a ſtrong Town, it lies high on the one Side, and the River *Harni* runs hard by it, ſeven Miles; from thence to *Ottricolo*, a little Town, eight Miles; not far from this, you muſt ſet over the *Tyber*, nine Miles; from thence to *Rignano*, a very good Lodging; here leave an old Town, called *Civita Caſtellana*, on your left Hand, it is thither ſixteen Miles; from thence to *Caſtil Nuovo*, a little Town, ſeven Miles; thence to *Primo Yorto*, an Inn, ſeven Miles; from thence to the Holy City, *Rome*, ſeven Miles. This is the Way from *Loretto* to *Rome*, if you pleaſe to go the ſame; otherwiſe, you may take it in your Return back again from *Rome*.

Hereafter follows the direct Way from Ferrara *to* Malta, *and what is to be ſeen between them.*

FERRARA.

When you are come to *Ferrara*, lodge at the *Bell*; they will enquire of you in the Gate, what Things you carry about you; but tell them, you are *Scholari*, or Students; and if you have Cloke-bags, or Mails, you muſt bring them into the Weigh-Houſe, where they open them.

If you deſire to ſee the City, you muſt enquire for the *Dutch* Guard; there you ſhall have one appointed to go about you for a ſmall Reward.

Firſt, you go to the Duke's Palace, or Caſtle, that hath four fair Towers, upon which do ſtrike two Clocks. The Palace hath within a fine Court four-ſquare, which is very ſtately ſet out with the Deſcents of the moſt famous Emperors, and Dukes that have governed there; as alſo it is adorned with excellent fair Rooms, and pleaſant Gardens.

After, let him ſhew you the Duke's Garden of Pleaſure and Art, called *Bel Vedere*, wherein you ſhall take great Delight to ſee it, inſomuch as you ſhall admire thereat, garniſhed with pleaſant Springs, that both Winter and Summer remain green; all Manner of Birds, wild Beaſts, and an extraordinary Houſe of Pleaſure. Further the Houſe of Artillery, adjoining to the Duke's Palace, wherein are many Pieces of great Ordnance, worthy to be ſeen.

The City is furniſhed with an excellent fair Market-place, where all Neceſſaries ſufficiently are to be had, eſpecially all Manner of coſtly Fiſh.

There are alſo a great Number of *Jews*, and extraordinary fair broad Streets, very ſtately, ſet out with fair Palaces, and excellent brave Buildings, and, above all the reſt, the City is round about ſtrengthened with ſtrong Walls and Baſtions.

Hereafter follows the Way from Ferrara *to* Bologna.

From *Ferrara* to *Poggio*, an Inn, nine Miles; from thence to *Pietro* in *Caſale*, ſix Miles; thence to *Fundi*, a little Town, nine Miles; from thence to *Bologna*, nine Miles.

BOLOGNA.

BOLOGNA.

Bologna is an exceeding fair City: When you come thither, lodge at the *Golden Angel*, where you may horſe conveniently to *Rome*; but there will be Need of ſome Policy, by reaſon that many Times there are Horſes *de ritorno*, ſo that you may have them for ſix or eight Crowns a-piece, and alſo Men with you, to bear the Charges of the Horſe and yourſelf, till you come to *Rome*, without taking Care of any thing, but only to eat and drink, to ſit up and light; and, in caſe your Horſe tires, they muſt immediately provide you another.

This great and famous City is built with very ſtately Palaces and Houſes; it hath wonderful fair Streets; when it is rainy Weather, you may go under the Houſes, and not be wet at all.

Go towards the Governor's Palace, who is commonly a Cardinal, appointed by the Pope to govern; it is an exceeding brave Palace, with a large Circumference.

The Governor keeps continually two hundred *Switzers*, and a Cornet of Spear-Horſemen to guard his Perſon; they are duly paid their *Salarium* every Month.

Every Day, about the Time of Meals, do come the Muſicians and Trumpeters to ſound and play, as if he were a temporal Prince; they ſtand without the Palace in an open Gallery, towards the Market-place.

The Trumpeters with a Kettle Drum were, for a Memorial, ordained thither by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*. The Sackbuts and Cornets for a Memorial, by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*.

The *Switzers* and Horſemen have their Dwelling in the Governor's Palace, and, when he goes out to take the Air, they muſt all attend him as if the Pope were there himſelf.

Right againſt the Market-place, on the Outſide of the Palace, you ſhall ſee the Statue of the ſaid Pope, together with the Seat, all of Bell-Metal.

By the Palace is the Houſe of Juſtice or Priſon, where is given every Morning to the Offenders the *Stroppa de Corda*, in publick View; and the Malefactors are wound up exceeding high, their Arms being wrung round about, very fearful to behold.

In this City are great Merchandiſing with ſilk Wares, and ſilk Worms that ſpin, and they make their principal good Damaſk, and, eſpecially, there is an active and brave Gentry.

There is alſo a very pleaſant, fair, and great Market-place, always provided with all Manner of Neceſſaries, at reaſonable ſmall Rates, whatſoever a Man deſires.

You ſhall alſo ſee a Number of fair and civil Gentlewomen in this City, eſpecially thoſe that are nobly deſcended, who ſhew themſelves very courteous towards Strangers. There is continually Going up and down with Chariots and Coaches, Day and Night. Go alſo towards the *Aſſes* Tower, and you ſhall ſee two Towers together, which are not above four Paces aſunder; one of them is four-cornered, raiſed very high, all of Brick, which ſix Men may fathom about, but the Heighth is one-hundred and thirty Fathom; upon the ſame is continually the Watch kept Day and Night; the other Tower is built on Purpoſe, as if it were falling down, and therefore they were forced to take a great deal of it down, the Citizens, that dwelt near thereunto, fearing the Fall of the ſame, and to ſpoil their Houſes. It is yet forty Fathom high.

This City is called the Mother of Learning, by reaſon of the famous Univerſity therein; but now, for ſix or eight Years, it hath ſuffered Shipwreck, becauſe the Governor, which Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* ſet to govern there, did cauſe a *Dutch* Gentleman, of good Rank, to be caſt into Priſon in the Night-time, by reaſon of certain Weapons which were found about him, and commanded three *Stroppa de Corda* to be given him openly upon the Market-place. Wherefore all the *Dutch* Nation departed preſently from thence; for which the Pope might rather have given many thouſand Crowns, than that it had been done, about which the Governor fell into the Pope's high Diſpleaſure.

There is not, in all *Italy*, to be ſeen ſuch an excellent and fair College as is there, with fine pleaſant Rooms and Pillars of Marble ſtone, wherein no Prince may think Scorn to dwell, although at this Time *Padua* hath the Name; but I like *Bologna* much better, for every Thing is to be had at a low Rate.

Right over-againſt the College is the chiefeſt Church, called St. *Petronia*, which is exceeding fair, but as yet not finiſhed, neither, as is thought, will be in Haſte.

Further enquire, for St. *Dominico*, a Monaſtery of *Dominican* Monks; go into it, and, when you come near the Door, you ſhall ſee

an Altar wrought with ſuch Cunning and Art, as that there is not the like to be ſeen in the univerſal World: Under that Altar doth lie buried St. *Dominick*; and certainly the Monaſtery is ſo extraordinary fair, that far and near is not the like. The *Dutch* Nation have their Burials therein.

Further do not neglect to ſee St. *Michael*, a ſtately Monaſtery lying on a Hill near the City, moſt worthy to be noted; and, when it is clear Weather, a Man may ſee ſo far as *Ferrara*: Round about this Monaſtery do grow Cypreſs-trees, like unto a little Wood, yielding ſo excellent a ſweet Smell, as that a faint Heart may be quickened therewith; and there is a continual Reſort thither of Men and Women, as well for Pleaſure as Devotion's Sake; for, Winter and Summer, it remains green all alike.

Further deſire to ſee St. *Salvator*, which is a Monaſtery of Monks, and is the faireſt built Monaſtery in all *Bologna*.

Further St. *Franciſco*, in which there are Monks of the *Franciſcan* Order, is alſo well worthy to be ſeen. And then, if you deſire to ſee artificial and curious Altars and Pictures, you muſt go into St. *Jacob*'s Church; it is a Monaſtery of the *Auguſtines* Order. There is in this City to be heard as excellent good Muſick, as almoſt in any other Place in *Italy*, eſpecially at St. *Celeſtin*'s.

The City is wonderous fair, and there runs a fine River through it, called *Reno*, on which all Manner of Proviſion is conveyed into the City. The City is alſo great and ſpacious, and, nevertheleſs, all round about begirt with a marvellous fair Wall.

It is credibly reported, that the Pope hath every Year out of this City three-hundred-thouſand Crowns Income.

Hereafter follows the Way from Bologna *to* Florence.

From *Bologna* to *Pianora*, a Hamlet, eight Miles; from thence to *Loiano*, a Hamlet, eight Miles; thence to *Piera Mala*, a little Town, eight Miles; thence to *Rofreddo*, a Hamlet, ſeven.

There the Ways do part by a Bridge on the Left-hand, to *Pratolino*, three Miles from thence, on the Right-hand, the direct Way to *Florence*, where the Great Duke hath ſo pleaſant a Recreation, as is no where elſe in all *Italy* to be ſeen.

PRATOLINO.

When you come thither, enquire if the Great Duke be there; then go to the Gardener or Keeper of the Palace, and ſalute courteouſly, promiſing him ſomething. Firſt he will lead you above into the Palace, which is built four-ſquare; when you come into a Room, you ſhall go right forwards into four Rooms which have Correſpondence into four Corners, which are ſix Rooms, among which is one wherein the Duke and his Ducheſs do lie, on two Beds, when they are there; but thoſe Beds are accounted the ſimpleſt amongſt all the reſt, and very low.

The other Rooms are exceeding fairly furniſhed, and adorned with rich and coſtly Arras, of clean Gold and Silver, wherewith the Chambers are hung.

And, according as the Hangings are in every Chamber, ſo are likewiſe the Beds hung and trimmed correſpondently.

The Chambers decked with extraordinary fair Statues, Pictures, and Tables of Alabaſter, and other rich Stones.

Then go alſo up the Stairs, and you ſhall come into the like Rooms, where, in Four-ſquares are ſixteen Rooms, where Beds do ſtand; the ſimpleſt amongſt them did coſt furniſhed ten-thouſand Crowns. Then you may beſtow ſomething upon the Keeper's Wife, or him that did lead you about.

Further you muſt go from down a Pair of Stairs, where you ſhall ſee a fair Grotto and Vaults, richly ſet with Coral, Mother of Pearl, and other rich Stones, faſtened into the Wall ſo thick, that a Man can ſcarce ſee any Part of the Wall; therein are alſo Tables of Marble-ſtone and Alabaſter, and alſo the Benches very cunningly wrought, in inlaid Work. If a Man doth ſit down at one of the Tables, the Water doth ſpout from below and above, and on every Side, as if it rained mainly; and, when one thinks to reſcue himſelf from the Wet, then he comes juſt into the Bath, all wringing wet; they ſpare no Man, of what Degree ſoever.

When you come out again, you ſhall ſee the Garden right before you, like unto a broad Street, on both Sides, Springs of Water; the Garden is made with all Manner of

young

young Plants, that are green Winter and Summer. There is a great Tree whereon the Duke uſes to dine and ſup; from that Tree, the Duke can ſee both his Palaces in the Town; the one wherein he keeps his Court, the other is called *Pithi*. Then go right over-againſt the Palace, into a Garden, and is the Duke's Chapel, wherein Maſs is celebrated; it is round like a heatheniſh Temple wainſcotted within and without, with Cypreſs Wood, and round about there grow Cypreſs Trees.

Further you ſhall ſee the Statue of a Water-God of white Marble-ſtone, that hath, in Length, four Fathom; from him doth fall all the Water, that comes into the artificial Water-works.

About five Miles from *Pratolino*, there hath been a very fair Ground, all green Meadows, but on each Side, high Hills, where the Waters do come together; thoſe Grounds hath Duke *Coſmus the Second* cauſed to be trenched about four Miles in Circuit, ſo that it is now like unto a Sea, from whence all the Waters at *Pratolino* do ſpring; from *Pratolino*, are five Miles to *Florence*.

FLORENCE.

When you come within Half a Mile of *Florence*, and are many of you in a Company (for it is never otherwiſe) ſend one before that is a *Practicus*, to ſtay for you under the Gate of the City, by the Cuſtomers; then they will enquire of him the Cauſe of his ſtaying there; he may anſwer, that he ſtays there for certain Students that are coming after on Horſeback, all wearied, not being uſed much to Riding (for they do look very narrowly, what Things Paſſengers do carry about them, whereby much Time is loſt) but, becauſe they may not be long in Searching, put preſently a Piece of Money, into one of their Hands, without many Words, ſpeaking ſomewhat boldly to them, and, as then, they will let you paſs; there are always many People looking very diligently to the Buſineſs, and to eſpy if any Thing be found amiſs, whereby a Man may judge, that much deceitful Practice is there uſed.

When you come into the famous City of *Florence*, lodge at the *Crown*; there is alſo beſides a *Dutch* Hoſtery, called the *Fuſti*, but there is continually uſed much Exceſs in Drinking.

Florence is a moſt excellent brave City; comparable to the ſame there is none, neither in *Italy*, nor elſewhere.

If there be none amongſt yourſelves that is acquainted with the Cuſtom of the City, then deſire your Hoſt to help you to one, or you may have one of the *Dutch* Guard to go with you.

Then go to the great Duke's Palace; hard thereby is the *Dutch* Guard; the Duke maintains continually One-hundred of them to wait on his Perſon; they dwell all together, and are drawn up to the Watch every Evening very bravely.

The Palace is a famous Building, where is a Steeple ſo high, that one would ſay it is built in the Air without Foundation. Go into the Palace up the Stairs on your left Hand, and you ſhall ſee an extraordinary great Hall, wherein the Duke doth dine and ſup openly; go after that out again, and on your Right-hand, you ſhall ſee alſo a very great Hall; there are every Year Preſents given to the Duke on St. *John Baptiſt*'s Day (who is Patron to the *Florentines*): After which is a fine Act ſolemniſed, where the Duke ſits in publick State, and under a Tabernacle do ſit the States and Country Townſmen in their Order, and Colours, the Standards bowing themſelves before him with ſuch Ceremonies as if they were to do Homage. Then the Duke goes to his Palace to Dinner, and afterwards the Duke ſets up a certain Prize, about which the common People do dance, at which Sport the Duke beholds them.

You ſhall ſee in this Hall very brave Statues, and as you come out there is, on your Right-hand, the Duke's natural Picture; right before the Palace, as you go to the *Dutch* Guard, you will ſee very fair Statues, as artificially made as if they were living: There is alſo a very fair Water-cheſt or Fountain, with ſtately Pictures of Bell-metal, as alſo of Marble-ſtone, continually ſpirting Water, ſtanding exceeding pleaſantly upon the fair and great Market-place. Then go up over where the Statues do ſtand, where the Duke hath a very pleaſant Garden, and hath cauſed a Water-work to be raiſed up on high, that it is a Wonder, how it was poſſible for the Water to be brought thither; when the Duke is diſpoſed to be merry, then he keeps his Table there, by reaſon of the excellent cool Air; from thence he hath but a little Gallery to go

into his Palace. From thence go right forward, and you will come into a very long Gallery, called *Belvedere*, which is adorned with moſt principal Statues. On the Side of the Belvedere, hath the Duke *Coſmus* cauſed a Chapel to be built (to which he can go ſecretly, and not ſeen, from and to his Palace) which is ſet out with wonderous brave Alabaſter Pictures, with a coſtly Altar, and the ſaid Chapel round about ceiled with Mother of Pearl; under this Gallery you ſhall ſee, in a Proſpective Glaſs, an excellent fair Room, underſet with brave ſtrong Pillars, in which is the Chancery or Council kept; there is in all *Italy* not the like to be ſeen. Go alſo towards the old Bridge, called *Ponte Vecchio*; on the ſame are built Haberdaſhers Shops all over, and there runs a rich navigable River underneath, called the *Arno*; when you come over that Bridge, enquire for the Palace, called *Pithi*, which is an exceeding fair Building, all of ſquare Stone, very high and great, built four-cornered, with a Court paved all over with ſquare Free-ſtone: There are in the ſame kingly Rooms, and Chambers, continually furniſhed wonderful richly. Thereupon is alſo a great and brave Garden, and therein a little Wood, all of Cypreſs Trees, where do alſo grow all Manner of Meats, for the moſt coſtly Birds and Fowls. The Duke hath oftentimes pleaſant Sport in the ſame; there grow alſo all Manner of the delicateſt Fruits, which a Man may imagine, and moſt Part of the Garden is continually green.

There are alſo ſtately Fountains therein, with brave and coſtly Statues, and the Duke can go over a Gallery from thence to his other Palace, where he keeps his Court, that no Man can ſee him coming; then go back again to a Bridge, called *Ponte Novo*, which is built all of white Marble-ſtone, ſquare Pieces.

When you come over that, you ſhall ſee, on your Left-hand, a very great ſtone Pillar, on which ſits an Angel, with a Pair of Scales and a Sword in his Hands, which the great Duke *Coſmus* erected after he had got the Victory of *Siena* from the Lord *Strozzi*.

Then, when you go a little more forward, you ſhall come into the ſaid *Peter Strozzi's* Palace, whereby you will conceive the Greatneſs of that Man, and his Power, in not fearing to ſet himſelf againſt the Duke, intending to have made himſelf Duke. He hath had alſo more like Palaces in the City.

Further go to the Palace, called *Caſſina*, where the Duke doth maintain all Manner of Artiſts of all Nations; for the Duke taketh great Pleaſure therein, he himſelf having learned two or three of thoſe artificial Sciences, and doth oftentimes uſe to work amongſt them.

Not far from thence you ſhall come to a Houſe, wherein are kept certain tame Leopards, Lions, Bears, and other Beaſts, all which you may ſee for a ſmall Matter beſtowed.

NUNCIATA, called, our Holy Mother.

There you ſhall ſee a great Devotion for Pilgrimage, in which Place there are ſo many Miracles done and ſeen, as that it is impoſſible for me to write of them all; only you ſhall ſee the true Signs and Tokens, as they ſay, of the Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Princes, and other great Perſons, who (through their ſtrange Faiths, and devout Prayers) have been helped and cured: This Nunciata hath alſo an excellent Hoſpital into which there are ſeldom taken any, but only ſuch as have Relation to the Duke's Court; which Hoſpital is a moſt pleaſant Place, where the Sick are attended with great Diligence, and provided with very ſweet and cleanly Bedding.

Then go out from thence through the ſtraight Street, and you ſhall ſee the Cathedral Church which is a rare Building, all of red and white Marble-ſtones, on which is a round Steeple, built ſo ſtraight that no Man would believe it to be ſo exceeding high; and on the Top is a golden Globe, or Ball, wherein myſelf, with eighteen Perſons more, have ſtood, and if they would ſit themſelves handſomely, there may well ſtand Twenty-four; hard by the ſaid Church is another great Tower, wherein is a Clock; the ſame Steeple or Tower is built from the Bottom to the Top, with Marble-ſtone, and gilt with divers Colours; it doth not touch the Church, but is built ſo, that one may go round about it. Right againſt the Church is a round Temple, called St. *John*, the *Florentine* Patron, which Temple hath three Doors, or Gates of Bell-metal, with exceeding fair raiſed Figures, and Hiſtories, and eſpecially there is caſt upon the ſame the whole Old Teſtament; they do confidently

dently affirm that the ſame does come from *Jeruſalem.*

Then, going towards your Lodging, the *Crown*, there is not far off the Church of St. *Laurentio*, wherein is buried Queen *Johanna* of *Auſtria*, the Emperor *Maximilian*'s Daughter, Wife to the great Duke *Coſmus*, together with her Children, where you ſhall ſee a wonderful fair Epitaph: By Reaſon of the Death of this great Princeſs, the poor People in the City were driven to an extreme Lamentation, and ſorrowful Bewailing, for they loſt a Mother of her; ſhe, having preſented unto her, from the Prince her Huſband yearly, Twelve-thouſand Crowns for a new Year's Gift, did not make Uſe thereof, for any Luſt or Pleaſure, but did diſtribute the ſame altogether, for God's Sake, to the ſaid Poor: In this Church are to be ſeen the Epitaphs of the Dukes of *Florence* and their Predeceſſors, as alſo an excellent *Bibliotheca* of Four-thouſand eight-hundred written Books in Parchment very fairly bound.

This City is built with ſtately Palaces and very fair Houſes; the Streets are wonderous fair, and paved all with four-ſquare Stones that no Filth or Uncleanneſs may abide thereon, and, though it rains much within one Quarter of an Hour, it is dry again. The City is alſo furniſhed with all Manner of Trades and Merchandiſes, and eſpecially with Silks, and coſtly rich Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, which are made there, comparable to which there are none in all *Italy*; there do alſo frequent a valiant Sort of Knights and Gentry which are employed in Service againſt the common Enemies the *Turks*; you ſhall alſo ſee there two very ſtrange Caſtles or Forts; the one lies on a plain Ground near the City Wall; the other on a high Hill upon the City; wherein are in Gariſon all *Spaniards*, it being ſo ordered by *Charles the Firſt*, Emperor, that the Duke *Coſmus* ſhould maintain only *Spaniards*; which is obſerved to this Day, and no other Nation may be entertained therein.

Here followeth the Way to *High Siena.*

From *Florence* to *Caſciano*, a little Town, eight Miles; from thence to *Barbatino*, four Miles; from thence to *Tavernelle*, a little Town, four Miles; from thence to *Poggioponzo*, a little Town, that lies under a Fort named *Poggis imperiale*, four Miles; from thence to *Staggia*, a little Town, four Miles; from thence to *High Siena* City, ſix Miles.

HIGH SIENA,

An exceeding fair City lying on a high Ground, faſtened in round about with ſtrong Walls; when you come into the City, lodge at the *Golden Angel*, where you will find good and ſtately Entertainment; and, if you deſire Horſes to *Rome*, you may have them at Return for a ſmall Matter, and thoſe that will bear your Charges, till you come to *Rome*; go to the Market-place, which is wide and fair, and a Water-cheſt, at the upper End; take a diligent View of that Water-cheſt; as you go along out of the Market-place, you ſhall perceive it like unto a *Jacob*'s Muſcle, by Reaſon of the red Bricks wherewith the Place is paved, and Pieces of white Marble Stone mingled amongſt them, that it doth naturally reſemble a Muſcle. Then go to the Head and principal Church called *Domo* or Cathedral, which is ſo richly built, that, in all *Italy*, is ſcarce the like, all of white and black Marble-ſtone within and without, and a Steeple like unto it, ſo that a Man may ſay, the whole Building is like a coſtly Jewel, by Reaſon of the pleaſant and rich Materials thereof: And therein you ſhall ſee all the Popes lively pictured, and the Church adorned with very fine Altars; and againſt the Church is an eſpecial fine Hoſpital, where the poor Pilgrims and other Strangers are harboured and entertained with good and wholſome Meat and Drink, ſweet Bedding, and other Neceſſaries, three Days and three Nights freely: There goes a great Charge and Expence thereupon, and, in Caſe the yearly Income will not ſerve, then the City muſt give Supply. The City is plentifully ſerved with all Manner of good Victuals; Partridges, Pheaſants, Hares, and all Sorts of Fowl, are to be had for a ſmall Matter; eſpecially, the Students, where they board, are very excellently well ſerved with all courteous and affable Behaviour. There is alſo exceeding good Wine, and fine Bread, the Wine, in Summer Time, being ſo cool, that a Man can ſcarce drink it, when they firſt bring it out of the Cellar, but it muſt ſtand a While.

There is not, in all *Italy*, ſpoke the Language more pure than in this City and thereabouts; the plain Country Swain delivers it as elegantly, as the chiefeſt in the City. And, above other Things, I may not forget to praiſe the exceeding Beauty and Well-favouredneſs of the Women Kind in this Place, being wonderous,

derous well fitted for kind and lovely Converſation, graced with comely Apparel, and, eſpecially, they are in General ſkilful in Riding, and do ſit well on Horſeback. You ſhall alſo ſee a brave Univerſity, frequented by all Nations, many noble Perſons living there, for their Learning's Sake, and more of the *Dutch* Nation, than any other. There is alſo juſt on the City a marvellous ſtrong Caſtle, or Fort, which the great Duke *Coſmus* cauſed to be built, as he had brought this City under his Power, and overthrown Lord *Peter Strozzi*; which Caſtle is ſufficiently furniſhed with great Ordnance and all Manner of Ammunition, againſt which, the Citizens cannot lightly rebel; the Gariſon is all of *Italian* Soldiers: And, let it rain never ſo faſt or long, it is dry again, throughout the whole City, within the Space of Half an Hour.

Hereafter follows the Way from High Siena *to* Rome.

From *Siena* to *Lucignano*, a little Town, ſix Miles; thence to *Buon Convent*, a little Town, five Miles; thence to *Vornieri*, a little Town, ſeven Miles; from thence you may ſee the exceeding ſtrong Fort, called *Monte Alcinoo*, three Miles; on the Side, when you come to *Tornieti*, do not lodge at the Sign of the *Stars*, but go a little further down to the *Half-Moon*, which is a better Lodging. From thence to *St. Quinco*, eight Miles; thence to *Alla Paglia*, an Inn, four Miles; thence to *Ponte Cintino*, a Market-town, eight Miles; when you ride from *Alla Paglia*, enquire if it hath not lately rained, before you paſs over the Water, for therein do lie hid great Stones, the Water oftentimes coming on a ſudden with ſuch Force, that it carries both Horſe and Man. From *Ponte Cintino* to *Aquapendente*, four Miles; before you come thither, you muſt paſs over a Bridge of Stone, which the Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* cauſed to be built. In this Town, you ſhall find moſt delicate, freſh, and cool Drink-water, and excellent good Wine and Lodging: It is alſo the Key of the Pope's Country. From *Aquapendente* to *St. Laurence*, five Miles: It is a fine little Town, where do grow marvellous pleaſant Wines, eſpecially the red Wine. From thence to *Bolſina*, a little Town, four Miles, where doth grow alſo exceeding good Wine, and it lies on the Sea Border: In this Sea do lie two Iſlands; on either is built a Church, the one is called *Santa Martana*, the other, *Verſontina*, wherein is interred the Body of St. *Chriſtma*. In this Sea are taken very good Fiſhes, Pike, Carp, and Eels. From thence to *Monteſiaſcon*, five Miles.

MONTEFIASCON.

This Town lies upon a Hill, formed like a Flaggon, from whence the Town is ſo called; there doth grow the beſt Muſcadine in all *Italy*; in which Wine, a certain Prelate drank himſelf to Death, and lies there buried, on whoſe Grave-Stone are cut theſe Words following:

Dominus meus mortuus eſt.

Which Epitaph his Servant made: He was ſent always by his Maſter before, when he travelled, for this End, to taſte the Wine in divers Places, and, where he found this good Muſcadine, he, on the Door wrote, *EST*, which was the Token for his Maſter to know that there was good Wine; and ſo, *Eſt*, as he eſpied the ſame written on the Doors, there he always lighted and renewed his Drinking, whereby he loſt his Life. From *Monteſiaſcon* to *Viterbo*, a City, eight Miles.

VITERBO.

This is an ancient City, pertaining to the Cardinal *Farneſio:* It is adorned with very fair and artificial Water-Works, worthy the Seeing: And, when you have taken Sight of this Place, my Advice is, to take you away out as you came in, and then ride, on your Right-hand hard by the Town Wall, to the Cardinal *Gambara*; thither you have three Miles, where you ſhall, by the ſaid Cardinal, be courteouſly entertained; for myſelf, with ſixteen other Gentlemen, certain Years paſt, went that Way, and the Cardinal, having Notice thereof, cauſed our Horſes to be taken and ſet in his Stables, and gave Orders to ſhew us into princely Chambers, to be lodged that Night; and, at Supper-time, we were all invited to a very rich Feaſt, the Banquet being ſerved all in rich Plate; on the Morrow, the Cardinal's Couſin led us into the Palace and Garden, to ſee the ſame, which is adorned with wonderful rare Water-Works, Statues, and growing Things, that are green Winter and Summer. And, as we were minded to take Horſe and depart, we were then again earneſtly intreated, and invited to a very coſtly Dinner, the ſaid Cardinal himſelf uſing us very graciouſly, and merrily deſiring of us, That, at ſuch Time as

we,

we ſhould arrive Home again into our own Countries, we would not omit to deſire (in his Behalf) any of our Friends, that ſhould have Occaſion to come that Way, that they would not paſs by his Houſe without Calling in, and then to accept of his poor Entertainment.

Now, as we were ready to depart, we agreed to beſtow twenty Crowns on his Servants, of which the Cardinal got Notice, and gave expreſs Charge, that, upon Pain of corporal Puniſhment, they ſhould not receive any Thing of us. From thence to *Caprarola*, which is a very excellent fair Palace, pertaining to Cardinal *Farneſio*, being from Cardinal *Gambara*'s Palace, ſeven Miles.

CAPRAROLA,

Is a wonderous ſtately Palace, thirty Miles from *Rome*, and not above two Miles out of the Way; very fairly built, four-ſquare; wherein are excellent brave Statues, and pleaſant Gardens, with curious and artificial Water-Works. When you go up, you ſhall ſee princely Lodgings, with all Manner of rich Hangings, and with Beds and Tables of precious Stone: And, when a Man goes into one Chamber (the ſame being left open) he ſhall look into five others, and ſee in four Corners twenty Rooms, ſtately furniſhed, eſpecially the Portraiture and Significator of the four Winds, as artificial, as is poſſible to be made: Give there ſomewhat to drink. From thence to *Monte Roſa*, a Market-town, three Miles; and, before you come to *Monte Roſa*, you may go through the Cardinal's Park, wherein are many Deer, and other ſtrange Beaſts: From thence to *Baccano*, an Inn, ſix Miles: There hath been, in Times paſt, dangerous Travelling that Way, when it was a Wood, the Banditti harbouring themſelves therein; it pertains to the Lord *Paulo Jordan* of *Bracciano*; which Wood he cauſed to be cut down, that ſo now there is ſafe Travelling the Place, being at this Time a pretty Market-town, and lies on a little Sea, wherein are excellent Fiſh. From thence to *Alla Storta*, a Market-town, eight Miles; from thence to *Rome* are ſeven Miles.

ROME, *which is called the Head City of the whole World.*

When you come to *Rome*, enquire for the *Black Bear*, or *Sword*, both which are Lodgings for Strangers, where you ſhall have good Entertainment, and be well uſed; but moſt commonly the chiefeſt Perſons lodge at the *Sword* on *Monte Giardano*, in *Italian*, *Alla Spaćta*. The Hoſt will order one or other to go with you to ſee the City; and my Advice is, if you deſire to ſee Things worthy your Notice, that you go firſt of all to the Caſtle in a Boat, or on Foot; for a Coach, you ſhall give not above a Crown and an Half for the whole Day.

ANGEL CASTLE.

And firſt you crave Licenſe of the Colonel, who will appoint one to head about; you may beſtow ſomething on him, and he is commonly one of the Soldiers in Gariſon: Then, leaving your Weapons in the Porter's Lodge, he will bring you up to the firſt Rampart, where are two Houſes of Artillery, full of excellent Armour, to arm about ſix-hundred Horſemen with Cuiraſſes, and one-thouſand Soldiers on Foot. Then go through the three Watch-towers upwards, where are very ſtately Chambers and Rooms, in which doth dwell the Colonel; hard by are two other Rooms, with Ammunition to arm twelve-hundred Muſqueteers: There deſire to ſee the Rope-ladder, with which the great *Roman* Gentleman, called *L. Cæſare Gaetano*, did let down himſelf from the Caſtle, and almoſt had clear eſcaped out of Priſon; the ſame Ladder lies in a Cheſt, ſtanding in a certain Room, where is a Fall-trap; and when they intend to diſpatch an Offender (ſome great Perſon) ſecretly they bring him into the ſaid Room, where, ſtepping unawares aſide, he doth ſuddenly fall down, moſt fearfully, upon ſharp iron Pricks and Saws, that cut him all in Pieces; you will wonder to ſee it. The foreſaid *L. Gaetano* had almoſt releaſed himſelf out of that Priſon, if the Governor's Boy (who helped him) had not forely fallen, which made him cry aloud; which the Sentinel no ſooner heard, but preſently raiſed the Watch, who got him, and brought him in again, and gave Notice thereof to the Pope; whereupon, the Pope gave Order to cut off the Nobleman's Head at Midnight following, and the Boy was hung out over the City Walls; let him alſo ſhew you the Priſon for great and noble Perſons, wherein is a pleaſant Bath; hard by which, is a ſecret Trap, to let one fall upon ſharp Irons; over-againſt that is a fair Chapel, wherein Maſs is celebrated; further, go upwards;

wards, where you ſhall ſee an Angel, made of white Marble-ſtone, preſenting this Signification: As, on a Time, Pope *Gregory the Firſt* went in Proceſſion, having the Picture of *Sancta Maria Ara Celi* in his Hands, and coming to this *Angel Caſtle*, he looked upwards, and ſaw an Angel ſtanding there, where this Angel of Marble-ſtone now ſtandeth, with a naked Sword in the one Hand, and, in the other, the Sheath; and when the Angel put the Sword into the Sheath, the Plague did preſently ceaſe, which had reigned a long Time before in the City. Hard by this Angel of Marble-ſtone, doth ſtand a wonderous great and high Ship-maſt, on which is hung a great Flag of Triumph, on a principal Feaſt-day, when, alſo, is rung a thundering Peal of great Ordnance. Hard by, do lie two Pieces, that carry ſeven *Italian* Miles. Then you go back again, through a narrow Gallery, where, on your Right-hand, is a Door, that leadeth to the Pope's Houſe of Victuals; and, a little beneath, another Door of Iron, that goes in where the Pope's Treaſure is, and the whole City's of *Rome*. Then give the Soldier, that went about with you, ſomething to drink, that his other Fellows may not ſee it, elſe he muſt part it with them. Then you come again to the Watch-gate, where the Weapons are given you; contribute ſomewhat amongſt you to beſtow upon them to drink, and then the Drummer ſtrikes up luſtily: And, when you come to the outmoſt Watch-gate, where are the Ancient, Lieutenant, and other Officers, beſtow ſomething on them, and ſo take your Leave. This Caſtle is, by Nature, ſo ſtrong, that, as yet, it was never gotten by any Enemy. It was firſt built for a *Mauſoleum* to the Emperor *Adrian*, a Place of Funeral; afterwards it was made a ſtrong Fort; there are, at this Time, raiſed about it five great and main Baſtions, or Ramparts; the City of *Rome* hath been ſeven Times overcome, but the Caſtle never: By the Caſtle, is a Church, called *Sant Tranſpontina*, wherein are two Pillars, on which, as they ſay, St. *Peter* and *Paul* were ſcourged; go a little further to St. *Peter*'s Place, near whereunto lies the Emperor's Ambaſſador, in a Church called St. *John*; where is a Table of white Marble-ſtone, on which our Saviour Chriſt was circumciſed, which was brought from *Jeruſalem* to *Rome*; this Stone ſhould have been carried further, to another Place (four Horſes drawing thereat) but, as it came to the Place where it is now, the Horſes would draw no more, notwithſtanding they were beaten ſo long, till they fell down and died; and, therefore, this Church was built there, in perpetual Honour and Memory, and it was lifted up, and laid on an Altar. Every Year, on *Good-Friday*, are celebrated their ſolemn Vigil, and there is made a fair Sepulchre. Within the *Angel Caſtle* are exceeding fair Palaces, wherein the Cardinals do keep their Courts; then go to St. *Peter*'s Palace, where you will ſee a marvellous great and high Pyramid, erected upon the Market-place, which Pope *Sixtus* V. cauſed to be tranſported thither, at the Charge of ſix-thouſand Crowns; and, beſides, did give three-thouſand Crowns to the Maſter that brought it thither, and erected it, and dubbed him a Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, from which Honour he receives a yearly Stipend.

The ſaid Pyramids, in Times paſt, did ſtand for *Julius Cæſar Auguſtus Circo*: And, in former Times, when an Emperor, or other great Potentate, died, they uſed to burn their Corpſe to Aſhes, and put them in a great golden Globe, and ſet that on the Top of the ſame, or ſuch like Pyramid; but the foreſaid Pope did take down the Globe that ſtood thereon, and, inſtead thereof, cauſed his own Arms to be ſet upon the ſame, for an everlaſting Remembrance. Then go forward to the Guard of the *Switzers*, where the Pope maintains two-hundred for his Guard, which are paid Monthly; and, if any of them gets a Son, and the Child is but eight Days old, then he hath his Duty-pay like his Father.

SANTO PETRO, the Pope's Palace, and Church.

Hard by the *Switzers* Guard, is the Pope's Palace; enquire firſt for the *Bibliotheca*, and, juſt as you come in, on your Right-hand, dwelleth the Gentleman that overſees the ſame; ſalute him, and he will appoint you one to go about, and open the Rooms, which are Seventy-one; then you ſhall ſee the moſt excellent Books, the World not yielding the like, and are all written. In the firſt Room, you ſhall ſee three Books, which *Virgil* did write, and are ſixteen-hundred Years old; you ſhall alſo ſee, in certain Cheſts, wonderful

derful excellent Books, eſpecially one, written with clear *Arabian* Gold; inſomuch that, in thoſe Days, there would be ſcarce Means found to write the like, in regard it is written, as if it were raiſed or caſt upon the Book.

There are worthy to be ſeen, alſo, the Rolls, or the Tables of *Moſes*, on which are written the ten Commandments, given from God; moreover, you ſhall ſee certain *Indian* Books, written with Barks of Trees, but not with Letters, only Figures; you ſhall ſee likewiſe, lying in Cheſts and Settles, many Books covered all with red Velvet, and with gold and ſilver Claſps; other Books, that have been former Popes Prayer-books: In another Room, you ſhall ſee an infinite Number of printed Books. Then, friendly taking Leave, beſtow ſomething to drink. Then go up into the Palace, and you ſhall ſee, in three moſt fair Galleries, whole *Europe* ſtately portrayed. And, in the uppermoſt Gallery, is excellently repreſented the Manner of Pope *Gregory the Firſt*'s Proceſſion; in which the Archangel, St. *Michael*, ſhewed himſelf to the Pope, ſtanding above in the Caſtle St. *Angelo*. When you come down again, aſk for the *Belvedere*, a marvellous fair Gallery, five-hundred Paces long; at the upper End of which, is an exceeding fair Statue of *Cleopatra*, well fitted for an artificial ſpringing Water-work. Go a little further, and there are certain Cheſts locked, wherein do lie ſuch excellent and principal artificial Statues, as the like cannot be ſeen in all *Rome*. Above the ſame, are other Rooms, wherein did dwell the Prince of *Gelder*'s Son, and alſo died there; but after what Sort, or what Death, I could never learn.

Then enquire for the Pope's Gardener, who will ſhew you wonderful ſtately Things, and will direct you how to come to the Pope's exceeding fair Gallery: Give him ſomething to drink. Then go back again through the Belvedere, and, when you are out of that, enquire where the Pope keeps his *Conſiſtorium* or Council, which is commonly every *Monday* and *Friday*, in the Mornings; and courteouſly ſaluting the Guard of *Switzers*, who are appointed there to attend, they will let you in, where you may ſee the Pope, with all his Cardinals, and how they kiſs his Feet. When you come out from thence, you ſhall ſee a wonderous fair Chapel, into which the Pope himſelf doth oftentimes reſort; and, before the ſame, is a ſtately Hall, in which you ſhall ſee, moſt curiouſly portrayed, the laſt Day of Judgment, wrought by that excellent artificial Painter, called *Michael Angelo Buonaretto*, a *Florentine*, whoſe like was not to be found. Then you ſhall go out of the Chapel, into the great Hall, named *La Sala Beale*, wherein the Pope gives Audience to Ambaſſadors or Orators, which is always done publickly, that every Man may hear, and is therefore called *Conſiſtorium publicum*. Then you ſhall go from the Hall, down a very ſtately Pair of Stairs; on the right Hand, there is a Door, through which they go into the Sacriſty, a Prelate having the Cuſtody thereof, he is called *Sacriſtano*; you muſt ask Leave of him to ſee the ſame. In this Sacriſty are kept the Pope's Robes, which he uſeth to ſay Maſs, and are forty ſeveral Pieces, each one worth thirty-thouſand Crowns, and, in particular, that which was preſented by the King of *Portugal*, to Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, which is valued at eighty-thouſand Crowns. Then go into the next Room, on the right Hand, where is a wooden Cheſt, in which is a golden Cup, wherewith the Pope celebrates Maſs, and many others, which I omit to write of: Only that Cup which the Great Duke *Coſmus* gave to Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, the Weight of which is twelve Ounces of Gold, the Cover ſet all over thick with Diamonds and Rubies; on the ſame is the Name *Jeſus*, ſet with Diamonds, the Length of a Finger: That Cup is of great Value; and in the ſame is a golden Spout, through which the Pope communicates, when he celebrates Maſs. Further you ſhall ſee certain Cheſts full of ſilver Candleſticks pertaining to the Altars, twelve Apoſtles in the Height of a Man, and perfuming Veſſels, and other rich Plate: Beſtow ſomewhat to drink. You may try to ſee the Pope's Chamber of Treaſure, but it is a very difficult Thing to get Leave; where are certain Cheſts, in every of which, is kept the Treaſure that each Pope did leave, ſhortly before their Deaths; it is not poſſible to be deſcribed. I had the Fortune to get in with a Princeſs great with Child, whereby I had a Sight thereof; you may courteouſly intreat the *L. Guarda Rabba* to help you in, which he may do if he pleaſes. After which you ſhall ſee the Pope's wonderous fair Gallery, which Pope *Gregory* cauſed

to be made, being adorned with incomparable ſtately Works of Painting of Figures, Pictures, and Hiſtories, all over gilded: This Gallery is three-hundred Paces long, and more, where the Pope does often recreate himſelf, walking up and down.

When you are out of this Gallery, you ſhall come into the Pope's firſt Chamber, where there is an excellent, great, and fair Looking-glaſs; afar off, a Man ſhall ſee a ſtately Palace or Caſtle, and, as you draw nearer unto it, you ſhall ſee therein the Pope as naturally as if he were preſent; after which, go under the Glaſs, and you ſhall ſee yourſelf, the Pope vaniſhing away. Go further, into the Pope's Chambers, wherein he lies, all which are hung with red Velvet, richly embroidered, golden Ridges and Tenter-hooks, and the Ground covered all with red Velvet. There is hard by a little Chapel, in which the Maſs is read when the Pope is ſickly: Then taking Leave, for Honour's Sake, offer ſome Reward, but nothing will be received; then go down again to the great Hall, and, if you will, go preſently into St. *Peter*'s Church, turn on the left Hand, and then you ſhall ſee the Place where St. *Peter* lay in Priſon.

The Church of St. *Peter*, hard by the Pope's Palace, is one of the ſeven head Churches.

When you come into the Church, there is, on your right Hand, a white walled Gate, called *la Porta Sancta*, which every twenty-five Years is beaten down by the Pope with a golden Hammer, and opened; then all the Cardinals do take that Hammer, and ſtrike thereupon, at which Time, many thouſand People, that came thither from far, do approach the ſaid *Porta* or Door, to get a Piece thereof, which they carry Home, and reſerve the ſame moſt warily, eſteeming the ſame for a ſacred Thing. Go forwards, and you ſhall ſee two Gates of Braſs, which, as they ſay, were brought from *Jeruſalem*. More inwards, there is, on your left Hand, an Altar, on which is laid before the People, to behold, the Head of St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle. Over-againſt that, on your right Hand, is laid upon an Altar the Spear wherewith the Side of our Bleſſed Saviour was pierced, and alſo the Spunge wherewith they gave him to drink, and alſo the holy Sweating-cloth of St. *Veronica*, all which are ſhewed the People on high Feaſt-days. Further, on the Midſt of the Church, on your left Hand, is an Altar named *Sanctum Sanctorum*, at which (when they carry the Pope down from his Palace, into the Chapel called *Capella Paulina*, where do lie buried half the Bodies of both the Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paul*) the Pope is ſet down, and doth his Devotion, which continues half an Hour.

Then go out into the Building, where, on your right Hand, is a marvellous fair Chapel, called *Gregoriana*, which Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* cauſed to be built, ſhortly before his Death, which coſt five-hundred-thouſand Crowns and more, as they affirm; and therein lies buried the Body of St. *Gregory the Firſt*, whom Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* cauſed to be tranſported thither out of another Church: And, afterwards, *Gregory the Thirteenth* was buried by him.

Right before this Chapel ſtands a Pillar, about which is made an iron Grate, where are done many Miracles; for they do ſay, for a certain Truth, that our Saviour *Chriſt* did uſe to lean on that Pillar at *Jeruſalem*, when he preached in the Temple. Againſt the ſame, you ſhall ſee an exceeding rich Tomb, in which Pope *Farneſius the Third* is buried, all of Bell-metal naturally. Right before the old Church, named *Capella Paulina*, are certain Marble-ſtone Pillars, which were brought from *Jeruſalem*. At the Altar in that Chapel, doth the Pope himſelf celebrate Maſs on high Feaſt-days, if he be not indiſpoſed; and, under the ſame Pillar, lies the other half Part of the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*: Moreover, in the new Building, are four Chapels, one of which Pope *Gregory* cauſed to be finiſhed before his Death; the other three ſhould have been finiſhed by the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the King of *France*; but, hitherto, there is not one of them finiſhed. This Pope is reſolved, as they ſay, to accompliſh the ſame, together with the new Building of St. *Peter*'s, which is ſo incomparable a Building, that in the univerſal World cannot be found the like: Before you depart from St. *Peter*'s Church, deſire to ſee the Pope's Stable, wherein are thirty ſnow-white Nags or Hacknies, and a milk-white Aſs, on which the Pope uſes to ride; and, for a ſmall Reward, they will make ready one of the ſame, trim-

trimmed and furniſhed, as if the Pope were ready to ride thereon, wonderful ſtately.

Every Year, on St. *Peter*'s Day, doth the King of *Spain*'s Orator preſent the Pope with ſuch a white Nag; and when, on that Day, the Pope is carried from his Palace to the Church, there ſtands his ſaid Majeſty's Orator ready with the Nag before the Church-Door, until his Holineſs is near; then they ſtand ſtill with the Pope, who gives his Bleſſing, and preſently the white Nag falls down on both his fore Knees before the Pope; and then they carry his Holineſs into the Church, and the ſaid Orator delivers the Nag to the Pope's Steward, with a red velvet Purſe, which it carries about his Neck, wherein are twelve-thouſand Crowns for a yearly Tribute.

Then go from St. *Peter*'s to *Campo Santo*, where the *Dutch* Nation have their Church, and you ſhall ſee a Ground incompaſſed with a little Wall four-ſquare, which Ground, as they credibly affirm, was brought from *Jeruſalem* in the four Pillars of Bell-metal, which ſtand before the Altar at St. *John Lateran*: They ſay, if a Pilgrim be buried in that Church-yard, being a *Roman*, he cannot conſume or decay; but any other Nation, in twenty-four Hours, are quite conſumed; which is daily to be ſeen, and much wondered at. This *Campo Santo* is an Hoſpital, ordained by Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*, where are fed, every Dinner-time, thirteen Pilgrims, of which a great Number do aſſemble themſelves every Morning, ſtanding ring-wiſe; out of them the Prieſt ſelects thirteen, and brings them into a fair Room, and places one of them, as reſembling our Saviour, in the Midſt, and on each Side, ſix others, who are excellently well ſerved at a long Table, ſignifying the twelve Apoſtles.

The whole Dinner-time, a Prieſt doth read out of the Holy Writ, at the Table, two other Miniſters attending, to fill Wine, and to ſet Meat in Order; and, when they are ſatisfied, Hand-Water is given them, and thoſe that deſire Bread to carry with them, do receive it; and then, with Thanks, they take their Leave. Then go further, if you be inclined to go to *Santo Spirito*, an Hoſpital, and enquire for Cardinal *Ceſius*'s Palace, which hath wonderful fair Rooms, richly furniſhed, and adorned with brave Statues.

SANT SPIRITO, an Hoſpital, made by the Pope.

When you come in, you ſhall ſee right out before, on both Sides, three-hundred Beds ſtanding, all hung with very fair Curtains, the Bedſteads carved, Night-gowns, Pantables, and other Neceſſaries in Order placed by every Bed. So ſoon as a ſick Body comes thither (for none are refuſed) he is ſet on a Bench, until the Doctors and Surgeons are brought to him, with the Apothecaries, by whom the Sick are viſited; he is preſently accepted, his Bedding appointed, and immediately a clean ſweet Shirt is given him; his Cloaths are laid up, till he recovers, or dies; and, as ſoon as the ſick Perſon is any whit amended, they give him another Lodging, where he is well attended fourteen Days, and more, until he be well recovered. In this Hoſpital are thirty Perſons always maintained, only to give diligent Attendance on the Sick that reſort thither.

In the Midſt you ſhall ſee as many Beds, as in the Room you came in at; and there is an Altar and Tabernacle, where Maſs is read to the Sick, every Morning; both Sides are hung with Arras in Winter-time, in Summer with gilded Leather, from the Ground to the Top. There are continually found, in this Hoſpital, above three-thouſand Perſons, as, Children, Nurſes, Widows, and other poor People, that are there maintained. This Hoſpital, as is credibly reported, hath had every Year, Income, more than two-hundred Thouſand Crowns; but the Popes of late have taken it away, ſo that the yearly Revenue now is one Million ſeven-hundred thouſand Crowns. Then go further to ſee the fair Spittal, which is a very pleaſant Building, adorned with ſtately Pillars; in which Building an Emperor may not be aſhamed to keep his Court: It is as big as a reaſonable Town.

Now, having ſeen the whole Caſtle, I would adviſe you to hire a Coach, and ſo, in Order, to take a View of the moſt principal Things in the Churches, as followeth:

When you go out of the Gate *Sant Spiritus*, look behind you on the left Hand, and you ſhall ſee that wonderful ſwift River, the *Tiber*, which runs through the City, and alſo the *Veſtigia*, on which the Bridge *Trionfal* did ſtand, as the *Romiſh* Emperor went from the

Vatican in all State and Pomp over the ſame; and from thence to *Campo Doglio*, where doth ſtand the *Senato Romano*, or Council-houſe. Further, you will ſee, from the *Porta Santo Spirito*, towards the *Angel*-Caſtle, an excellent fair Street; go through the ſame, and on your right Hand, at the Foot of a Hill, called *Monte Johan Nicolo* (where the Emperor *Julius Ceſar* had his *Circus*, and the *Pyramis*, which is on St. *Peter*'s Place) where at that Time was a Monaſtery, named *Honofro*, pertaining to the Cardinal *Madrazi*.

Go forwards through the Gate, and on the right Hand you ſhall ſee, right againſt the Hill, a Monaſtery, named *St. Petri Montorio*, where is built a Chapel, like a round Temple, very pleaſant to behold; go down from thence, and there is an Altar, and two Pillars of marble Stone, between which, as they certainly affirm, St. *Peter* the Apoſtle was martyred and crucified; from thence you may plainly behold the whole City of *Rome*. Then go back to St. *Maria Traſtevere*, where are wonderous brave Columns, and an ancient Church: Under the great Altar is a Place, where was a Spring of very coſtly Oil at the Time when our Saviour *Chriſt* was born; after whoſe Birth the Spring did loſe itſelf, and ceaſed, and therefore the Church was built on that Place. Further, go towards the two Bridges; one of which, named *Inſula*, is faſtened in with clear white Marble-ſtone, naturally reſembling a great Ship, wherein doth ſtand in the Midſt a *Pyramis*, named *Ponte de quatro Capi:* Go over the Bridge towards the *Jews* Town, and you ſhall ſee on your left Hand an Antiquater, which was, in Times paſt, *Theatrum Marcelli*; it is, on the one Side, as yet unruinated. Then inquire for *Santa Maria del Portino*, wherein you ſhall ſee, behind the great Altar, a Pillar that ſhines and lights like a Torch Day and Night, which ſhould have been tranſferred to St. *Peter*'s, but, this being ſo ancient a Church, the Pope, without Breaking the Orders, may not take it away. Not far from thence is *Pontius Pilate*'s Palace, built of red Bricks, being, in thoſe Days, a curious fine Work; it is almoſt altogether ruinated, and no Man can ſafely dwell therein, by Reaſon of continual Hurly-burlies, or terrible Appearances. Over-againſt the ſame, you ſhall ſee two ancient Temples, the one long-wiſe, called the Temple of the *Sun*, the other round the Temple of the *Moon*, built in Time paſt in Honour of the Planets; they are much decayed, by Reaſon of bad Weather and long Standing.

Go further, and ſee the mighty great Hill, *Monte Palatino*, which is one of the ſeven Hills of *Rome*; underneath, hard by a Church, you ſhall ſee a great Marble-ſtone, round like a Mill-ſtone, having two Eyes, a Noſe, and a wide Mouth, named *La Bocca della Verita*, in *Engliſh*, *The Mouth of Truth*; for, in thoſe Days, the People uſed to run thither to inquire after unknown Things, as, Complaining of Adultery, or ſuch like; the Party ſuſpected, putting his Finger into that Mouth, did ſwear his Innocence; and he or ſhe that did ſwear falſly, the Mouth did bite off his Finger: *Credat qui volet.*

The Church, on which this Stone doth lean, is very ancient, and in which St. *Auguſtine* kept School: Go alſo further, and you may look into the *Tiber*, where, in Time paſt, did ſtand the Bridge, named *Pons Supplicum*, upon which that valiant *Roman*, *Horatio Cocles*, did fight, and alone withſtood the *Tuſcans* ſo long, till the Bridge fell down behind him; whereby the City of *Rome* was preſerved; he himſelf, with his Horſe, leaping over the Bridge into the River, was ſaved, having thereby manfully overcome the Enemy.

Go towards St. *Paul*, on your Right-hand, and you ſhall ſee a great Hill, raiſed up only with Potſheards, and other ſtrange Earth; for, as, on a Time, the Emperor would tax the World, he did deſire that from every Part thereof each one ſhould bring him for a Tribute a Pot full of Earth to that Place; and ſo the Hill was made, as aforeſaid. In the Time of Pope *Pius the Fourth*, they did uſe now and then to ſet up Pales and Rails on that Ground, and gave ſome rich Prize to be won; then brought wild Buffaloes and Bulls, on which they hung Powder and Squibs, ſetting them on Fire, when they would run amongſt other Buffaloes, making them furious; and then the *Romans* would take each of them a Pale, and he, that ſhould overcome and kill one of thoſe Buffaloes, did receive a Prize.

Then go to St. *Paolo alla Porta*, where doth ſtand an ancient Pyramid, half Part of which is built within the City, and half without. In the Wall is a Tomb twelve-hundred Years old; and they ſay, that the firſt Pope of *Rome* lies buried there. Go further towards the Gate through a long Street, and you ſhall ſee by the Way a little Church by which St. *Peter* ſhewed himſelf, as St. *Paul* was led out to ſuffer and to die, and there St. *Peter* took his Leave of him; you may read on the Wall of the Church, in what moſt pitiful Manner the two Apoſtles departed, inſomuch as whoſo doth read it can ſcarce forbear Weeping.

St. *PAUL's*,

Is a mighty great Church, built by the Emperor *Conſtantine*, in Honour of St. *Paul's* Head, which was found there at that Time; without the Church are four holy Gates, which every twenty-five Years are once opened: When you come into the Church, on your Right-hand, is an Altar, which was a Well when St. *Paul* was beheaded, and before the Church was built, into which Well thoſe that had Compaſſion of *Paul* did caſt his Head, which being found, the Church was there built: Take a View of the Church, which is adorned with forty-eight mighty great Marble-ſtone Pillars, of all Manner of Colours, curiouſly wrought; ſo great and high, that the like are not to be ſeen in all *Rome*.

In the Midſt of the Church, you ſhall ſee a Chapel, wherein Queen *Bridget* of *Sweden* did uſe to do her Devotion: Right againſt that Chapel ſtands a Crucifix, and Queen *Bridget* had a little Window in the Chapel, thro' which ſhe might ſee the Crucifix, where ſhe did her Devotion with ſuch Fervency, that the Crucifix turned, and looked towards the Window, and ſtands ſo to this Day; and there are great Indulgences and Pardons for Sins, to be obtained every Year, by ſuch as do heartily and unfeignedly deſire the ſame. Above the great Altar do lie buried three innocent Children, which were ſlain by *Herod's* Command. There are alſo ſeven Altars privileged; ſo that, if any Perſon be loth to go as far as St. *Peter's*, they may here have as many Indulgences and Pardons for their Sins, as they can have at St. *Peter's*, Then enquire for the Sacriſtan, and he will lead you into the Sacriſty, and ſhew you the Relicks upon the Altar; he will ſhew you the Arm of St. *Arma*, our dear loving Mother, with Skin and Bone, through a Window of Chryſtal; the Arm is faſtened in with Silver, which I myſelf have touched. Further you ſhall ſee the Chain in which St. *Paul* was bound in Priſon, which Chain, if any Man puts it about his Neck, he ſhall never, all the Days of his Life, be fettered in iron Chains, nor impriſoned, as they ſay. There are alſo many other Relicks, as, the Water wherewith Chriſt was baptiſed; certain Stones wherewith St. *Stephen* was ſtoned; and alſo half the Corpſes of *Peter* and *Paul*.

At that Time, when *Charles the Fifth*, Emperor, was at *Rome*, he defired the Pope to grant him a Requeſt which he would aſk, promiſing, that he would deſire neither Land, nor Money, nor any Thing that was worth Money. The Pope demanding what it was, the Emperor ſaid, he did only crave one of the Links of St. *Paul's* Chain; but the Pope gave him no more than half a Link, as is this Day to be ſeen, the other half Part remaining yet on the Chain. Beſtow ſomething then to drink. Afterwards go towards the three Fountains. There was St. *Paul* beheaded, whoſe Head being ſtruck off, it leaped three Times, as they ſay, and at every Leap it called *Jeſus*; and preſently after there ſprung up three Springs, which are now compaſſed about very pleaſantly; and by each one doth hang a copper little Pan, out of which the People uſe to drink; there ſtands a Table by the ſame, on which is written, Whoſo drinks out of thoſe Springs, ſhall attain everlaſting Salvation. The *Romans* do run thither barefoot in the Morning early to drink; before you come to the three Wells, you ſhall ſee a Hill, on which there have been ſlain, by the tyrannical Emperor's Command, one-hundred-ſeventy-four-thouſand Martyrs; then go from the three Fountains towards *Sebaſtian's*, which is one of the ſeven principal Churches.

St. *SEBASTIAN's*.

This Church ſtands in the Way-ſide without *Rome*, called *Appia*, whither is a continual Reſort of a wonderful Number of Pilgrims, eſpecially in the Time of *Lent*; hard by a Place called *Catatumbæ*, is a Well wherein did lie ſecretly hid the Bodies of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, as they ſay, two-hundred and fifty Years before

fore any Body could know what was become of them; on the ſame is built an Altar with eſpecial Privileges, at which Interceſſion is made for the afflicted Souls, that, as yet, are detained in Purgatory.

Then deſire a Prieſt to go with you that hath a Torch lighted, leſt you loſe yourſelves in the Grotto or Vault, under which lies buried *Calixtus*, with one-hundred eighty-ſix-thouſand Martyrs. And in your Going out you ſhall ſee an Altar under which *Sebaſtian* lies buried. The Prieſt will let you ſee divers other Relicks; as, the Meaſure and Form, the Length and Bigneſs of our Saviour's Feet, which he left on the Hill at his holy Aſcenſion: Then go towards the City again by the Way of *Appia*, where you ſhall come to a Chapel, by which two Ways do part: And there did St. *Peter* meet our Saviour, and ſaid, *Whither wilt thou go?* Our Saviour anſwered, *I am come for thy Sake, and to be crucified again.* Preſently after our Saviour vaniſhed away, and St. *Peter* went into the City of *Rome*, where he was very ſhortly after caſt into Priſon, and put to Death.

THERMÆ ANTONINÆ.

Theſe *Thermæ* have been Baths which the Emperor *Conſtantine* cauſed to be built at an infinite Coſt, and admirable Curioſity, the Water being led unto them twenty-ſeven *Italian* Miles.

St. *STEFFAN REDONDO.*

This was in Times paſt a heatheniſh Temple, pertaining to the *Hungarian* Nation, but ſince coſtly built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, whereinare moſt excellently drawn and portrayed the Death and Tortures of all ſuch Martyrs as have ſuffered ſince the Birth and Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, and under what Tyrants they were perſecuted.

This Temple, in former Times, was named *Pantheum*, by Reaſon all the Gods were preſented and honoured there; now there are many reformed *Jews* baptiſed therein, as you may ſee oftentimes: Then go towards *John de Lateran*, where heretofore the Popes have had their Reſidence.

JOHN LATERAN.

One of the ſeven capital Churches: When you go towards the Church, you ſhall ſee on your Right-hand a little Court, where doth ſtand a ſtone Pillar of *Perfida*, on which the Cock did ſtand and crow thrice, before *Peter* denied our Saviour Chriſt: There is alſo a Temple, wherein are very ſtately Pillars, and, in the Midſt, is a little Cheſt, made over a ſtone Kettle, out of which the Emperor *Conſtantine* was chriſtened, who was the firſt Chriſtian Emperor. Then go forwards, and enquire for the Sacriſtan of St. *John*; he will go before you with two burning Torches, and ſhew you a Chapel underneath the Church, which is never opened but on great Holidays; if you ſalute him courteouſly, he will open it for you. Therein is a Table, at which our Saviour Chriſt did ſit with his Apoſtles, at the Inſtitution of the holy Sacrament; it is of Wood four-ſquare; you ſhall ſee alſo the Staff with which *Moſes* parted the *Red Sea*, and led the Children of *Iſrael* through it; alſo the Staff of *Aaron*, wherewith he governed the Epiſcopal State; then go out of the Church, and you ſhall ſee a Chair of Stone; and, they ſay, when a Pope is to be choſen, they ſet him on the ſame (being hollow) to ſee, whether he be fitted as a Man; hard by the ſame is a holy Gate, which is opened once in twenty-five Years: The Cieling of this Church is overgilded with pure Gold. By the great Altar are four Pillars of Bell-Metal, exceeding fair, which were brought from *Jeruſalem*, filled with holy Earth, for they are hollow, and moſt curiouſly wrought. There are alſo ſhewed to the People, on great Holidays, the Heads of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, laid upon the Altar; they are yet freſh to behold with Skin and Hair, as if they were living. In this Church are many other Relicks and holy Things, of which I omit to write: It was built by the Emperor *Conſtantine*, and is very ſtately, and is adorned with Pillars of Marble-ſtone, of all Sorts of Colours.

Then go into the Cloiſters, where doth ſtand a Table of Stone upon four Pillars, under which every Man or Woman, that comes thither, do meaſure themſelves; but there was never any Perſon yet found, that was juſt of that Height; it was, as they ſay, the exact Stature of our Saviour Chriſt. Further, there are three open Doors and Gates, which have ſtood in *Herod*'s Palace at *Jeruſalem*, through which our Bleſſed Saviour went, as he was condemned to die: Moreover, above, in the Gallery, over two fair half Pillars, doth lie a Beam, whereon is written, *Et petræ ſciſſæ*

ſunt,

ſunt, as in the Text is mentioned, 'The Stones 'clave in ſunder, and the Vail did rend;' from whence the two half Pillars of Marble-ſtone are cloven ſo neatly aſunder, that it is not poſſible, by the Art and Diligence of Man, to do it more cleanly; they are alſo very curiouſly wrought; over-againſt that, is a little Window, wherein the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* did ſit, as the Angel *Gabriel* brought her the Salutation from God; hard by, are a Pair of Stairs, and it is forbidden, under Puniſhment of loſing Body and Goods, that no Man muſt preſume to go up and down the ſame on his Feet, but on his Knees; there are thirty-two Stairs, over which our Saviour Chriſt went with *Simon*, as he was led to be martyred, and, upon thoſe Stairs, did drop bloody Sweat, as a Man may ſee perfectly to this Day. Hard by the ſame, are other Stairs, and, when you are half the Way up, go on your left Hand, and you ſhall come to a Chapel, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where, upon the great Altar, is the Face of our Saviour Chriſt, which St. *Luke* pictured. In this Chapel, is a Piece of Wood faſtened into the Wall, being a Piece of *Noah*'s Ark, which was brought thither. Then go to the *Holy Croſs* in *Jeruſalem*, as they call it, which is one of the Seven Churches, and governed by Cardinal *Caraffa*.

HOLY CROSS.

When you come into this Church, aſk for the Sacriſtan, who will ſhew you a little Glaſs, wherein is kept, as they ſay, the Milk of the Mother of God, beſides many other Relicks. Alſo the Cardinal hath the Key to a Nail, that was ſtruck through a Foot of our Saviour Chriſt; alſo three Thorns of the Crown, that pierced his Holy Head; likewiſe the Title, which *Pilate* writ on the Holy Croſs, in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. There you ſhall go down, under the Altar, where the Cardinal hath the Cuſtody of many Holy Relicks.

Then go to St. *Laurence*, lying without the City Walls, which is one of the Seven Churches.

St. LAURENCE.

St. *Laurence*'s Church doth ſtand a Mile from the Place where his Corpſe was buried. The Stone, on which he was broiled, is yet to be ſeen bloody and fatty, as it did drop upon the ſame, and no Man can wipe it out: There is alſo a Piece of the Gridiron, upon which he was broiled; and here lies St. *Stephen* buried, and certain Stones are there to be ſeen, wherewith he was ſtoned, and there is a great *Indulgentia*.

St. MARIA MAGGIOR, one of the Seven Churches.

When you go to this moſt fair excellent Church, on the Outſide about, you will wonder to ſee the admirable coſtly Entry, built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*: You ſhall alſo ſee one of the ſeven Holy Gates, which is but once opened in twenty-five Years. Then go from thence, to *John Lateran*, which Church is adorned with fair Tombs; on the Stile, where the Chapel doth ſtand, there are alſo very ſtately Columns, and the Roof thereof is very richly painted, and over-gilt: There is, on the right Side, by the great Altar, a very fair Chapel, built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*; and, juſt thereby, is a mighty Pyramid erected, which is like to that at St. *Peter*'s. This Chapel is alſo like to that where Pope *Gregory* lies buried, which he cauſed to be built; but this did *Sixtus the Fifth* build, who lies there buried. The ſaid Pyramid, in former Time, did lie a long While in the Street St. *Rocha*, parted in three Parts; and Pope *Sixtus* cauſed them to be conveyed into his Chapel. There have been two of theſe Pyramids, which were erected in the *Mauſoleum* of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, hard by his Tomb; but, as *Rome* was devaſted, they were ruined. The *Mauſoleum* yet is very delightful to behold, wherein doth dwell a *Roman*, by whom, a Man may learn the Particulars thereof: In the Church *Maria Maggior*, you ſhall ſee the Manger, wherein our Bleſſed Saviour did lie at *Bethlehem*, together with many other Relicks, which the Sacriſtan may ſhew you; otherwiſe, they are to be ſeen only on great Holidays. In the Choir, is a fair Epitaph and Tomb of Pope *Nicholas the Fourth*, which is wonderous ſtately and admirable, richly adorned: Before the Choir, on the left Hand, is an Altar, under which St. *Jerome* lies buried. When you go out of the Church, on the right Hand, you ſhall ſee an Altar, on which is written the original Cauſe of the Building of the Church; namely, there were two married Perſons, that had no Children,

Children, and were ſo rich, that they knew not what to do therewith; in the twelfth Night, in the Month of *Auguſt*, they dreamed, that they ſhould ariſe before Day, and go up towards that Hill, where it had ſnowed, and there they ſhould build a Temple; which they did accordingly, and began to dig, with their own Hands; and the Pope came, juſt at that Inſtant, with his Servants, with Intent, as he had alſo dreamed, to build a Temple there; and, therefore, it is yet the Cuſtom, every Year, on the Twelfth of *Auguſt*, for a Memorial, to ſolemniſe a great Feaſt; and, from the Top of the Church, they let fall certain Things, ſeeming as if it did ſnow. When you will go back again through the Church, towards the Holy Gate, you ſhall ſee another Church, named *Santa Potentiana*; therein is half a Pillar of green Marble-ſtone to be ſeen through a Grate, on which our Bleſſed Saviour, *Chriſt Jeſus*, was whipped. In this Church are two Wells, wherein the two Siſters, St. *Praxedis* and *Potentiana*, did uſe to drop the Blood of the Martyrs, which they took up with a Spunge: Then go back again, through St. *Maria Maggior*, and, as you go down the Hill on your right Hand, there the Pope did viſit, on a Time, the Seven Churches: As he came by Cardinal *de Monte Alto*'s Garden, he enquired whoſe fair and pleaſant Palace that was; Anſwer was made, The Cardinal *de Monte Alto*'s. After which, Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* did weaken his Revenue, *per Annum*, by four thouſand Crowns; which Cardinal was afterwards Pope, and named *Sixtus Quintus*. Over-againſt the ſame, you ſhall ſee an ancient Church, called *Pancratio*, where, on a Time, a Prieſt did ſay Maſs, and did doubt, that it was no Sacrament, and that our Saviour Chriſt was not in *Oſtia*; and it chanced, as they ſay, that it fell out of his Hand, on a Point of the Corner of the Altar, being a white Marble-ſtone, on which the *Oſtia* left the Print thereof; juſt as big, as it was from the Corner, it fell upon a Stair, on which likewiſe it left the Print thereof, and the Form very naturally, only the Print did change itſelf into a blood red Colour.

Then go further to St. *Maria de Monte*, where is as frequent a Pilgrimage, as at *Maria Loretto*; in the Place where this Church doth ſtands, there ſtood, in former Time, a Barn, and it was intended to have built a Houſe there; and, as they began to dig, there was heard a mighty Oracle, and therefore they digged more ſoftly, where then was found the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*; which being made known to the Pope, he went and fetched the ſame with a ſolemn Proceſſion, and it is kept ſtill in Honour of the Bleſſed Virgin; wherefore, Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* cauſed, on the Place, a Church to be built at his own Charges. This Church is built all of Marble-ſtone, moſt cunningly; and, in eſpecial, the great Altar, where the Picture, that was found, is moſt richly adorned. In the ſaid Church, do hang divers Tables, wherein is noted the Miracles which, in former Times, have been done there, and yet daily are done; thoſe, therefore, that go in Pilgrimage thither, and do pray with a ſtrong and certain Hope, are heard, and their Suits obtained, as you yourſelves may thereby be truly aſſured. There are daily *Indulgentia plenaria* and Remiſſion of Sins: Then go to St. *Peter in Vinculo*.

St. PETER *in* VINCULO.

In this Church you ſhall ſee an excellent Epitaph and Tomb of Pope *Leo the Second*, which is an incomparable Piece of Work, and all of white Marble-ſtone, and Alabaſter; there is a Statue of *Moſes*, the Heighth of two Men, of one intire Piece, and alſo other fair Statues; the Monks can ſhew you many Holy Relicks, together with the Chain with which St. *Peter* was fettered in Priſon: Without in the Cloiſters, it is very pleaſant Winter and Summer, being planted with Orange-trees, and in the Midſt a mighty Date-tree, like to which there are none found, neither in *Rome*, nor in all *Italy*; the Monaſtery is alſo ſituated wonderous pleaſant, being a Building ſo well fitted, that the Pope might conveniently keep his Court therein.

Over-againſt that, is the Palace of the Lord *George Cæſarini Urſini*, which is ſo rare and excellent a Building as is wonderful to behold.

The Palace of Lord GEORGE URSINI *together with the Garden.*

The Overſeer of the ſame was in my Time a *Low-country* Man; he will ſhew you ſuch exceeding fair Rooms, and Chambers, as the like are ſcarce to be ſeen any where elſe, adorned with ſtately Arras all of Cloth of Gold, and Tiſſue; Tables of precious Stone, and Beds richly

richly furniſhed beyond Compariſon; Statues and Pictures portrayed ſo naturally, as that the Beholders are enticed to embrace them in their Arms, falling in Love with them, they ſeeming laughing and living Creatures. Deſire to ſee the hindmoſt Room, where the Noble-man hath the oldeſt Pieces of Work made three or four-hundred Years ſince, and other rare Things whereof I omit to write; there is alſo pictured the Tower of *Babylon* on a ſquare Piece, which coſt above ten-thouſand Crowns. This Noble-man is of the ancient *Roman* Race; his Lady is the Daughter of Cardinal *Farneſius*, ſo beautiful that, in *Rome*, ſhe may not be compared; you ſhall ſee two very excellent fair Gardens, graced with admirable Pictures, and Statues: Beſtow a little to drink. Go from thence as if you would go towards your Lodging, and enquire for the Cardinal of *Florence*'s Houſe, where you ſhall ſee a moſt excellent fair Palace, but little: It is wholly to be compared to a fair Jewel; you muſt intreat the Keeper thereof, not to with-hold any Thing from your Sight, promiſing him a Reward, and then he will ſhew you orderly one Thing after another, as Rooms, Chambers, and Gardens, ſet forth and adorned with Arras of Gold and Tiſſue, wonderous fair Statues, and Tables of precious Stone. In Sum, every Particular as rich and coſtly as may be deviſed: Alſo, in the Garden, a Cage wherein are all Kinds of Birds making ſweet Harmony, divers rare Water-works, and plentifully planted with Cypreſs-trees, yielding a Savour ſo admirable ſweet, as the Body therewith may be raviſhed. There are alſo mighty great Vaults under Ground, wherein they uſed to dine and ſup in Summer-time, by Reaſon of the extraordinary Heat, which are adorned with rare Pictures, Statues, and Hiſtories, the Place in former Time being a waſte and ruined Ground, and decayed Wall, fallen from the Temple of *Peace*; which ſtands juſt behind the ſame, being of a great Antiquity, built by the old *Roman* Emperors, after *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, thereby to ſignify that they had no Need to maintain Wars, for they thought there was no Nation in the World, that durſt War againſt them; the Building is ſo ſtrong a Work, that it was intended, it ſhould remain as long as the World ſtood; but, as our Saviour Chriſt was born, the ſaid Temple fell, and yet, every *Chriſtmas* Night, there falls a great Piece from the ſame.

COLUMNA TRAJANA.

When you deſire to go up to this mighty great Pillars, you muſt call to the Stone-cutter, that dwells over-againſt the ſame, who hath the Key thereto: But he will have ſomething to drink, before he openeth the ſame.

They ſay, that this Pillar was built by the Emperor *Trajan*, after he had won *Jeruſalem*, in Memory of his Victory, all of white Marble-ſtone, wherein are engraved orderly all the Battles and Victories, which he hath had: A Man may aſcend up to the Top of this Pillar in the Inſide one-hundred and eighty-ſix Stairs high, the Stone-work being ſo orderly laid upon the other that one, would verily think the whole Pillar was but one intire Stone. I will give you Warning of one Thing, when you come up: Sit and reſt, before you look up to the Top of the Pillar, or before you go round about it on the Outſide, for I myſelf, unawares, was almoſt dizzied and ready to fall; from this Column you may ſee over the whole City; then you may go towards the other Pillar, called, *Columna Antoniniana*.

COLUMNA ANTONINIANA.

This Pillar is like unto the other, built by the Emperor *Antoninus*, after his obtained Victories, in perpetual Memory: Part of this Pillar fell down, by reaſon whereof no Man could go up theſe many Years; but the Pope, that was laſt, hath cauſed the ſame to be well repaired, and now they go up thereunto: Then go preſently to the Street, named, *de Popolo*, where the Cardinal *Ferdinando de Meditis* (he that is now Great Duke of *Florence*) hath an exceeding fair and ſtately Palace, and Garden of Pleaſure: This Palace lies on an Hill, named *Monte Trinitatis*: Firſt ſhall be ſhewn you the Hall, wherein, you ſhall ſee mighty ſquare Pieces of Stone, and, by the Window, is a Water-ſpout erected ſo high, that a Man may waſh his Hands, ſtanding in the Gallery above; and from thence alſo you may look over the City of *Rome*: Then go from the Hall into the ſixteen Chambers, or Rooms, where you ſhall always look out of them into the others, if the Doors ſtand open; which Rooms are ſo richly adorned and furniſhed with Arras of wrought Gold and Silver, as no Emperor, or Pope, hath the like; and, as the Walls are hung, ſo are the Beds dreſſed accordingly: The Rooms are graced with rare

Tables of precious Stone, and Oriental Pearl ſet therein, and alſo with brave Statues and Pictures: You ſhall ſee on a Table a little Temple, and, when a Man puts his Head into it, he ſhall think it were a Church of a Mile in Compaſs, having certain hundred Pillars, the Proſpective Looking-glaſs therein cauſing the ſame: You ſhall ſee, in one of the Rooms, a very fair Sphere, fitted for Aſtrology, which the Great Duke *Coſmus* did uſe: Then go up the Stairs, where are alſo exceeding ſtately Rooms, adorned with mighty Statues, coſtly Arras and Tables, and excellent rare Pictures: There is a Looking-glaſs, in which (ſtanding a little Space from it) you ſhall ſee plainly the City of *High Siena*, together with the Manner of the Beſieging it; and, when you draw nearer unto it, you ſhall ſee the Great Duke naturally as if living; but, when you come juſt to it, you behold yourſelf only and alone; then going out of the Palace, on your left Hand, you ſhall ſee two Lions, an Eagle, a Leopard, and other ſtrange Beaſts; when you go a little further, you ſhall ſee a Tower ſtanding at the End of the Garden, on the old City Wall, where a Man may go out of, and into the City, when he pleaſes; ſuch a Privilege hath never any Man had in *Rome*, but only this Cardinal; for, as he was reſolved to build a Palace there, he ſhewed his Grievance to the Senators of the City, namely, that, the Place being altogether a Hill, it would be an infinite Charge to bring it into a Plain; neither did he know whither all that Earth ſhould be conveyed, that would be taken from the Hill; and, therefore, he obtained Leave of the Pope to break a Hole through the City Wall to carry the Earth conveniently away, and to make a Door to open and ſhut, at Pleaſure; they thought he ſhould have enjoyed the Conveniency of that Door, no longer than the Time of his Building, but he was too crafty for them, the Door remaining there to this Day. Go a little further, and there is a Stone Pit, where are very rare Statues made and repaired; for, what Antiquity ſoever the Cardinal can have for Money, that he buyeth to adorn and furniſh the ſaid Palace: Not far from thence, the Cardinal cauſed a Hill to be made, and one-hundred and fifty Stairs to go up; on the Top, is built an excellent pleaſant Summer-Houſe with many rare green and fruitful Trees, compaſſing the ſame, in which Houſe he uſes to dine and ſup, when the Weather is hot; there is, hard by the Table, a Freſh-water Cheſt to cool his Wine in; from that Place you may overlook the whole City of *Rome*. The Hill is overgrown from the Bottom to the Top with Cypreſs Trees, which is as pleaſant a Proſpect as Man can imagine: The Garden is adorned with ſuch and ſo many artificial and rare Water-Works, Plants, and Statues, as would drive a Man to admire; and, in Truth, the like is in all *Rome* not to be ſeen. The Cardinal, on a Time, invited certain Noblemen to a Supper in that Garden, the Drink only to which Supper did coſt ſixty-thouſand Crowns; judge then what the whole Feaſt did coſt. The Compaſs of the Garden is two *Italian* Miles, and very broad. Then do not neglect to go to the Garden of a certain Knight, named *Nero*; where is built a little Palace, but wonderous ſtately, and a Room made all of Chryſtal Glaſs. Then go out of the Gate *del Popolo*, about half a Mile from *Rome*, where is the rare and pleaſant Garden of Pope *Julius the Second*, wherein are excellent artificial Water-Works; and there is a Palace glorioufly adorned with rare Antiquities and Statues, of the oldeſt and beſt in all *Rome*.

PALATIO FARNESIO.

If this Palace had been finiſhed, it were the biggeſt, faireſt, and ſtrongeſt of all others in *Rome*, with wonderful high Rooms, which the Pope, *Paulus Farneſius*, cauſed to be built: Go in on the right Hand under the Vault, and there dwells the Overſeer that hath the Key; he will ſhew you every Thing in Order; beſtow ſomething upon him to drink: And, firſt, you ſhall ſee a mighty great Hall, the Sight of which will make you wonder, by reaſon of the great Height, the Ceiling being cunningly raiſed beyond Compariſon, all of Cypreſs Wood: In this Hall is a long Table of Oriental Marble-ſtone and Alabaſter, ſet with Pearl, *Lapis Lazuli*, and other coſtly Stones, which the Cardinal would not part with for eighty-thouſand Crowns: Then go into the other Rooms, which are all royally furniſhed; and in the firſt Room are the ancienteſt Emperors naturally portrayed; therein is alſo an Idol, which the *Romans* (Heatheniſh opiniated) did adore: In this Room are three great Tables of Oriental Alabaſter, ſet with divers other precious Stones, gliſtering like a burning Torch; before this Room on the right Hand,

Hand is a little Chapel, and upon the Altar a wonderful fair Square, painted by that famous Artiſan *Michael Angelo*, a *Florentine*, and thereon, the Laſt Day of Judgment, ſo exquiſitely and cunningly, that no where the like may be found; beſtow to drink: Go then down again into the Court-Yard, where you ſhall ſee ſix mighty Statues, made by two perfect cunning Maſters, for a great Wager, namely, two *Commodi Imperatores*, two *Dea Flora's*, and two *Hercoli*, worthy of each experienced Beholder, which of them are made moſt cunningly. Not far from thence you ſhall come into another Court, and there is a mighty Ox, and three Statues; a Dog, a Shepherd, and a Concubine, nigh as if they were alive there preſent: Theſe ſaid Pieces are made of one whole intire white Marble-ſtone, which is an admirable Piece of Work, touching the Particulars whereof there were much to be written; but the Hiſtories will largely declare the ſame, which are to be found in the Emperor *Antoninus's Thermæ*, having ſtood there alſo on a Time, which Pope *Paulus Farneſius* cauſed to be brought into this Place aforeſaid. A little further, you ſhall ſee two mighty great Kettles of Stone, which did ſtand alſo in the ſaid *Thermæ*: Go over-againſt that Place, and take a View of a Biſhop's Palace, wherein are wonderous fair Statues.

The Palace of the Biſhops of Valencia *in* Spain.

There, in the firſt Room above, ſtands a mighty fair Statue, named *Apollo*, exceeding old, and yet no whit at all decayed, of Oriental Alabaſter; the ſaid Biſhop was offered, by the Cardinal *de Medicis*, twenty-four Thouſand Crowns for the ſame; but the Biſhop would not take it. Then go over *Campo de Fiore*, where Cardinal *Farneſius* dwells.

Palatium FARNESII.

This is an extraordinary fair Building, four-ſquare below and above, with mighty Columns and Pillars; the like are not in all *Rome*; and alſo wonderful fair Galleries four-ſquare about. And, when you go up the Stairs, there ſtand two mighty *Dea Flora's*, of Marble-ſtone, at which you will much wonder; whoſo can carry them away, may keep them. In this Palace is a fair Church, which many People paſs by unknown, and without ſeeing it; for it is built like to the Palace; therein is an Arm of the Saint from whom the Church is named. Take a Sight of the Cardinal's Stable, wherein are, moſt commonly, above an hundred and fifty brave Horſes.

The Jeſuits *Church, which the Cardinal built at his own Charge.*

This is a marvellous ſtately Temple, covered all over with Copper, exceeding high, great, and wide. In the Choir ſtands an Altar, which, together with the Tabernacle, did coſt about thirty-thouſand Crowns, with very fair and ſtately Pillars of Marble-ſtone. Alſo, the Cardinal cauſed, for forty-thouſand Crowns, Gold Coin or Pence to be made, and alſo ſome of Silver and Braſs, on which were ſtamped his Picture: The ſame he laid, with his own Hands, for a Foundation; and afterwards ſuch of his Friends, as he had heretofore invited, did the like, for an everlaſting Memory. The Building of this Temple continued five Years, all upon the Cardinal's Coſt and Charges. They affirm, that this Temple coſt a certain Ton of Gold the Building: One Ton of Gold is reckoned at twenty-thouſand Pounds Sterling.

Then go right out threugh the ſtraight Street, and you ſhall come to the *Campodoglio*.

CAMPODOGLIO, or the Romans *Council-houſe.*

In this *Campodoglio*, or *Capitolium*, did the *Romans* uſed to ſit in Council; it was afterwards made a ſtrong Caſtle, being in the Time of War devaſted, but repaired again by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, and adorned with a fair Clock-tower. Go into the Court, and up an exceeding ſtately Pair of Stairs, before which are two great Horſes of Marble-ſtone; and another above, in the Court, of Bell-metal, on which ſits the Emperor *Adrian*, all over gilded with pure Ducat-gold. Go into another Court, and there lies a Head on the Ground, which is made very perfectly; it pertains to the Head named *Campodoglino*; it was in Times paſt a Statue, ſtanding there for an Ornament, and it ſhall be erected again in like Manner as it hath been. Many have laid Wagers, that the Face is not a Man's Length, but, being meaſured, it is longer; whereby one may gueſs how great the whole Body hath been, and how much the Erecting thereof coſt. Go further, and you ſhall behold wonderful excellent Hiſtories and Statues; then go beyond, where they ſit in Council, where are

ſtately Statues and glorious Pictures, and in what Manner the *Roman* Emperors in Triumph have gone through the Gate, when they returned Home with laudable Victories. You ſhall ſee alſo rare Antiquities. Beſtow ſomething to drink. Then go right over-againſt the *Campodoglio*, into the Church, named *Maria Ara Cœli*.

Santa MARIA Ara Cœli.

This is a very ancient Church, over-againſt which are Stairs an hundred and forty-two Steps high, on which you may overlook all *Rome*; when you come into the Church, you ſhall ſee the Cieling all over gilded with pure Ducat-gold; there are wonderful brave and ſtately great Pillars, all of Marble-ſtone; there is an Altar hard by the Choir, where you ſhall ſee, upon a white Marble-ſtone, two Prints of Feet, left by the Angel *Michael*, in the *Angel*-Caſtle, when he put up the naked Sword, and preſently vaniſhed. Not far from thence, before the Church was built, did St. *Hieronymus* (as they ſay) ſhew unto the Emperor *Conſtantine* the Virgin *Mary*, with the Child *Jeſus* in her Arms; which was there alſo ſeen in the Air; whereby the Emperor came to the Acknowledgment of the Chriſtian Faith, and from whence the Church was named, and built by the ſaid Emperor *Conſtantine*. Go afterwards out of that Church down the Stairs; there is a Place, called *Capo Vacchino*, where was made a Bridge, in Times paſt, from the *Campodoglio*, over to the Palace *Maggior*, where do ſtand three Marble-ſtone Pillars, one by another, over which the Bridge was made. By the ſaid three Pillars, *Marcus Curtius*, with his Horſe, did leap down.

MARCUS CURTIUS.

They do conſtantly affirm, that by theſe three Columns, in former Times, was a mighty and ugly Hole, which, for the Space of a long Time, did yield a very noiſome Smoke and Stink; and, whoſoever did ſmell the ſame, he fell ſuddenly down, and died. And although they did oftentimes attempt, by caſting into the Hole many Things, to choak it up, yet nothing did help, nor hinder the filthy Savour thereof. But, on a Time, there was heard a Voice, that came out of that Hole, ſaying, The Hole would not be ſhut up, nor the noiſome Scent be aſſwaged, unleſs a *Roman* did leap thereinto with a Horſe.

Now, as *Marcus Curtius* (being a *Roman* of noble Parentage and Spirit) did underſtand the ſame, he made Offer to the Senate of the City, that (ſince the Welfare of the City, and his Native Country, depended thereon) he would venture his Life for the common Good, and with his Horſe leap down, provided that one Suit might be firſt granted unto him; namely, that, for the Space of one whole Year, he might have free Liberty to accompliſh his Luſt, and Deſire, with fair and beautiful Women, and Virgins, and that none, whom he ſhould take Liking of, might be denied him; which Requeſt was granted him by the *Roman* Senate; ſo after the Year was ended, wherein he enjoyed what his Heart could wiſh, he mounted on Horſeback, and leaped into that helliſh fiery Pit, which inſtantly did cloſe of its own Accord, and thereby that Miſchief was ceaſed. Right over-againſt the ſame, did ſtand the Houſe of *Cicero*, where, as yet, you may ſee the old Walls thereof; when you go from the *Campodoglio*, you ſhall ſee a Port of Triumph, which the *Roman* Senate cauſed to be made for *Veſpaſian* the Emperor, as he came from *Jeruſalem*, to *Rome*, through which he rid in moſt magnificent State.

Over-againſt the ſame, you ſhall ſee the Temples of the *Planets* near together.

The TEMPLES of the PLANETS.

There are Seven of thoſe Temples built by *Pontius Pilate*'s Houſe, in Honour of the Planets, but now they are devaſted. And not far from them, there is built another Temple, called *De la Pace*, or Temple of *Peace*, which fell in as *Veſpaſian* came from *Jeruſalem*, and every *Chriſtmas* ſince the Birth of Chriſt, there hath fallen, and yet, as they ſay, a great Piece doth yearly fall from the ſame. Then go towards the *Amphitheatrum Veſpaſiani*; you muſt paſs through a Triumph-port; before the ſame without, there is an old decayed Wall, where formerly the People did uſe to ſee the Spectacles in the *Circus*, and out of which Wall did always run Wine, of which the Spectators did drink as much as they liſted. This *Amphitheatrum* was built by the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, in which may ſit conveniently and well accommodated 50,000 Perſons, to behold the rare Spectacles: The Emperor himſelf, in this Place, did overcome, and ſlew in Fight, with his own Hands, one-hundred wild and furious Beaſts, in one Afternoon; but he fought only

only with one at once, and one after another.

Right before the ſame you ſhall ſee a wonderous fair Gate of Triumph which the Emperor cauſed to be built, through which he went in magnificent Pomp. Then go to the *Thermæ Dioclefiani*, where are the ſeven Halls, coming into which you ſhall ſee on each Side ſeven Halls, where, in former Time, the Emperor *Adrian* had his Palace, and dwelt there; it is ſomewhat dangerous to venture into the ſaid Halls, being under Ground, for ſome have periſhed therein; then go the next Way, to the *Thermæ*.

THERMÆ DIOCLESIANI.

Theſe were built by the Emperor only for Baths. They do write that no Emperor, ſince, hath been of Ability to build the like, containing ſo great a Circuit, and adorned with ſo many Columns and Pillars of Braſs. The Baths being furniſhed with moſt ſtately and rich Beds, and all other Neceſſaries beyond all Compariſon. Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth* hath transferred this Building to an Hoſpital; in which do ſtand eight mighty Pillars of Marble-ſtone, each one ſo big, that Men can ſcarce fathom it about; in Height they are ninety Feet; over-againſt the ſame, is a ſweet and pleaſant Garden, wherein are divers memorable Things to be ſeen. Then go to *Monte Cavallo*, where is the marvellous fair Palace, and Garden of the Cardinal *Carpi*, now the Pope's; if you deſire to ſee the ſame, addreſs yourſelf to the Gardener, who will ſhew you every Particular in Order, the Palace being ſet out with admirable fair Rooms, and Chambers, richly adorned with Tables of preeious Stone, and Hangings of wrought Gold and Silver; in the Garden are many ſtrange Antiquities, moſt delightful to behold.

The Palace and Garden, are ſituated on a high Hill, and yet have Water plentifully: Give ſomething to drink.

The Pope's Palace and Garden, which was formerly the Cardinals of ESTE.

You ſhall firſt ſee the Garden which is marvellous ſpacious, three *Italian* Miles; the ſame is full of rare and coſtly Fruits, like to which are none in all *Italy*, beſides many Antiquities therein to be ſeen; in this Garden doth the Pope oftentimes dine and ſup; let them ſhew you the rare Fountain, which has admirable and pleaſant Spring-water. Then go to the Grotto *Sibylla*, which is an incomparable pleaſant Place, adorned with mighty fair Statues, giving Water from them; juſt over this Vault or Grotto, the Pope hath his Chambers and Dwelling: This Palace was built by Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, much larger, and the Rooms more richly adorned, intending to have the *Conſiſtorium* kept therein, and not to go always ſo far as St. *Peter's*; but he lived not ſo long as to finiſh it; the next Pope did accompliſh it with Water-works, in ſuch Sort, as it is to be admired how it was poſſible to lead the Water up ſo high: In the Garden, a Man may take a moſt pleaſant View of the whole City.

MONTE CAVALLO.

There you ſhall ſee two mighty Horſes of white Marble-ſtone, made of one intire Stone, as natural, as if they were living, inſomuch that, in all *Europe*, may not be found the like. Theſe Horſes did ſtand in the *Thermæ Dioclefiani*, on which two famous Maſters, that made them, did ſtrive to ſhew their Skill; a Particular, worthy to be noted. Not far from thence is a Smelting-houſe, and hard by, a Horſe caſt of Bell-metal, wonderful artificially, with the King of *France* ſitting thereon, named *Henry*, moſt naturally, and were he living, the ſame ſhould have been ſent into *France*. The City is built round about with ſtrong Walls, and mighty Towers, ſtanding near one another. The City of *Rome* is in Compaſs about above five *Dutch* Miles.

Hereafter follows what is to be ſeen without Rome.

TIVOLI, a Palace and Garden, three Dutch *Miles from* Rome.

This is a marvellous ſtately Palace: The Keeper of it is a Gardener; you ſhall ſee therein admirable rich furniſhed Rooms, hung with Cloth of Gold and Silver, and the Beds adorned correſpondently: Therein are alſo excellent fair Statues, and Tables of precious Stone ſet with Oriental Pearl: In the great Hall is an artificial Water-Cheſt; when the Cardinal, in Summer-Time, doth dine in the ſame, the Whole is made pleaſing cold, by the Spirting of Water out of the ſaid Water-Cheſt, from whence alſo, the Wine ſtanding on the Table is quickened: The particular Situation of the whole City of *Rome*, and the pleaſant

Proſpect

Proſpect thereof, doth preſent itſelf fully to the Spectators in this great Hall: Then you may go down from the Palace into the Garden, where you ſhall be led into a Vault, or Grotto, where you ſhall ſee a terrible Downfall of Water, from whence all the other artificial Water-Works have their Motions. Then you ſhall be led to a Place, where you ſhall hear the Organs play melodiouſly, as if an artificial Maſter did play thereon; but the Motion is derived from the Water-ſpouts, continually ſpirting as long as the Organs do ſound, the Water being ſpouted higher than the Tops of the Spouts, at leaſt the Height of ſix tall Men: Go a little further, and you ſhall ſee a Dragon with four Heads, ſpouting Water the Height of ſix Men, with ſo great a Noiſe, as if many Muſquets were continually diſcharged, the Water being of ſo black a Colour, that it reſembleth an ugly Smoke, fearful to behold: Then you ſhall ſee the Grotto, named *Sibylla*, full of admirable Antiquities and Statues: The Grotto, both above on the Ceiling, and all over on the Sides, is richly adorned with Oriental Coral, and Mother of Pearl: A little further you ſhall ſee the Temples of the *Seven Planets*, naturally reſembling thoſe which formerly ſtood in *Rome*; they are not very big, but ſtanding exceeding pleaſant, the one hard by the other: Not far from thence is an artificial Water-Work, which being let go, the Birds do ſing, ſitting upon Twigs, ſo naturally, as one would verily think they were all quick and living Birds, which is occaſioned by the Water; and, when they are in the Midſt of their beſt Singing, then comes an Owl flying, and the Birds ſuddenly, all at once, are ſtill; then go a little further, and you ſhall ſee twenty-four ſquare Stones, like Cheſts, having on each Side Spouts, ſpirting Water one againſt another; and, when the Sun doth ſhine thereinto, the Spouts and Water do give a natural Rainbow, notwithſtanding the Weather be clear; which is a very great Wonder, and, whoſo doth ſee it, would ſwear it were a natural Rainbow indeed: Hard by are two excellent fine Labyrinths, remaining green Winter and Summer: Beſtow ſomething to drink, and then return to *Rome* again.

Hereafter follows the Way from Rome *to* Naples.

From *Rome* to *Torre a Mezavia*, an Inn, ſix Miles; from thence to *Marina*, a little Town, ſix Miles; from thence to *Velletri*, a pleaſant Town, where is made much boiled Wine (take Heed of it) eight Miles; thence to *Ciſterna*, a little Town, pertaining to the Cardinal *Sermoneta*, ſix Miles; from thence to *Sermoneta* (lying very pleaſant on a Hill, a fine Town, and ſtrong Fort, from whence they ring a brave Peal of Ordnance, when they underſtand that ſome Perſon of Note paſſes by; you muſt travel hard by the ſame; the Emperor *Charles the Firſt* did write with his own Hand, and on the Altar, the Year and Day of his being there, but none of his Soldiers were ſuffered to go up) ſeven Miles; from *Sermoneta* to *Caſa Nova*, a good Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Ala Badia*, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Terracina*, a Town of the Pope's, and there ends the Pope's Juriſdiction, nine Miles; thence to *Fordi*, a little Town (but, before you come thither, there is, by the Way, a ſtrong Watch kept, being *Neapolitans*, who will make Search what each Traveller carries with him) it is named *Alla Portella*, ſix Miles; when they ſearch you, take that Courſe which is uſual at the Places of Cuſtom, or at the Gates, *viz.* greaſe one of them in the Hand with a Bribe, and they will preſently diſmiſs you. From *Fondi* to *Molla*, a great Market-town, lying hard by the Sea, where is exceeding good Wine, and admirable cool freſh Water; you may, in Summer-time, dine and ſup in a Garden, under Citron and Orange Trees; you may pluck of them as many as you pleaſe; there are excellent good Fiſh alſo, free for every Man to take.

Then go right over-againſt that, and enquire for the mighty ſtrong Fort, named *Gaeta*; it is about Half a Mile thither.

GAETA, a CASTLE.

This is the Key of the Kingdom of *Naples*; in the ſame do lie *Spaniards* in Gariſon, and, hard thereby, lies a little Town juſt on the Sea-ſide; when you go into the Fort, carry yourſelf courteouſly towards the Watch, promiſing a Reward; there you ſhall ſee a Fort ſo ſtrong, as is not ſufficiently to be expreſſed: In the ſame, are the faireſt Women by Nature, that are in all *Italy*, being of a moſt courteous and friendly Behaviour. From *Molla* to *Corgliano*, an Inn, where you muſt paſs over a great Water, nine Miles; from thence to *Alla Bagni*, or to the Gates, an Inn, eight Miles; thence to *Caſtella*, a little Town, nine Miles; from thence thence to *Pozzuolo*, a little Town on the

the Sea Coaſt (if you will go into it, you muſt leave your Swords with the Porter in the Gate) then to an Inn, eighteen Miles from *Caſtella.*

Pozzuolo, *where have been the Baths.*

Pozzuolo is a very ancient Town, and, in former Times, it hath been a mighty and famous City, but devaſted; you may there enquire for one to go with you into the Grotto, with a Torch, where you ſhall ſee the *Cento Camerelle*, in *Engliſh*, the *Hundred Chambers*, wherein the Propheteſs *Sibylla* did dwell, and had her Command; the ſame are over-grown with a Hill; when you go a little further, there is a warm Water (you muſt take Heed you go not far one from another, leſt you loſe yourſelves) you muſt bow yourſelves in going, by reaſon of the great Heat and Damps of the Baths; under the ſame Grotto have been moſt excellent Baths, fitted for to cure all Manner of Diſeaſes and by each one was ſet a Bill, ſignifying the Vertue thereof, according to which, every Perſon knew how to rule himſelf, and bathe therein.

But, on a Time, (by reaſon that the Sick and Diſeaſed Perſons had no Need of the Phyſicians Help, but did all of them reſort to theſe Baths) certain Doctors of *Salerno*, Phyſicians, that dwelt thirty Miles from *Naples*, conſulted together how to remove the Cauſe that took away their Gain and Profit; and they went together, and, in ſecret-wiſe, did take away the Bills that were written and ſet on the Baths, inſomuch that now no Man knows the right Vertue of them, or what Diſeaſes they are good for; and, as the ſaid Phyſicians returned Home again, a great Tempeſt on the Sea overwhelmed the Ships, and they were all drowned. Then go alſo without, up the Hill, where you ſhall hear a Roaring and Tumbling very fearful to be heard, and there runs the Water out ſo warm, that one may ſeethe Eggs therein; hard by, you ſhall ſee the Fire and Smoke come out of the Hill, very fearful to behold, much reſembling Hell itſelf, as may be imagined; there is alſo a Mine of Brimſtone, and, hard by the ſame, two terrible ſtinking Holes, which are called *Muffletti*, from whence ariſes poiſoned Air, and, therefore, no Man dare venture to go near thereunto, unleſs he will endanger his Life; if a Man doth lay a Dog, or other Beaſt therein, it dies immediately, but caſt it preſently into the Water, hard by the ſame, and it revives in a Moment; which is every Day tried by Strangers, and found true: Then go towards *Naples*, and you ſhall come by the Way to *Virgil*'s Grotto, through which you muſt go, Half a Mile long; and, when you are out, look upwards, and you ſhall ſee a mighty Grave-ſtone, faſtened into the Wall, in which lies *Virgil* buried; the common Saying is, That he built that Grotto in one Night, through the Hill, by the Help of his familiar Ghoſts.

N A P L E S.

When you come into this famous City, enquire for the *Black Eagle*; the Hoſt is a *Dutchman*, who will appoint one to go about, and ſhew you what is to be ſeen. Firſt, go to the Palace of the Viceroy, which is a very fair Building; without, before the ſame, do watch, Day and Night, a Company of *Spaniſh* Soldiers; every Evening, they march up and down with flying Colours: Then go into the Palace, and up the Stairs, and you ſhall ſee the *Dutch* Guard-watch; they are one-hundred, ſuited all alike, and are maintained by the Viceroy. Then go up into the Hall on your Left-hand, where you ſhall ſee a very fair Chapel; in this Hall, the Viceroy doth give Audience every *Thurſday*: There are wonderous fair Rooms in this Palace, and a moſt pleaſant Garden, and, therein, a fair Tennis-Court; out of this Garden, the Viceroy can go ſecretly into the Palace; by reaſon of which, the Strangers are not permitted to go into it: Not far from the Palace, is an exceeding well armed Houſe of Artillery, wherein two-hundred Gallies and Galleaſſes have Room more than ſufficient, and may be made in the ſame. This City ordinarily doth maintain, at their own proper Coſts and Charges only, to attend the Approach of the Enemy, two-hundred Gallies.

Then go to *Monte Pizze Falcon*, a Hill, on which there is a fair Palace, with a delicate pleaſant Garden; right over againſt which is the ſtrong Caſtle and Fort, named *Ovo*; it is alſo built on a Rock where the Palace doth ſtand; but it is cut off from the ſame, ſo that the Sea ſurrounds the Fort, and lies now in the Water like an Iſland: Then go towards the Water-Work before the City, named *Porro Real*, from whence all the Conduits in the City have their Original; it is alſo led into the Wells, a Thing moſt worthy to be ſeen and noted: Then go back again towards the *Porta Capuan.*

Capuan, where is a mighty fair Palace, which, in former Times, was the City's Fort, but now the City Council is kept therein: Therein is alſo the Priſon, in which are moſt commonly eight-thouſand Perſons; this Palace is called the *Vicary:* Go over-againſt the ſame, into the Church, called *Johan Carbonar*; there the *French* Kings have had their Funerals, who, in Times paſt, did govern and reign in that Kingdom; you ſhall ſee exceeding fine Epitaphs and Tombs, adorned with rich Stone, and other curious Works, ſo ſtately, as you have not ſeen the like, alſo with Statues and Pictures.

HOSPITAL NUNCIATA.

This is a wonderous fair Hoſpital, wherein are continually a great Number of Sick attended. Every Nation is there entertained and accepted; each one has a clean Bed, with all Neceſſaries and Attendance, as if he were at Home in his own Houſe, until he recovers, all *gratis*, which is at *Rome* in St. *Spirito*. So ſoon as one is received, he muſt preſently make his Confeſſion, and then take the Communion. Thereby, is a very fair Church and Steeple, appertaining to the Hoſpital. Then go towards the Church St. *Clara*, built by the *French* Kings.

Therein, are many excellent fair Altars and Tombs: A little further, you ſhall ſee a very fair Monaſtery, named *Monte Oliveto*, wherein are wonderous rich Epitaphs; all the Monks therein are of noble Deſcent, of the Order of *Carthuſians*.

The principal Palaces in Naples *are theſe following.*

The Palace of the Prince of *Layena*; Palace of the Prince of *Calabria*; Palace of the Prince of *Scala Siciliano*; Palace of the Prince of *Salerno*; the Palace of the Prince of *Biſignano*; this excepted, all the reſt are there always reſident.

CASTLE NOVO.

This Caſtle is a wonderous Fort, built firſt by the *French* Kings, lying hard by the Sea, provided and furniſhed with mighty great Towers, Baſtions, and very fair Ordnance, and there lie in Gariſon two-hundred *Spaniſh* Soldiers; therein are very fair Habitations, inhabited with all Manner of Tradeſmen.

When you come into the Fort, you ſhall ſee, right over-againſt the Court, lying a great iron Bullet, under an iron Gate, which was ſhût at that Time, as they refuſed to yield to the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*; for, although the *Spaniards* had almoſt got in the Fort, yet, nevertheleſs, the *French* defended themſelves valiantly. When you come into the Court, you ſhall ſee, on your left Hand, certain Stairs, under which is erected a Statue of Marble-ſtone, of a *Frenchman*, who, on the ſaid Stairs, with his two-handed Sword, killed forty *Spaniards*, as is confirmed, before they could get up. By this Caſtle, is a lower ſtanding in the Sea, as in an Iſland, wherein, at that Time, *Frenchmen* lay; and, after the *Spaniards* had got the Fort, they could not overcome this Tower, until they had granted, that the *French*, with Bag and Baggage, might, in Safety, depart. This Fort hath fine mighty Towers, ſtrong Walls, and deep Ditches.

Then go towards the Caſtle *Ovo*.

OVO, a Caſtle.

This was alſo built by the *French*, and hath the Name derived from the Rock whereon it ſtands, which is like an Egg: which Rock is cut off from the other, that lies againſt it, *Monte Pizze Falcon*. This is a mighty ſtrong Fort, and a great Defence to the City, furniſhed with brave Ordnance and Ammunition; there lie ſixty *Spaniſh* Soldiers, that continually dwell therein. Then go over-againſt the ſame, up the Hill, where is a mighty ſtrong Fort, named St. *Helmo*; how the ſame was built, and from whence it hath the Original, you ſhall read as followeth.

St. HELMO, a Caſtle.

This hath the Original, as touching the Building thereof, from the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*; for, as he rid on a Morning to take the Air, he came through the Street, named *Capuana*, where the Mayor and Aldermen have a Place railed about, and do therein aſſemble themſelves, and, in publick, hold Council, named *Sedia Capuana*. Now, as the Emperor came thereinto, and ſaw the Arms of the City pictured, and two white Horſes thereby, without Bits and Bridles, as it were flying, and freely ranging about, the Emperor demanded what they ſignified; Anſwer

ſwer was made, That, as free and unbridled, as the Horſe, were they alſo in the City. Whereupon, the Emperor immediately contrived to build this mighty ſtrong Fort on the Hill, thereby to lay both Bit and Bridle in the Horſes Mouths, that they ſhould not run whither they liſted: For, by Reaſon of this Fort, the *Neapolitans* are bridled, that they dare not riſe in Rebellion. This ſtrong Fort is ſo well provided and furniſhed with Ammunition and great Ordnance, and ſituated, that it is almoſt invincible, unleſs Treachery be amongſt themſelves. There is not one Palace in the City, that hath not a Piece of Ordnance aimed thereat from the Fort; and, if any in the ſame do but begin to mutiny, it is, in the Twinkling of an Eye, battered down. In this Fort, are two-hundred and fifty *Spaniſh* Soldiers, which do watch, and have their Dwelling therein. And, although the City ſhould be gotten and won, yet no Enemy could remain therein, by Reaſon of this Fort, from whence each living Creature would be deſtroyed.

There is not, in all *Italy*, a greater Pomp in Riding, nor fairer Horſes, than in *Naples*; and no where ſo many Princes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, riding up and down the Streets, in brave Attire, almoſt the whole Day, attended with many Servants, in fair Liveries and Suits; alſo an excellent Haven on the Sea, where the great Ships and Gallies do lie. This City is alſo provided with all Sorts of Merchandiſes, eſpecially ſilk Wares; and there is daily ſuch great Dealing, as, in other Places, in the Time of Fairs. This famous City is alſo very great and ſpacious, always ſtored with the beſt and coſtlieſt Wines, and all other Neceſſaries plentifully are to be had. There is one Street, named *Lagrudeca*; therein are above five-hundred Shops, furniſhed with nothing but new and old Apparel, to be ſold. *Laſtly*, This City is ſtrengthened about with mighty Walls and Ramparts.

Hereafter follows the Way from Naples *to* Malta, *by Water and Land; but I would adviſe you, rather to travel by Water; nevertheleſs, I will deſcribe both Ways.*

From *Naples* to *Terre del Grecho*, ſix Miles; thence to *Barbarona* Village, ſeven Miles; thence to *Salerno* City, nine Miles; thence to *Taberna Pinta* Inn, ten Miles; thence to *Benola* Village, eight Miles; thence to *Ducheſta* Inn, nine Miles; thence to *Coletta*, a little Town, ten Miles; thence to *Salla* Village, ſeven Miles; thence to *Caſal Nuova* Village, nine Miles; thence to *Rovero Negro* Village, ten Miles; thence to *Caſtelluchia*, a little Town, nine Miles; thence to *Valle Santo Martino* Village, ſix Miles; thence to *Caſtoro Villore*, a Village, nine Miles; from thence to *Cſaro* Village, ſeven Miles; thence to *Regina* Inn, ten Miles; thence to *Conſenza*, a Town of great Traffick, eſpecially for rough Silk, twelve Miles; thence to *Capofreddo*, a Village, ſeven Miles; thence to *Martorano*, a great Hamlet, ſix Miles; thence to St. *Biaſto*, a Market-town, ſix Miles; thence to *Alaque Fiche* Inn, ſeven Miles; thence to *Monte Leone*, a little Town, nine Miles; thence to *Salo Petra*, a Market-town, eight Miles; thence to *Roſſa* Village, ſeven Miles; thence to *Santa Anna* Village, nine Miles; thence to *Fonego*, a Market-town, nine Miles; thence to *Fiumara de Mori*, ten Miles; thence to the famous City *Meſſina*.

MESSINA.

This illuſtrious City hath an exceeding great and ſafe Haven, or Port, of the Sea, where may ride more than four-hundred great Ships; the like is ſcarce to be ſeen. There is an incomparable Traffick by all Nations. It is a great City, adorned with wonderous fair Palaces and Buildings: Principally this City is ſtrong, round about, with great and mighty Walls and Ramparts. It hath excellent good Wine, and all Manner of Proviſion throughout. The readieſt Way is to go by Water, from thence to *Naples*, with the firſt Opportunity, and then you may go to *Malta*, in three Days: There go, oftentimes, Ships to *Palermo*, which is a wonderous fair and great City, worthy the Seeing.

PALERMO.

This City lies hard by the Sea, ſtrengthened with ſubſtantial Walls, and hath an excellent Haven for Ships. It was, a few Years paſt, very fairly built and adorned; when you come into the City, you ſhall ſee a very long Street, called *il Caſſare*, or *la Strada d'Auſtria*; at the upper End of which, is

is the Viceroy's Palace, in which he keeps his Court; it is a very ſtately Building, adorned with moſt excellent fair Rooms and Gardens. In this Palace do lie *Spaniards* in Gariſon, as alſo a Guard of *Switzers*. There is alſo great Trading and Merchandiſing, with all Sorts of Wares tranſported thither from beyond the Seas.

Then you may go from thence directly to *Malta*.

MALTA.

This is a principal and famous Fort, of great Strength, and the Key of all *Chriſtendom*.

The principal Fort is named St. *Helmo*; as ſoon as you come near thereunto, certain of the Knights will meet and receive you, and invite you to Dinner or Supper, and, according to the Number of your Fellow-travellers, you ſhall be well and courteouſly entertained; when the Weather is fair and clear, you may ſee from thence the Signal of the common Enemy. The Knights have eight Gallies, to be always prepared and in Readineſs. And at ſuch Time, as from the Fort, a Sign is given of the Approach of any *Turkiſh* Gallies, then muſt always the Gallies of *Malta* go out to meet them, and one Gally muſt always fight againſt four *Turkiſh* Gallies. For the Gallies of *Malta* are exceeding well and ſtrongly prepared and armed, and are, for the moſt Part, all Knights therein, for Service fitted; none are ſpared, when Need requires. The Fort St. *Helmo* is ſo well fortified, and provided with all Manner of Ammunition, that it is impoſſible, by the Art of Man, to be overcome. There are alſo two other Forts, St. *Angelo*, and St. *Michael*. The Iſland *Malta* is, in Circuit, not above ſeven Miles, but a great Number of Villages are built thereupon; the Husbandmen do all dwell along the Sea-coaſt, and muſt, every Foot, keep a ſtrong Watch, to prevent a ſudden Invaſion of the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, as oftentimes falls out, and many of them ſpoiled, and their Houſes ſet on Fire. As concerning Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, fit for Man's Subſiſtance, there is no Want at all, for there is always ſufficient tranſported thither.

Now I would adviſe you to return back again with the Gallies to *Naples*: But you muſt go the right Way, as from thence to *Italy*, *Luca*, *Genoa*, *Milan*, and *Venice*, leſt you come twice to ſee one Place, and thereby other memorable Things be neglected. When, by God's Help, you are arrived again at *Naples*, then you go the neareſt Way to *Capua*, an ancient City, plentifully provided with all Manner of Neceſſaries for Man; it is alſo of a good Length, with a very fair and high ſtone Bridge, like to which I have ſeen none. It lies from *Naples* ſixteen Miles; from thence to *Carigliano*, an Inn (here you muſt go over the Water) nine Miles; and now you are on the former Highways again, until you come to *Rome*, and *High Siena*: At *Siena* you may have Horſes to *Piſa*, which is thirty Miles; a Way to travel ſo pleaſant, that one can judge no otherwiſe, but the whole Way to be a moſt pleaſant and delightful Garden, all full of excellent, fine, fruitful Trees, goodly Villages, fair Caſtles, and comely Towns: *In Summa*, it is a Paradiſe.

PISA.

When you come to this City, you ſhall be ſearched under the Gate, to ſee what you carry with you: Say nothing, but only that you are Students, and put a Piece of Money into one of their Hands ſecretly, and they will let you paſs.

This is a famous City, and an exceeding ſtrong Fort, which was yielded to the Great Duke, in the *Seneſer* Wars, but, before, it was a free State of itſelf, and a *Republica*; alſo *Siena* was, but, afterwards, being overcome by *Coſmus*, Great Duke of *Florence*, and brought under his Yoke, the Fort was built to keep them in Subjection. There runs alſo a great River through the City, called the *Arno*, which runs alſo through *Florence*; and, not far from *Piſa*, it falls into the Sea. There is alſo a wonderful fair Temple (a Cathedral) built all of marble Stone.

On the Side, is built an exceeding fair Cloiſter, of curious Work. They ſay it is very like to that built by the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. There is alſo a marvellous fair Steeple hard by the Temple, up to the Top of which a Man may ride, on the Outſide, the Stairs winding about the Steeple to the Top, as a Snake on a Tree: The Stairs are adorned with rich Marble-ſtone Pillars, of all Manner of Colours, even to the very Top. This Steeple is built by mere Art, hanging or leaning to the one Side, as if it would fall at every Twink-

ling

ling of an Eye; but, when one is above, he cannot then diſcern the ſame. This Steeple is held to be one of the ſeven Wonders of the World, being built all of white Marble-ſtone, like to which is none ſeen in the univerſal World. On the Outſide of the Church is a round Temple, covered with Copper, and the Doors with Bell-metal.

This City is graced with many fair Palaces and Houſes, eſpecially the Palace of the noble Knights, in which they have their Government. The Knights do wear, for their Order, the red Croſs of St. *Stephen*, which the Duke of *Florence* obſerves. This is provided with all Manner of good Victuals plentifully, eſpecially excellent good Wine.

Hereafter follows the Way to Luca.

From *Piſa* to *Luca* ſeven Miles. When you are gone half Way, you ſhall come to a Hill, from whence, on the one Side, you may ſee *Luca*, on the other Side *Piſa*, a wonderful pleaſant Proſpect.

L U C A.

This is a very excellent and fair little City, and ſituated in the Midſt of the great Duke of *Florence*'s Country; which City, if the Duke could bring under his Juriſdiction, he would then ſtile himſelf King of *Tuſcany*. There is in this City a great Trade with ſilken Wares, the like to which is not in all *Italy*. The *Pallavicini* are the chiefeſt Dealers therein, as the *Fuggeri* are in *Auguſtia*. Therein are moſt exceeding fair Palaces and Houſes, and the Streets paved all with fair ſquare Stones; there are many fair Churches, as St. *Martino*, and an excellent Market, where a Man may have what his Heart can wiſh for, at a reaſonable Price. There is moſt excellent Wine. It is a very ſtrong City, with mighty Walls and Ramparts, and the Ordnance lying round about the ſame, and under the Gates are kept a continual ſtrong Watch. This City is ſubject to none, and is the only free imperial City in all *Italy*. Then you may go to *Liverno*, which is an excellent Haven-town, pertaining to the great Duke of *Florence*; it is twenty Miles from *Luca*.

Here follows the Way from Luca *to* Cenona, *and what is to be ſeen by the Way.*

From *Luca* to *Mazzaroſa*, a little Town, eight Miles; from thence to *Pietra Santa*, a little Town, eight Miles; thence to *Maſſacle Corara*, a pleaſant Town with a Caſtle, ſeven Miles; thence to *Sarſano*, a very pleaſant Town, and there, in two ſtrong Forts, lying in Garriſon five-hundred *Dutch* Soldiers (for it lies juſt on the Border of *Cenona*, pertaining thereunto) eight Miles; thence to *Laris*, where you muſt paſs over Water, four Miles.

L A R I S, a P O R T.

This is a very fine little Town; the Wine is very good and cheap, and alſo Bread. On the Top of the Hill is a very ſtrong Fort, and the Ordnance thereupon carries over to the other Side, to *Porto Venere*, which is a full *Dutch* Mile; and, alſo, an exceeding ſtrong Fort: Go over alſo thither.

P O R T O V E N E R E.

This is alſo a fair Town, and on the Hill is a ſtrong Fort, and the Ordnance carries over to the other Fort, ſo that both theſe Forts do aſſiſt each other; not far off this, is a Town called *Speſſa*, pertaining to *Genoa*: When they ſend Soldiers into *Spain*, they do aſſemble themſelves there. Between *Spezza* and *Laris*, is a very ſtrong Fort, pertaining to *Genoa*, called *Santa Maria del Suorte*, about two *Italian* Miles from *Porto Venere*, wherein do lie *Dutch* Soldiers, who, if you deſire, will let you in, and ſhew you the Fort; it is worthy the Seeing, and built but of late Years. Now I would adviſe the Traveller to go from *Laris* by Water to *Genoa*, being one Day's Journey; but, if you go by Land, the Way is deſcribed as followeth:

From *Porto Venere* to *Remedio*, a Market-town, ſeven Miles; thence to *Porgetto*, eight Miles; thence to *Martarana*-Inn, ſix Miles; thence to *Bracco*, a Market-town, ſix Miles; thence to *Rapullo*, ſix Miles; thence to *Recco*, ſix Miles; thence to *Bogliaſco*, all Market-towns, ſix Miles; thence to *Genoa*, ſix Miles.

G E N O A.

This is a fair and famous City and Republick, where is a Duke, but elected by the Senate of the City. When one dies, they chuſe in another, like as they at *Venice* do

chuſe a Duke out of forty-eight *Clariſſimi*, and do caſt Lots for the Election.

This wonderous mighty City is older than the City of *Rome*, as the Hiſtorians do deliver: It is inhabited with brave Nobles and Gentry, and ſumptuouſly built; you ſhall ſee a Number of brave mighty Ships excellently furniſhed with all Manner of Ammunition and Proviſion: They lie here only to attend the Approach of the common Enemy.

When you come to the Gate of the City, the Cuſtomers will make Search, to ſee what you carry; tell them that you are Students, and enquire for a Lodging, called *Santa Maria*, where you ſhall be excellently dieted. Enquire for *Strada Nova*, in which Street are twelve moſt excellent fair Palaces, built all of ſquare Pieces, being white and black Marble-ſtone, richly adorned, with pleaſant Gardens; and certain of them have Houſes of Artillery well furniſhed, and ſtately Antiquities and Statues. Go firſt into the Duke's Palace, which is an excellent rare Building, in which do watch continually five-hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and have all their Dwelling in the Palace. When you go from your Lodging towards the Gate, out of which they go to *Savona*, hard by the ſame you ſhall ſee the Palace of Prince *Andrea Doria*, General of the Dukedom of *Genoa*, where you ſhall ſee wonderful rare Things, beſides excellent pleaſant Gardens, artificial Water-works, and brave Statues, and, principally, a wonderous well furniſhed Houſe of Artillery. You ſhall not find, in any City in all *Italy*, ſo many Velvet-weavers, as in *Genoa*; they ſay, there are at leaſt eight-thouſand; but not any one of them is able to gain to themſelves one Piece of Velvet in a whole Year's Space, ſo narrowly are they looked unto by the Merchants.

Churches in GENOA.

Within the City Walls are thirty Pariſh Churches, and the City hath ſeven Miles in Circuit. There are two principal Churches amongſt the reſt; the one named St. *Laurence*, in which is a little Chapel, where are kept the Aſhes of *John Badall* in a ſilver Cheſt; and they affirm, that, when there ariſes a great Tempeſt on the Sea, they carry that Cheſt to the Sea-ſhore, and immediately the Tempeſt ceaſeth. There are done alſo many Miracles, as they ſay, in the thirty Churches, by Vertue of the holy Relicks which are kept there. In the ſaid Church of St. *Laurence*, you ſhall ſee the Diſh of *Semiraldo*, and other precious Stones, which our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* made out of Earth, in which, with his Diſciples, he did eat the *Eaſter* Lamb, which was gotten, as *Cæſarea* was overcome, as is clearly noted in the Chronicles.

The other Church is named St. *Bartholomew*, without the Gate St. *Catharina*, where is kept the *Sudarium*, or the Sweating-Cloth of our Bleſſed Saviour, as evidently it is found to be one of the three made by St. *Veronica*; by the ſame are done alſo many Miracles. There is alſo without the City a very fair Steeple, on the Top of which they hang a Lanthorn with Lights, in the Night-time, that directeth the Ships Safety to the Port or Haven.

Genoa is as famous Principality and as fruitful a Soil as is in all *Italy*; there is the beſt Wine of all others, and all Sorts of excellent Fruit. Now, if you deſire to ſee *Savona*, take a Boat; it lies but thirty Miles from *Genoa*.

SAVONA.

This is a very fair City, lying on the Sea wonderous pleaſant; it is built exceeding well and richly, and they have great Trading with Wines, and other coſtly Wares, into *Corſica* and *Sardagna*. There is alſo a mighty Fort, built very ſtrongly, with main Walls and Ramparts, ſo well furniſhed with Ordnance, and other Ammunition, that it is almoſt invincible. Therein do lie one-hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and other Forces; for the *Turks* oftentimes uſe to make Inroads there, with forty or fifty Gallies at a Time, attempting to get the Fort; but it hath always failed them, there being continually kept a ſtrong and diligent Watch, which is alſo very needful. Then you may go back again to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Milan* and *Venice*.

Here follows the Way from Genoa *to* Milan.

From *Genoa* to *Ponte-Decino* ſeven Miles; thence to *Buzzala* ſeven Miles; thence to *Al Botho del Formari* ſeven Miles; thence to *Al Iſola* ſeven Miles; thence to *Argua* ſeven Miles; thence to *Saravalla*, a little pretty Town, where you may buy excellent good

Blades, Rapiers, and Swords, five Miles; thence to *Bettola*, an Inn, ſix Miles; from thence to *Tortona*, a ſtrong Fort, eight Miles; thence to *Ponte Curon* five Miles; thence to *Pancarina* eight Miles; thence to *Cava*, there ſet over the River *Po*, ſix Miles; thence to *Pavia* City three Miles.

PAVIA.

This City hath an excellent navigable Water, which flows hard by, named *Ticino*. The City is very well adorned with fair Houſes, and Churches, and hath a very large and fair Market-place. There is alſo a famous Univerſity, and an Inquiſition of late Years erected; there are many Jeſuits. The City is marvellous well ſtrengthened, with great and thick Walls and Ramparts; there is alſo a ſtrong Caſtle or Fort, wherein are continually *Spaniſh* Soldiers. It belongs to the Principality of *Milan*.

When you go from thence towards *Milan*, you ſhall ſee by the Way a Monaſtery named *Carthauſa*, and alſo the Park, about an *Italian* Mile from *Pavia*, before which the famous Battle was fought by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, againſt the *French* and *Switzers*, and thereby *Pavia* overcome. The Park, as you may well diſcern, hath yet Part of the Walls ſtanding which were at that Time.

CHARTHAUSE.

Do not omit to go in and ſee this famous Monaſtery, for there is not the like in all *Italy*; richly built, and hath a mighty Revenue; the Church is built all of white Marble-ſtone, adorned ſumptuouſly with Statues and Pictures of Oriental Alabaſter.

The Cells of the Monks are covered all with Copper; there are beſides Things to be ſeen whereat you will wonder. Then go from thence to *Binaſco*, a little Town, eight Miles thence; *Milan* is ten Miles.

MILAN.

This is the chief City in *Lombardy*, belonging to the King of *Spain*: It is a Principality, and round about ſtrengthened with mighty Walls and Ramparts; it hath alſo great Trading with all Nations. When you come thither, I would wiſh you lodged at the *Three Kings*, or at the *Falcon*, where you ſhall be exceeding well entertained. Go firſt to the Palace, wherein the Viceroy or Duke keeps his Court, which is a very great Building. Hard by the ſame have the *Dutch* Guard their Dwellings, and are eighty of them attending the Duke, all ſuited in one Colour; without this Palace is the Riding-place, being marvellous ſpacious.

Cathedral CHURCH.

This Temple is built within and without all of white Marble-ſtone, comparable to which in Greatneſs, and Fairneſs, there is none found neither in *Italy*, nor elſewhere; every Ounce of this Marble ſtone wrought doth coſt two Quartrins, and five Quartrins do make a Penny *Engliſh*. In this famous Building are Organs of clear Silver.

Go from this Church to Cardinal *Borromeo*'s Palace, which is a moſt ſtately Building, adorned with main Columns and Pillars of Marble-ſtone; there is alſo, by the Cardinal, made a Gallery under Ground, through which he can go, not ſeen, into the Church. Then enquire for the Place where formerly Malefactors were executed; there did ſtand a Houſe of good Fellowſhip, or Baudy-houſe, but the Cardinal cauſed it to be pulled down, and in the Place a great Priſon to be built. Then enquire for *Santa Maria*, which is an admirable fair Building; thither are many great Pilgrimages accompliſhed with great Devotion, and *Indulgentia plenaria* the whole Year throughout. When you go towards your Lodging, you ſhall ſee an Antiquity in St. *Laurence*-ſtreet, where do ſtand twenty mighty great Pillars of white Marble-ſtone, in Height ſixty Feet. They ſay for certain, that the Devil, with his Accomplices, did erect and build that Temple in one Night; but it had, as it ſeems, no good Foundation, for it fell down again ſhortly after. The whole City is paved throughout with fair four-ſquare Stone. It hath brave broad Streets. This City hath twenty-two Gates, and doth write itſelf ſtrong; at every Gate are twelve thouſand well armed Men, beſides thoſe that are no Citizens, and yet Inhabitants, which make in one Sum two hundred-forty-two thouſand. Then go to the *Citta della Capello* or *Caſtle*.

CASTLE.

This Caſtle or Fort may well be ſaid invincible, and may by no Force, or Man's Policy,

licy, be gotten or overcome, but only by mere Treachery; for there are two ſeveral Forts in one, but ſo ſurrounded and faſtened in and about with Water Ditches, that thereout may well be made three ſeveral Forts: It hath alſo two great, mighty, and high Towers, of four-ſquare Free-ſtone, and upon each one are planted three double Cannons, and upon the Walls of the Forts are mounted on Wheels five-hundred great Ordnance, of Bell-Metal, continually charged. There lie in Gariſon ſeven-hundred *Spaniards*, with forty *Dutch*, all attending the Command of the *Caſtellano* or Governor; there are alſo divers other People within the Fort, ſo that there are continually therein at leaſt one-thouſand Perſons.

This Fort is always provided with an Overplus of all Manner of Proviſion and Ammunition. It cannot be undermined, for a navigable Water, that runs by the City, doth flow into the Ditches, and in the ſame are freſh Veins of Well-water continually ſpringing up. Alſo is this Fort of late Years better ſtrengthened, by the Building of five mighty Ramparts; ſo that it is a Fort ſtrong beyond Imagination; in Fine, I cannot ſufficiently expreſs the Strength thereof.

Here follows the Way from Milan *to* Venice; *and what is to be ſeen by the Way.*

From *Milan* to *Margiano* ten Miles; thence to *Lodia*, a pleaſant Town, ten Miles; thence to *Zorleſco*, a Village, ten Miles; thence to *Pizzighiton* two Miles; thence to *Cremona*, a great City, twelve Miles.

CREMONA.

This is a famous and pleaſant City, adorned with fair and ſtrong Towers round about: It hath very fair and large Streets, and brave Buildings, and excellent good Wine.

From *Cremona*, to *Alla Caſa della buona Voglio* Inn, ten Miles; thence to St. *Jacob Alopio* Inn, nine Miles; thence to *Mercari*, a little Town, twelve Miles; thence to *Caſtelluchio*, eight Miles; thence to *Mantua* City, ten Miles.

MANTUA.

This is a marvellous fine City, and Principality, wherein the Duke of *Mantua* keeps his Court; it is excellently well built, all in Moraſs or Quagmires; when you come thither, lodge at the *Black Moor*, where you ſhall have one to ſhew you what is to be ſeen.

Go firſt into the Duke's Palace, but you muſt leave your Weapons with the Watch, under the Gate; if the Duke be not there, you ſhall ſee the great Hall, and other Rooms that are moſt worthy the Noting, and alſo a moſt pleaſant, adorned Garden, in which is a great ſpacious Hall, wherein the Duke doth dine and ſup in Summer-time. This Hall is made ſo artificially that, when two, ſtanding in the Midſt of the Hall, do talk one with another, they themſelves do not underſtand their own Words, but they that ſtand far from them, at the End of the Hall, do hear and underſtand, plainly, every Word, which is a Thing to be much wondered at: One that knows not of this, may perchance talk with another, thinking in Secret, what is heard of others, perhaps, to his great Prejudice. This Hall lies encompaſſed round about with Quagmires, ſo that it is not eaſily to be overcome by any Siege, unleſs it were for Want of Victuals. The City is adorned with an exceeding well furniſhed Houſe of Artillery, and great Ordnance.

Here follows the Way from MANTUA to PADUA.

From *Mantua*, to *Alla Stella* Inn, fifteen Miles; thence to *Sangueto*, a Village, twelve Miles; thence to *Montagnano*, ſix Miles; from thence to *Padua*, a great City, thirty-eight Miles.

PADUA.

This is a far ſpread famous City, by Reaſon of the great Frequence and Aſſembling of all Nations thereunto, it being an Univerſity: There is an Overplus of all Manner of Proviſion for Man's Uſe at a very cheap Rate; there are excellent good Wine, Bread, Fiſh, Fleſh, Fowl, and Fruit. When you come thither, lodge at *Alla Stella*, the Star; and there you ſhall ſee a brave Garden, wherein the Students do exerciſe themſelves in the Knowledge of Herbs, eſpecially, ſuch as ſtudy Phyſick; upon the Steeple, you may ſee *Venice*, if the Weather be clear. Then go into the Governor's Palace, and into the Chancery; you have not ſeen the like in all *Italy*, for it is a Place indeed of Antiquities.

St.

St. ANTHONY, a Monaſtery.

This is a wonderous fair Monaſtery, of the *Bareſoot* Order; within it, is a great Temple, where St. *Anthony* lies buried, in ſo rich a Tomb of Marble-ſtone and Alabaſter, as the like is ſeldom to be ſeen.

St. JUSTINA, a Monaſtery.

This is a mighty great Monaſtery, of St. *Benedict*'s Order, which was built preſently, after the Battle was fought and won againſt the common Enemy, and the Building begun on St. *Juſtina*'s Day; it hath a great Revenue, and every Week is diſtributed, to all Poor that come, a great Proportion of Alms, as Wine and Bread, *&c.*

St. DOMINICO, a Monaſtery.

This is adorned with exceeding fair Tombs, and Epitaphs: It hath alſo a ſtately Income, and much is given in Alms to the Poor every Week once: In this City are to be ſeen many excellent fair Palaces and Buildings, brave Statues, and curious Rooms, and pleaſant Gardens. The City belongs to the *Venetian* State, and is incloſed round about with very ſtrong Walls and Ramparts.

An honourable Speech made in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by the Earl of *Argyle* (being now Competitor with Earl *Morton* for the Chancellorſhip) the Thirtieth of *September*, 1641, touching the Prevention of National Diſſenſion, and Perpetuating the happy Peace and Union betwixt the two Kingdoms, by the frequent Holding of Parliaments. *London*, Printed by *A. N.* for *J. M.* at the *George* in *Fleetſtreet*; *Anno* 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

My Lords,

WHAT was more to be wiſhed on Earth, than the great Happineſs this Day we enjoy? *Viz.* To ſee his Royal Majeſty our native Sovereign, and his loyal Subjects of both his Kingdoms, ſo really united, that his Majeſty is piouſly pleaſed to grant unto us, his Subjects, our lawful Demands, concerning Religion and Liberties, and we his Subjects of both Nations, chearfully rendering to his Majeſty that Duty, Affection, and Aſſiſtance, which he haſt juſt Cauſe to expect from good People, and each Nation concurring in brotherly Amity, Unity, and Concord, one towards the other.

Oh, What Tongue is able to expreſs the Honour and Praiſe due to that great and good God, who in theſe late Commotions, ſuffered not the Counſels of either Kingdom to deſpair of the Safety of either Commonwealth, but through his Bleſſing to their painful and prudent Endeavours hath wrought ſuch an Happineſs for us; that now, after the great Toil and Trouble which we have on both Sides ſo long endured, we may each Man with his Wife, Children, and Friends, under his own Vine and Fig-tree, and all under his Majeſty's Protection, refreſh himſelf, with the ſweet Fruits of Peace? Which I beſeech the Lord of Peace to make perpetual to both Nations.

And, to that End, my earneſt Deſires are, that all our beſt Studies and Endeavours may be employed, for ſome Time, in contriving and eſtabliſhing ſuch wholeſome Laws in both Kingdoms, whereby, as much as in us lies, the Opportunity and Occaſion of producing the like Calamities, as lately threatened both Nations, may, for the future, be prevented, if in any Age hereafter ſuch Miſcreants ſhall go again to attempt it.

It is, my Lords, notorious, that the late Incendiaries, that occaſioned the great Differences

rences betwixt his Majeſty and his Subjects, took much Advantage and Courage by the too long Intermiſſion of the happy Conſtitution of Parliaments, in the Vacancy of which they, by falſe Informations, incenſed his Majeſty againſt his loyal Subjects, and by their wily Inſinuations extorted from his Highneſs Proclamations for to yield Obedience to their Innovations in the Kirk, and Patents for Projects, whereby the poor Subject was both polled and oppreſſed in his Eſtate, and enthralled in his Conſcience; and thus, by their wicked Practices, his Majeſty was diſtaſted, and his Subjects generally diſcontented, inſomuch that, had not the great Mercy of God prevented them, they had made an Obſtruction betwixt his Majeſty, and his liege People, and had broken thoſe mutual and indiſſoluble Bonds of Protection and Allegiance, whereby, I hope, his Royal Majeſty, and his loyal and dutiful Subjects of all his three Kingdoms, will be ever bound together. To which let all good Subjects ſay, *Amen*.

My Lords, the Diſtaſte of his Majeſty, nor Diſcontents of his Subjects, could never have come to that Height they did, nor conſequently have produced ſuch Effects, had not there been ſuch an Interpoſition, by theſe Innovators, and Projectors, betwixt his Majeſty our glorious Sun, and us his loyal Subjects, that his Goodneſs appeared not, for the Time, to us, nor our Loyalty and Obedience to him. For no ſooner was that happy Conſtellation, the Parliament in *England*, raiſed, and thereby thoſe vaporous Clouds diſſipated, but his Majeſty's Goodneſs, his good Subjects Loyalty, and their Treachery evidently appeared.

Our Brethren of *England*, my Lords, finding the Intermiſſion of Parliaments to be prejudicial and dangerous to the State, have taken Care, and made Proviſion for the frequent Holding of them; whoſe prudent Example my Motion is may be our Pattern forthwith to obtain his Majeſty's royal Aſſent, for doing the like here in this Kingdom. By which Means his Majeſty may in due Time hear, and redreſs the Grievances of his Subjects, and his Subjects, as Need ſhall require, chearfully aid and aſſiſt his Majeſty; and not only the domeſtick Peace and Quiet of each Kingdom be preſerved, but likewiſe all National Differences, if any happen, may be, by the Wiſdom of the Aſſemblies of both Kingdoms, from Time to Time compoſed and reconciled, to the Perpetuating of the happy Peace and Union betwixt both Nations.

Copies of two Papers written by the late King *Charles the Second*, of bleſſed Memory. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

The Firſt Paper.

THE Diſcourſe we had the other Day, I hope, ſatisfied you in the Main, that Chriſt can have but one Church here upon Earth; and I believe, that it is as viſible, as that the Scripture is in Print, That none can be that Church, but that which is called the *Roman* Catholick Church. I think you need not trouble yourſelf with entering into that Ocean of particular Diſputes, when the main and, in Truth, the only Queſtion is, Where that Church is, which we profeſs to believe, in the two Creeds? We declare there to believe one Catholick and Apoſtolick Church; and it is not left to every fantaſtical Man's Head to believe as he pleaſes, but to the Church, to whom Chriſt left the Power, upon Earth, to govern us in Matters of Faith, who made theſe Creeds for our Directions. It were a very irrational Thing to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be the Interpreters and Judges of thoſe Laws; for then every Man will be his own Judge, and, by Conſequence, no ſuch Thing, as either Right, or Wrong. Can we therefore ſuppoſe, that God Almighty would leave us at thoſe Uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and leave every Man to be his own Judge? I

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do aſk any ingenuous Man, Whether it be not the ſame Thing to follow our own Fancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any Man ſhew me, where the Power of deciding Matters of Faith is given to every particular Man. Chriſt left his Power to his Church, even to forgive Sins in Heaven; and left his Spirit with them, which they exerciſed after his Reſurrection; firſt, by his Apoſtles in theſe Creeds, and many Years after by the Council at *Nice*, where that Creed was made, that is called by that Name; and, by the Power, which they had received from Chriſt, they were the Judges even of the Scripture itſelf, many Years after the Apoſtles, which Books were Canonical, and which were not. And, if they had this Power then, I deſire to know how they came to loſe it, and by what Authority Men ſeparate themſelves from that Church. The only Pretence, I ever heard of, was, Becauſe the Church has failed, in wreſting and interpreting the Scripture contrary to the true Senſe and Meaning of it; and that they have impoſed Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's Word. I do deſire to know who is to be Judge of that; whether the whole Church, the Succeſſion whereof has continued to this Day without Interruption; or particular Men, who have raiſed Schiſms for their own Advantage.

This is a true Copy of a Letter, I found in the King my Brother's ſtrong Box, written in his own Hand.

JAMES R.

The Second Paper.

IT is a ſad Thing to conſider what a World of Hereſies are crept into this Nation; every Man thinks himſelf as competent a Judge of the Scriptures, as the very Apoſtles themſelves; and it is no Wonder that it ſhould be ſo, ſince that Part of the Nation, which looks moſt like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments againſt the other Sects, for Fear they ſhould be turned againſt themſelves, and confuted by their own Arguments. The Church of *England*, as it is called, would fain have it thought, that they are the Judges in Matters ſpiritual, and yet dare not ſay poſitively, that there is no Appeal from them; for either they muſt ſay, that they are infallible (which they cannot pretend to) or confeſs, that what they decide, in Matters of Conſcience, is no further to be followed, than it agrees with every Man's private Judgment. If Chriſt did leave a Church here upon Earth, and we were all once of that Church, How, and by what Authority, did we ſeparate from that Church? If the Power of interpreting of Scripture be in every Man's Brain, What Need have we of a Church, or Church-men? To what Purpoſe, then, did our Saviour, after he had given his Apoſtles Power to bind and looſe in Heaven and Earth, add to it, That he would be with them, even unto the End of the World? Theſe Words were not ſpoken parabolically, or by Way of Figure; Chriſt was then aſcending into his Glory, and left his Power with his Church, even unto the End of the World. We have had, theſe hundred Years paſt, the ſad Effects of denying to the Church that Power, in Matters ſpiritual, without an Appeal. What Country can ſubſiſt in Peace or Quiet, where there is not a ſupreme Judge, from whence there can be no Appeal? Can there be any Juſtice done, where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law with thoſe that are appointed to adminiſter Juſtice? This is our Caſe here in *England*, in Matters ſpiritual; for the Proteſtants are not of the Church of *England*, as it is the true Church, from whence there can be no Appeal; but becauſe the Diſcipline of that Church is conformable at that Preſent to their Fancies, which as ſoon as it ſhall contradict, or vary from, they are ready to embrace, or join with the next Congregation of People, whoſe Diſcipline and Worſhip agrees with their Opinion at that Time; ſo that, according to this Doctrine, there is no other Church, nor Interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every Man's giddy Brain. I deſire to know, therefore, of every ſerious Conſiderer of theſe Things, Whether the great Work of our Salvation ought to depend upon ſuch a ſandy Foundation, as this? Did Chriſt ever ſay to the Civil Magiſtrate (much leſs to the People) That he would be with them to the End of the World? Or, Did he give them the Power to forgive Sins? St. *Paul* tells the *Corinthians*, 'Ye are God's 'Husbandry,' ye are God's Building; we are 'Labourers

'Labourers with God.' This ſhews who are the Labourers, and who are the Huſbandry and Building: And in this whole Chapter, and in the preceding one, St. *Paul* takes great Pains to ſet forth, That they, the Clergy, have the Spirit of God, without which no Man ſearcheth the deep Things of God; and he concludeth the Chapter with this Verſe: 'For 'who hath known the Mind of the Lord, 'that he may inſtruct him? But we have the 'Mind of Chriſt.' Now, if we do but conſider, in human Probability and Reaſon, the Powers Chriſt leaves to his Church in the Goſpel, and St. *Paul* explains ſo diſtinctly afterwards, we cannot think, that our Saviour ſaid all theſe Things to no Purpoſe; and, pray, conſider, on the other Side, that thoſe, who reſiſt the Truth, and will not ſubmit to this Church, draw their Arguments from Implications and far-fetched Interpretations, at the ſame Time that they deny plain and poſitive Words; which is ſo great a Diſingenuity, that it is not almoſt to be thought, that they can believe themſelves. Is there any other Foundation of the Proteſtant Church, but that, if the Civil Magiſtrate pleaſe, he may call ſuch of the Clergy, as he thinks fit for his Turn at that Time, and turn the Church either to Preſbytery, Independency, or indeed what he pleaſes? This was the Way of our pretended Reformation here in *England*; and, by the ſame Rule and Authority, it may be altered into as many more Shapes and Forms, as there are Fancies in Men's Heads.

This is a true Copy of a Paper, written by the late King my Brother, in his own Hand, which I found in his Cloſet.

JAMES R.

A Copy of a Paper, written by the late Ducheſs of *York*. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

IT is ſo reaſonable to expect, that a Perſon always bred up in the Church of *England*, and as well inſtructed in the Doctrine of it, as the beſt Divines and her Capacity could make her, ſhould be liable to many Cenſures, for leaving That, and making herſelf a Member of the *Roman* Catholick Church, to which, I confeſs, I was one of the greateſt Enemies it ever had; that I choſe rather to endeavour to ſatisfy my Friends, by Reading this Paper, than to have the Trouble, to anſwer all the Queſtions that may daily be aſked me: And firſt, I do proteſt, in the Preſence of Almighty God, That no Perſon, Man, or Woman, directly nor indirectly, ever ſaid any thing to me, ſince I came into *England*, or uſed the leaſt Endeavour to make me change my Religion: It is a Bleſſing I wholly owe to Almighty God, and I hope the Hearing of a Prayer I daily made him, ever ſince I was in *France* and *Flanders*; where ſeeing much of the Devotion of the Catholicks, though I had very little myſelf, I made it my continual Requeſt to Almighty God, That, if I were not, I might, before I died, be in the true Religion: I did not in the leaſt doubt, but that I was ſo, and never had any Manner of Scruple till *November* laſt; when, reading a Book, called, *The Hiſtory of the Reformation*, by Dr. *Heylin*, which I had heard very much commended, and had been told, if ever I had any Doubt in my Religion, that would ſettle me; inſtead of which, I found it the Deſcription of the horrideſt Sacrileges in the World; and could find no Reaſon, why we left the Church, but for three the moſt abominable ones, that were ever heard of among Chriſtians: Firſt, *Henry the Eighth* renounces the Pope's Authority, becauſe he would not give him Leave to part with his Wife, and marry another, in her Life-time: Secondly, *Edward the Sixth* was a Child, and governed by his Uncle, who made his Eſtate out of Church Lands.

And then Queen *Eliſabeth*, who, being no lawful Heireſs to the Crown, could have no Way to keep it, but by renouncing a Church that could never ſuffer ſo unlawful a Thing to be done by one of her Children. I confeſs, I cannot think the Holy Ghoſt could ever be in ſuch Councils; and it is very ſtrange, that, if the Biſhops had no Deſign, but, as they

ſay, the Reſtoring us to the Doctrine of the Primitive Church; they ſhould never think upon it, till *Henry th Eighth* made a Breach upon ſo unlawful a Pretence. Theſe Scruples being raiſed, I began to conſider of the Difference between the Catholicks and us; and examined them, as well as I could, by the holy Scripture, which, though I do not pretend to be able to underſtand, yet, there are ſome Things I found ſo eaſy, that I cannot but wonder, I had been ſo long without finding them out: As, the real Preſence in the bleſſed Sacrament, the Infallibility of the Church, Confeſſion, and Praying for the Dead. After this, I ſpoke ſeverally to two of the beſt * Biſhops we have in *England*, who both told me, there were many Things in the *Roman* Church, which, it were very much to be wiſhed, we had kept; as Confeſſion, which was, no doubt, commanded by God: That Praying for the Dead was one of the ancient Things in Chriſtianity: That, for their Parts, they did it daily, though they would not own it: And, afterwards, preſſing one of them † very much upon the other Points, he told me, That, if he had been bred a Catholick, he would not change his Religion; but, that being of another Church, wherein, he was ſure, were all Things neceſſary to Salvation, he thought it very ill, to give that Scandal, as to leave that Church, wherein he had received his Baptiſm.

All theſe Diſcourſes did but add more to the Deſire I had, to be a Catholick, and gave me the moſt terrible Agonies in the World, within myſelf. For all this, fearing to be raſh in a Matter of that Weight, I did all I could to ſatisfy myſelf; made it my daily Prayer to God, to ſettle me in the Right, and ſo went on *Chriſtmas*-Day to receive in the King's Chapel; after which, I was more troubled than ever, and could never be in Quiet, till I had told my Deſire to a Catholick, who brought a Prieſt to me, and that was the firſt I ever did converſe with, upon my Word. The more I ſpoke to him, the more I was confirmed in my Deſign; and, as it is impoſſible for me to doubt of the Words of our bleſſed Saviour, who ſays, The holy Sacrament is his Body and Blood; ſo I cannot believe, that he who is the Author of all Truth, and who has promiſed to be with his Church to the End of the World, would permit them to give that holy Myſtery to the Laity but in one Kind, if it were not lawful ſo to do.

I am not able, or, if I were, would I enter into Diſputes with any Body; I only, in ſhort, ſay this, for the Changing of my Religion, which I take God to Witneſs, I would never have done, if I had thought it poſſible to ſave my Soul otherwiſe. I think, I need not ſay, it is any Intereſt in this World leads me to it: It will be plain enough to every Body, that I muſt loſe all the Friends, and Credit I have here, by it; and have very well weighed, which I could beſt part with, my Share in this World, or the next: I thank God I found no Difficulty in the Choice.

My only Prayer is, That the poor Catholicks of this Nation may not ſuffer for my being of their Religion: That God would but give me Patience to bear them, and then, ſend me any Afflictions in this World, ſo I may enjoy a bleſſed Eternity hereafter.

St. *James's*, *Aug.* 20, 1670.

* Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Blanford*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.
† Dr. *Blanford*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

The Earl of *Strafford* Characteriſed, in a Letter ſent to a Friend in the Country. Printed in 1641. *Octavo*, containing eight Pages.

Noble Sir,

I AM inforced to complain of your impetuous Commands, and the Tax you impoſe me, above all the reſt of your Vaſſals, but eſpecially of this of my Lord of *Strafford*'s; as though I alone were inſpired with an Illumination, beyond the Wiſdom of the Parliament, which on ſo long Conſultation hath not yet determined the articulate Point of your Queſtion; yet thus much I ſhall poſitively deliver as a Part of my Belief: That, howſoever my Lord of *Strafford* be cried up for a moſt incomparable and accompliſhed Inſtrument of State, yet he is human, and ſubject to ſuch Infirmities as were incident to our firſt Progenitors; and this is a Particular of my Faith, not of my Opinion.

But if it may ſatisfy your Curioſity, to be informed of the general Conceptions, I ſhall then preſent you, with as various a Collection of Votes and Cenſures, as there are Fancies in the ſeveral Factions, daily raiſed by the Work of Art and Time, which qualifieth Poiſon, mollifieth Flints, and changeth the Face of all Things from their firſt Beings and Appearances, which have much befriended my Lord of *Strafford*.

But, whether his Lordſhip be guilty of high Treaſon, I cannot determine.

Sure it is many foul Things ſtick upon him by manifeſt Proofs, which neither his Fineneſs of Wit, nor all the Fig-leaves in Paradiſe can cover.

True it is the Houſe of Commons ſtand ſtiff, to make good their firſt Charges, which are now inforced and proſecuted to the laſt Article, this very Day, which ſhould it not prove Treaſon, on joint Rehearſal of the Houſe, and ſo adjudged by the Lords, it would then ſeem to me to be a Strain of popular Fury, rather than the legitimate Iſſue of a Court of Parliament.

True it is, that, before the Quarter-part of the Accuſations were charged upon him, he was by Way of Prejudication acquitted by many of both Sexes, and favoured not of a few of both Houſes, and ſome of his Majeſty's Council, and the Papiſtical Party, his Friends, and Followers, and generally by Ladies.

The *firſt* Reaſons are beſt known unto themſelves.

By the *Second*, for Reſpects due to their Patron.

By the *Third*, for Intereſts and Obligations of Dependency.

By the *Fourth*, if well conſidered, for many feminine and affected Conſiderations. As the natural Pity and Conſideration of Women ſympathiſing with his Afflictions, with the Sadneſs of his Aſpect, their Facility with his Complacences, their Lenity with his pathetical Oratory.

On the other Side, there is a rigid, ſtrong, and inflexible Party, that ſay, if he be not found a Traytor, the Parliament muſt make him ſo for the Intereſt of the Publick.

And ſo I ſhall preſent you with the Inclinations of another Party, and of no deſpicable Number of Account, which pretend to have more Solidity of Judgment than to be carried away with private Intereſt, partial Reſpects, which ſeem to be touched with the King's, and the Commons Safety, and to be ſenſible of the Commons Sufferance.

And theſe commonly rip up his Life and Converſation together, with the Progreſs of his Eſtate and Fortunes, and all concluding for his Deſcent and Family to be of the nobleſt and higheſt Rank of Gentry, under the Degree of Baronage; his Patrimony ſo plentiful, as that it equaliſes moſt of the Barons of the Land; his Education noble, and to theſe of his own Acquiſition of ſtrong and able natural Parts.

And, if the Adage be true, that, *Multa ex vultu dignoſcuntur*; and though they mark him for a wiſe and promiſing Face, yet they unhappily obſerve in him a dark and promiſcuous Countenance, clouded, unlovely, and preſaging an envious and cruel Diſpoſition. And this general Query is made of him:

What was that, which he would have had, who, Suſpicion excepted, might have been a King at Home, had not reſtleſs Ambition, habituated in his Nature, interrupted the Courſe of his Repoſe, and diſordered the many Helps he had to have lived in Plenty, and died in Felicity?

But diſquieted, as all Ambition is turbulent, in his Cogitations, and in his firſt Expoſition, agitated by the Blaſts of his own Aſpirings, it is ſaid of him that in his own Country he was tranſported by the Violence of his Will to carry all before him, and, come what would of it, to overthrow all that withſtood him.

Of

Of ſuch predominant a Pitch he was in his own Conſtellation, and Propenſion, which could not reſt there, but muſt break out into a wider Extent, for his Thoughts ſoared ſo high, as Men who knew him well affirmed, that he held himſelf injured by the State, that he came no ſooner to the Helm.

Whither to come, he journied through a Wilderneſs of popular Acclamations, and affected the dangerous Name of Fame, of being Sovereign Protector of the Commonwealth.

For which he ſo much pretended, that in all Parliaments he became an other *Jacques de Ortinel.* And they aver it for Truth, that in thoſe Times, his intimate Friends and Aſſociates thought it Wiſdom to ſhun his Converſation, ſo forward he was in Taxing the Motions of the King and State.

And, as it is ſaid, not without a malignant Humour, and a repugnant Spirit, always withſtood the King's Profit, and ſtinted the Parliamentary Contributions, at his own Will and Pleaſure, croſſing the Deſigns of State, and infuſing, by his ſtubborn Example, a Spirit of Contradiction in the Aſſemblies of theſe Times; which how fatal they have been to ours, I leave to your Judgment, and which hath ever ſince bred an Averſion in his Majeſty towards his People and his Parliaments.

An Office wherein they ſay he did far more Miſchief, than in this for which he ſtands now arraigned for his Life.

And this is the Deſcription or Abſtract of the firſt Part of his Life, as he was the Minion of the People, which, they ſay, he eſteems as the Folly of his Youth.

May you now be pleaſed to receive ſomething of his ſecond Act, as he was a Miniſter of the King's, into whoſe Service, as they ſay, and I think not untruly, he was purchaſed and bought from the Affections of the People, at a higher Price than all the Privadoes of *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second.* For that this only Man hath coſt, and loſt the King, and Kingdom, more Treaſure and Loyalty than *Pierce*, *Gaveſton*, and the two *Spencers*, and the Marquis of *Dublin*, did ever coſt, their being all put together.

And ſure I am, it is the common Opinion of the Kingdoms, that ſhould he be taken out of the Hands of Juſtice, and the Revenge of the Publick made fruſtrate, and the Expectations of the three Kingdoms diſappointed, who hath invaded the Whole, by the Power of his Counſels, and the Parties, by the grievous Oppreſſions of his Majeſty's good People, whereſoever he had to do, they ſay, that his Majeſty's Dominions ſtand in greater Danger and Hazard, than ever; and, as it may fall out, to be of a more lamentable Conſequence than is fit to be expreſſed.

How fatal may one Man's Ambition be, and his exorbitant Humour, work towards the Diſtraction of a State, which they do thus demonſtrate by Way of Suſpicion:

Firſt, admitting the King's Affections, may be diſpoſed, together with the great Party, which he hath in the Upper Houſe, to acquit him and others.

And that, thereby the Houſe of Commons ſhould hold themſelves bound by the Intereſt committed unto them by their Countries to make Proteſtations againſt the Lords.

What then may become of a divided Body? *Seeondly*, it is queſtioned, Whether any future Subſidies will be granted, Cuſtoms and Impoſitions be paid the King, without any Inſurrection?

Thirdly, Whether the *Scots*, will depart the Kingdom; and if they ſhould, whether on good Cauſe, they may not return, when they ſhall ſee a Diviſion tend to a fatal Confuſion, both in the Heart of the State, and in the Body of the Kingdom, rather than they will give Opportunity to the Papiſts and Libertines to come in for a Share?

Wherefore, it is generally concluded by the beſt and moſt impartial Judgments, That there is no Proportion between the Riddance of a few monſtrous and exorbitant Members, and the general Safety of the King and his Kingdoms.

That there is a neceſſitated Policy, that my Lord of *Strafford*, the Biſhop, and ſome others, ſhould be given up as a juſt Sacrifice, to appeaſe the People, and to make a Compenſation for the Injury done to them and the Publick.

And thus have you the ſecond Act of the great Vice-Roy's Progreſs, with the Opinion of all and the beſt Judgments here about the Town, which I find to be ſuitable to yours in the Country.

The *Jacobite*'s Hopes fruſtrated, Or, the Hiſtory of the Calamities attending the *French* Conqueſt. Licenſed *November*, 29. *J. Fraſer*, 1690. *London*, printed for *Jeremiah Wilkins*, near the *Green-Dragon* Tavern, in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1690. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

IT is ſtrange to ſee ſo many Men diſſatiſfied at their Majeſties Proceedings, which have no other Tendency than towards the common Safety of their Subjects, that is expoſed to as great Dangers as any Country in *Europe*; and there are ſome Sort of People who are ſo mad, as to wiſh Succeſs to the profeſſed Enemy of their Country, out of a vain Hope, that they ſhould fare better than the reſt of their Neighbours, in caſe any publick Alteration ſhould happen in the Government; nay, the Madneſs of theſe Men carry them yet further, as to believe themſelves able to build their Fortunes upon the Ruin of their Country; I doubt not, if their Wiſhes did prevail, but theſe very Men would find themſelves very much deceived in their Expectations, and ſhould have as much Cauſe, as the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, to bemoan the common Calamity of their inſlaved Country.

We do not as yet underſtand the Doctrine of Bombs, and Carcaſſes, Contributions, and Military Executions; our Neighbours to their Sorrows know, that there is ſomething more in theſe Words than a bare Sound; ſo many ruined Countries, ſo many defaced Cities, Towns, and Villages, are laſting Monuments of the Truth of it.

The Murmuring of theſe People is to be attributed rather to their Ignorance than their Malice; they do not know the Calamities that attend War: We have lived ſo long in Peace, that the greateſt Part of us have no other Knowledge of it, than by Report; for, if we had partaked in the Sufferings of the neighbourings Nations, we ſhould be more unanimous in contributing our Aſſiſtance to ſtop that Torrent which threatens the Overflowing of all *Chriſtendom*; if we were but ſenſible of the dreadful Conſequences which a foreign Conqueſt brings along with it, we ſhould think it a very good Bargain to part with more than Half what we have to ſave the Whole, and to prevent that Slavery which may overwhelm us and our Poſterity. In order to open our Eyes that we may ſee our Danger, and to unite us againſt the Common Enemy, in a Cauſe wherein the Intereſt of every individual Perſon is ſo deeply concerned, I ſhall briefly give an Account of thoſe Miſeries which our Forefathers felt under the *Norman* Conqueſt, and afterwards what Uſage we are to expect from *Lewis the Fourteenth*, in caſe it ſhould be our hard Fortune to fall into his Power, whoſe very Mercies are Cruelties; as it evidently appears by his Practices as well towards his own Subjects, as others, whom his Treachery, or his Arms, have reduced under his Dominion. As to the *Norman* Conqueſt, it will not be impertinent to ſhew ſomething of the State of this Kingdom before that mighty Revolution happened, that we may the better ſee the Greatneſs of the Alteration which this foreign Conqueſt produced in our Anceſtors Days, and to that Purpoſe I ſhall only conſider the Condition of Affairs under the happy Reign of that pious King *Edward the Confeſſor*: In his Time the ancient Laws of the Kingdom flouriſhed, the Government was adminiſtered by an equal Diſtribution of Juſtice to the Poor as well as Rich, every Man enjoyed his Liberty and Property with great Security, Peace and Plenty appeared in all the Parts of the Kingdom; but Providence had decreed, that thoſe Halcyon-days ſhould determine with the Life of that King, who died without Iſſue on the Fourth of *January*, 1066. The Kingdom ſhould have deſcended to *Edgar Atheling*, being next of Blood, and Heir at Law to the deceaſed King; but, Prince *Edgar* being young, the Intereſt and Greatneſs of *Harold*, eldeſt Son of *Goodwin* Earl of *Kent*, prevailed with the Nobility to reject

Edgar's

Edgar's Pretenſions to the Crown, and to advance *Harold* to the Throne, who took upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government; and all the Nobility ſwore Allegiance to him.

Toſtus, one of the Earl of *Kent*'s Sons, envying the Proſperity and Advancement of his Brother, entered into a Confederacy, with *Harold* King of *Norway*, to invade *England* both by Sea and Land; *Harold* King of *England*, having Intelligence of their Deſign, made all the Preparations, he could, to withſtand them. In the mean While, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, reſolving to make his Advantage of theſe Diſtractions, raiſed a great Army, and prepared a numerous Fleet, which conſiſted of eight-hundred and ninety-ſix Ships, in order to make a Deſcent into *England*; he ſoon after hoiſed Sail, and his whole Army landed at *Pemſey*, near *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, on the Twenty-eighth of *September*, 1066; being landed, he cauſed all his Ships to be ſet on Fire, that his Men might ſee, that there was no Way left, but either to conquer, or to periſh in the Attempt; he intrenched himſelf, and afterwards marched, with a conſiderable Body of Men, to *Haſtings*, where he built a Fort; he publiſhed very ſtrict Orders, that none of his Soldiers ſhould plunder any of the Inhabitants, and kept himſelf ſo quietly, for the Space of fifteen Days, as if there was no Hoſtility intended at all; he pretended a Title to the Crown, by Vertue of a Gift from *Edward the Confeſſor*, as alſo by ſome Agreement, or Conſent, made betwixt him and King *Harold*: But, whatſoever he pretended, it is certain, that he confeſſed, on his Death-bed, that he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom by no other Title, than by Conqueſt; and his Deportment towards the *Engliſh* made it evident, that he never intended otherwiſe.

The King, having given Battle to his Brother, and the King of *Norway*'s Forces, and defeated them, but with the Loſs of a conſiderable Number of Men, received the News of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Landing in *England*; being fluſhed with his former Victory, he immediately directed his March towards *Haſtings*, though his Army had been much weakened and leſſened in the late Fight. His chief Commanders would have diſſuaded him from engaging with the Enemy upon a ſudden, leſt the ill Circumſtances, his Army was then in, might prove the Occaſion of his Overthrow; but all the Arguments they could uſe, were of no Force to prevent his Deſtiny.

The Duke of *Normandy*, being advertiſed of the King's Approach, ſent a Monk to him, in the Quality of his Ambaſſador, with Inſtructions to offer theſe Propoſitions to him: That either he ſhould reſign the Kingdom to the Duke upon certain Conditions, or hold it tributary of him; or elſe that they two, in the Sight of both Armies, ſhould determine the Matter by a ſingle Combate; and, in Caſe of Refuſal, the Duke offered to refer it to the See of *Rome*.

But King *Harold*, being reſolutely bent to fight his Enemy, whatever it ſhould coſt him, diſmiſſed the Ambaſſador, telling him, That God only ſhould be the Judge betwixt the Duke and him. All Thoughts of an Accommodation being laid aſide, the Generals on both Sides drew up their Armies into Order of Battle; the King himſelf ſtood on Foot by his Standard, together with his two Brothers, *Girthe* and *Leofwine*, to the End that, in the common Danger, no Man ſhould entertain the leaſt Thought of ſaving himſelf by Flight; both Armies, being engaged early in the Morning, fought with various Succeſs all that Day, till, towards the Evening, the King was killed by the Shot of an Arrow, which pierced his Brains; whereupon the *Engliſhmen* quitted the Field, and left the Duke an intire Victory. In this Battle fell the King's two Brothers, and moſt of the Nobility of the Kingdom. *John Taylor*, in his Hiſtory of *Normandy*, relates, That there were ſlain, on the *Engliſh* Side, ſixty-ſeven Thouſand nine-hundred ſeventy-four; ſome other Hiſtorians ſay but forty-ſeven Thouſand nine-hundred forty-four; of the *Normans* were killed ſix Thouſand and thirteen, beſides ſuch as were drowned at Sea before his Landing.

The King's Death being known, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, two Brothers, the one Earl of *Mercia*, the other Earl of *Northumberland*, having eſcaped from the Battle, came with their Retinue to *London*; they would have perſuaded the Citizens to make one of them King, in order, if it were poſſible, to retrieve the Misfortune of the late Fight, but their Propoſals would not be hearkened to; ſo the two Brothers went to *Northumberland*, in Hopes to ſecure themſelves there, believing that the Duke would hardly come thither, being a Place ſo remote from *London*.

The two Brothers being rejected, the Nobility and the Citizens would have made Choice of *Edgar*, the Nephew of *Edmund Ironſide*, to be their King; and did promiſe, that, under his Conduct, they would once more try the Fortune of the Kingdom, in a new Battle againſt the Duke; but, by Reaſon of the Danger that was ſo near at Hand, and the Diſcord which was amongſt them, they did neither; ſo that the *Engliſhmen*, if they had unanimouſly agreed, might have repaired the Loſs, which they had ſuſtained in the Battle at *Haſtings*; but, whilſt they would have none of their own Country to be their King, they made Way for a Stranger to come and tyranniſe over them.

While the *Londoners* were trifling away their Time in fruitleſs Debates, the Duke, though he determined to come to *London*, yet would not come the direct Way, which led thither, but marched up and down through *Suſſex*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, waſting the Country till he came to *Wallingford*, where he reſted his Army for ſome Time; afterwards, paſſing the River of *Thames*, he continued his March through *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Hertfordſhire*, having burned all the Towns, and killed all the Inhabitants, they could meet with, in their Way from *Haſtings*, till he came to *Berkhamſtead*, where he made a Halt. Thither came to him *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Wolſtone*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Wilfire* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Clito Edgar*, and all the Noblemen about *London*, with many others, who all together ſubmitted themſelves, and ſwore Fealty to him, and delivered Pledges for their Fidelity; with whom alſo the Duke made a certain League, or Agreement; but, notwithſtanding the ſaid Submiſſion and Agreement, he permitted his Men ſtill to burn Towns, deſtroy the Natives, and to ravage all that ſtood in their Way, as they had done before.

A little before *Chriſtmas*, he marched with his whole Army towards *London*, having his Scouts before him to obſerve the Manners and Behaviour of the People; who, upon the Arrival of the Scouts, were aſſembled in the Streets, and fully determined to oppoſe the Duke's Entry; who, being come to *London*, and finding the Inhabitants in that Poſture, made a great and mercileſs Slaughter of them; who, when they ſaw they were not in a Condition to make any farther Reſiſtance, ſubmitted themſelves to the Conqueror, and gave him Pledges for their future good Behaviour.

The Duke, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Capital City of the Kingdom, was there, both by the *Normans* and *Engliſhmen*, choſen, and proclaimed King on *Chriſtmas-day*, and, on the ſame Day, was crowned by the Archbiſhop of *York*.

Before I proceed any further in this tragical Story, it will not be amiſs to give ſome ſhort Account, how the *Kentiſh* Men came to ſave their Country, Lives, Laws, and Liberties, in the Midſt of theſe Devaſtations, which overſpread all the reſt of the Kingdom, that our imprudent Malecontents may ſee what Effects an unanimous Reſiſtance is capable of producing, in ſuch Caſes of Extremity.

The King, ſoon after his Coronation, took a Journey to reduce *Dover* Caſtle, and the reſt of the County of *Kent*; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Egleſine*, Abbot of the *Auguſtines*, being chief Lords of that Country, underſtanding the King's Deſign, cauſed all the People of *Kent* to aſſemble at *Canterbury*, where they declared to them, 'That, before the late Revolution, there were no 'Bondmen in *England*, and, that now, as 'well the Noblemen, as the common People, were made Subjects to the perpetual 'Bondage of the *Normans*, and perſuaded them 'to provide for their Safety, from the miſerable Example of an infinite Number of their 'Countrymen, who groaned under the Yoke 'of foreign Slavery; they likewiſe encouraged 'them to defend, manfully, their Lives, 'Liberties, and the Laws of their Country; 'and that they both, after the Example of 'the *Maccabees*, would be their Captains.' At a Day appointed, all the *Kentiſh* Men at *Swaneſcombe*, two Miles Weſtward from *Graveſend*, hid themſelves in a Wood, where they lay in Wait for the King's Coming; and it was agreed, that all, as well Horſemen as Footmen, ſhould carry Boughs in their Hands; the next Day, the King came near *Swaneſcombe*, where he was mightily ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf, on a Sudden, incloſed round about by a moving Wood: When the *Kentiſh* Men had hemmed him in, they threw down their Boughs, ſounded their Trumpets, and drew their Swords, &c. and ſhewed themſelves in a Readineſs to give the King Battle; the amazed King could not tell what to do in this Streight, to which he was reduced. Where-

upon, the Archbiſhop and the Abbot advanced towards him, and acquainted him with their Deſires, and, in Caſe of Refuſal, that they were all ready to die in the Defence of their Country; the King, who could do no otherwiſe, granted them every Thing they aſked; and by this Means it was, that *Kent* preſerved its Laws and Cuſtoms inviolable.

Having gone thus far in his Conqueſt, he received Homage, Fealty, and Pledges, from all the Noblemen, who ſubmitted themſelves to him; he thought this might be a ſufficient Security for the Preſent, until he could find an Opportunity (as he afterwards did by Degrees) to extinguiſh them all.

It is the uſual Policy of Conquerors, to bring as many Strangers, as they can, into the conquered Country, that they may be the better able to cruſh the Natives, and put it out of their Power to make any Inſurrection, let their Sufferings be never ſo great; to this End, he brought, from *Roan* in *Normandy*, a great Number of *Jews*, who were a griping uſurious Sort of People, whom he knew, that, by their covetous Artifice, would omit no Ways to make their Markets of the poor oppreſſed Natives.

The Conqueror had heard how all the *Danes* had formerly been maſſacred, in one Night, by the *Engliſh*; and, for Fear his *Normans* might be ſerved in the ſame Manner, and alſo to prevent any Nocturnal Meetings and Cabals, he commanded, 'That, in eve-'ry Town and Village, a Bell ſhould be 'rung every Night, at Eight o'Clock, and 'that all People ſhould then put out their 'Fire and Candles, and go to Bed;' which Order was punctually obſerved, during his whole Reign.

In the next Place, his Favourites and Soldiers, who had ſerved him in this Expedition, muſt be rewarded for the Toil and Hazards they had undergone in his Service, to whom he ſhares the greateſt Part of the Land of the Kingdom. *Taylor*, in his Hiſtory, reckons ſix-hundred and thirty Families, who had the Foundation of their Fortunes grounded upon the Ruins of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Normandy, in his Abſence, was inclined to revolt from him; being informed of it, he haſtened thither, and carried along with him all the prime Noblemen of *England*, whom he ſuſpected might raiſe any Diſturbance in the Kingdom, while he was out of it; having quieted *Normandy*, he returns, and lays an inſupportable Tribute upon the *Engliſhmen*: It is obſervable, that the *Engliſh*, by theſe Sort of extravagant Impoſitions, defrayed the greateſt Part of theſe frequent Wars, which he maintained beyond Sea, during his Reign over *England*. As a Conqueror, he well knew, that to impoveriſh them was the effectual Means, not only to leſſen their Fortunes, but alſo to debaſe their Courage; vaſt Numbers of the Inhabitants (whereof many were of the Royal Family) were forced to fly into foreign Countries, to avoid the Cruelty of the *Normans*. *Scotland* was ſo repleniſhed with theſe Fugitives, that there was no Pariſh, Town, or Village, in that Kingdom, but had ſeveral of them, whom the *Scots* employed in all their ſervile Drudgery.

Thoſe of them, who could not make their Eſcapes, were reduced to that Degree of Neceſſity, that, rather than ſtarve, they were contented to become Slaves to thoſe, who, at that Time, firſt had Power of Life and Death over them. The Services, which they performed to their Maſters, were the moſt vile Offices, that could be impoſed upon Mankind; this was the Original of Bondmen in *England*.

Before the Conqueſt, there were few or no Inland Caſtles in this Kingdom, and, wherever Inland Caſtles are in Uſe, they are deſigned, for the moſt Part, rather to inſlave the Natives, than protect them from foreign Invaſions. The Conqueror was reſolved to curb the *Engliſh*, and to inſlave them, to that Degree, that there ſhould be no Poſſibility left them, of recovering their loſt Liberties; to that End, he cauſed a Caſtle to be built at *Nottingham*, two at *York*, and another at *Lincoln*, and a great many more in other Places, which were all gariſoned with *Normans*, who treated the *Engliſh* Inhabitants with all the Inſolencies and Barbarities imaginable: This was the Reaſon of Building ſo many Caſtles, in ſo few Years after the Conqueſt; that, about the Reign of King *Stephen*, and *Henry the Fifth*, about eleven-hundred of theſe Caſtles were demoliſhed by publick Authority, in Regard that, by that Time, they were become a moſt inſupportable Grievance to the Nation.

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The Conqueror practiſed all the Ways he could imagine, to extinguiſh, as well as impoveriſh the *Engliſh*; and, in Purſuance to that Deſign, it was his uſual Policy to employ them always in his moſt deſperate Service: He likewiſe made Uſe of every Opportunity, to engage the *Engliſh* in the Deſtruction of one another, and the Circumſtances of Affairs afforded him an Occaſion for it. Many of the *Engliſh* Nation, being fled into *Denmark* and *Ireland*, made War upon *England* ſeveral Times, in Conjunction with theſe two Nations. The Conqueror always made Uſe of *Engliſh* Armies, under *Engliſh* Leaders, to oppoſe them; and though Fortune commonly declared herſelf, in moſt of thoſe Battles, in Favour of the *Norman* Conqueror, yet the Victory was ſeldom obtained without great Slaughter of the *Engliſh* on both Sides; neither did he care how many of them periſhed, provided the Conſequence was not deſtructive to his Intereſt.

When he came to be well fixed in the Poſſeſſion of his new Conqueſt, he degraded the few Noblemen that were left, and conferred their Titles and Eſtates upon his own Countrymen, to the Intent, that no *Engliſhman*, of any Quality or Intereſt, ſhould be left in the Nation: He would often glory in this Piece of Policy, and as often deride the Imprudence of that good-natured King, *Canutus* the *Dane*, who, having ſubdued *England*, reſtored the *Engliſh* to their former Poſſeſſions; whereby it came to paſs, that, after his Death, they eaſily expelled the *Danes* out of the Kingdom, and reinſtated the *Saxon* Line upon the Throne. It is commonly a Conqueror's Policy, to aboliſh all that was in Uſe amongſt the conquered People; neither was he wanting in that Reſpect, for he altered moſt of the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country. Their very Speech was ſo much abhorred, that the Laws were pleaded in the *French* Tongue, and the Children, in Schools, were taught their Letters, and Rudiments of Grammar, in the *French* Language.

He charged upon the Nation threeſcore-thouſand Knights Fees, which provided him ſo many Horſemen, well accoutred, whenever he had Occaſion to make Uſe of them: The Poſſeſſions of the Clergy were not exempted from this Service, which, in all former Ages, had been privileged from all temporal Incumberances.

The King had given the Earldom of *Northumberland* to one *Robert*, ſirnamed *Cumnia*, who marched thither, with a conſiderable Body of Men, to take Poſſeſſion of his Earldom; the *Northern* People, hearing of his Coming, prepared to reſiſt him, and, at *Durham*, they deſtroy him, and rout his Party. The King comes with an Army to the North, to revenge the Death of the Earl; in his March, he killed and plundered all he met with; and, when he arrived in the North, he committed ſuch a general Devaſtation, that, the next Year, there was ſo great a Dearth throughout all *England*, and eſpecially in *Northumberland*, and the Countries next adjoining, that Men were forced to eat Horſe-fleſh, Cats, Dogs, and Man's Fleſh. And all the Land, betwixt *Durham* and *York*, lay waſte, without Inhabitants to till the Ground, for the Space of nine Years following.

He plundered all the Monaſteries and Abbies in *England*, of all their Gold and Silver, not ſparing even the Chalices and Shrines; in theſe Places he found vaſt Sums of Money, which were hid there, by other People, for Fear of the *Normans*.

Having ruined the Laity, he was reſolved the Clergy ſhould fare no better; he hindered all the *Engliſh* from being preferred to any vacant Churches, and, to rid his Hands of thoſe that were in Poſſeſſion, by the Conſent of the Pope, he ſummoned a great Council, to be held at *Winchester*, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral other Biſhops, Abbots, and others, were deprived of their Livings, to make Room for the greedy *Normans*.

He oppreſſed the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry ſo intolerably, with a Deſign to force them to rebel againſt him, that from thence he might have a more colourable Pretence, to deſtroy them and their Families.

What I have in particular ſaid of this Conqueſt, is not the twentieth Part of the People's Sufferings, neither will my intended Brevity permit me to enlarge upon this Subject; for, if all the Burnings of Towns, Slaughters of People, the ſeveral Torments which were inflicted upon the Inhabitants, and the Oppreſſions of all Sorts, which they endured, were mentioned, it would afford Matter enough for a Volume; but what I have declared, is ſufficient to let us ſee what Miſeries our Forefathers underwent, as alſo to oblige

as many of us, as have a Grain of Senſe, or Courage left, to exert our utmoſt Abilities, to prevent the like Deſtruction from falling upon theſe populous and flouriſhing Kingdoms.

Our Malecontents are very much miſtaken, if they expect any better Uſage from a *French* Conqueror, at this Day, than their Anceſtors did meet, in former Times, from the Taſkmaſters of the ſame Country: For let them aſſure themſelves, that *Lewis the Fourteenth* is as well verſed in the Methods of Villainy and Cruelty, as ever the *Norman* was, or could pretend himſelf to be; his Arts do far outdo all that went before him, for, beſides the Calamities which our Forefathers ſuffered, he hath others in Store, which are much more inſufferable, ſome of which follow:

Firſt, You ſhall have a King, that fears neither God nor Man, that never obſerves his Oath, nor keeps any Promiſe, made with his Subjects or Strangers.

You ſhall be governed by a Prince, that is arbitrary in the higheſt Degree; your Lives and Fortunes will be abſolutely at his Diſpoſal, who values the Life of a Subject, not ſo much as another Man values the Life of an ordinary Dog.

Forts, Citadels, and Standing Armies will be your continual Plagues.

Nobility and Gentry muſt down, and betake themſelves to the Plough, to make Room for the inſolent Monſieur.

A Dog's Life (Hunger and Eaſe) will be much better than yours, for you muſt be very induſtrious, though the Fruits of your Labour muſt wholly reſult into the King's Coffers; you ſhall ſow Wheat, but ſhall not eat one Bit of the Bread thereof, throughout the whole Year.

You ſhall be continually ſubject to as great a Burthen of Taxes, as your Backs can bear, or your ſlaviſh Induſtry pay: To prevent Extravagancy, you ſhall be conſtrained to wear the meaneſt Cloaths, and, for good Huſbandry, you ſhall trot about in wooden Shoes, *Alamode de France*.

Theſe are the Bleſſings, which a *French* deſpotical Power brings along with it. But this is not all that a Proteſtant Country is to endure under the Monſieur's Tyranny, for he will make your Souls ſuffer, as well as your Bodies; and, therefore, I ſhall give you a ſhort Account of the compendious Means, he will make Uſe of, to pervert Proteſtants to the idolatrous Popiſh Religion: He will ſend his infallible apoſtolick Dragoons amongſt you, and this is their Way of Diſcipline, in Caſe you do not readily comply with them. The firſt Compliment they uſe, is to quarter themſelves, by Violence, in your Houſes, and take eſpecial Care you do not make your Eſcapes, or hide any of your Goods or Effects; then they will proceed to conſume all the Proviſions you have in your Houſes, and ſeize upon all Money, Rings, Plate, Jewels, *&c.* and, in ſhort, whatever they can lay Hands on, and, afterwards, will expoſe your Goods to publick Sale, to the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

Having thus diſpoſed of your Goods, in the next Place, they fall upon your Perſons, and there is no Wickedneſs, or Horror, which they will not put in Practice, to force you to change your Religion; they will hang Men and Women, by the Hair or Feet, on the Roofs of the Chambers, or Chimney-hooks, and ſmoak them with Wiſps of wet Hay, till they will be no more able to bear it; and when they have taken them down, if they will not ſign to what ſhall be propoſed to them, they will hang them up immediately.

Another Way they make Uſe of, is, To throw People on great Fires, kindled for that Purpoſe, and forcibly keep them there, till they are half roaſted; they alſo tie a Rope under their Arms, and plunge them to and fro into Wells, till they promiſe to quit their Religion and Conſcience; and, in this Poſture, with a Funnel filled with Wine, they pour it down their Throats, till the Fumes of it deprive their Reaſon, and then they obtain their Conſents to be Catholicks, as they call them.

Others they ſtrip ſtark naked, and, after having offered them a thouſand infamous Indignities, they ſtick them with Pins from Head to Toe.

Some they cut, in ſeveral Places, with Penknives; and ſometimes, with red-hot Pincers, they take them by the Noſe, and, after that, drag them about the Room, till they promiſe to comply.

Others they beat with Staves, and drag them, all bruiſed, to the Churches, where their forced Preſence will be accounted for an Abjuration.

Some they keep from Sleep, for ſeven or eight Days together, relieving one another, to watch them Night and Day, to keep them awake continually.

They uſe to throw Buckets of Water, and torment them a hundred Ways beſides, holding, over their Heads, Kettles turned downwards, and drum upon them continually, till the poor Creatures have loſt their Senſes.

If they find any Sick (either Men or Women) that keep their Beds, diſtempered with Fevers, or other Diſeaſes, their Way is, to bring about twelve Drums, beating an Alarm, at the Bed-ſide, for whole Weeks together, without Intermiſſion.

It is their uſual Practice, upon theſe Occaſions, to tie Fathers and Huſbands to the Bed-poſts, and raviſh their Wives and Daughters before their Faces. They pluck off the Nails of the Hands and Toes of others; they blow up ſome with Bellows, even till they are ready to burſt.

Theſe, and ten-thouſand other villainous Ways, the Jeſuitical Spirit hath found out, to make new Converts; whoever hath the Curioſity to ſee them, let him but peruſe the Hiſtory of the Perſecution of the Proteſtants in *France*, and he will find, that the ten primitive Perſecutions were but Mercies, in Compariſon of thoſe monſtrous Torments, lately invented, and put in Practice upon thoſe miſerable Creatures, by the Order of the Chriſtian *Turk*, *Lewis the Fourteenth*.

If you fall into *French* Hands, you ſee what is like to become of you; your Bodies will be condemned to irretreivable Slavery; and your Souls (as far as it lies in their Power) ſhall be conſigned to the Devil. If you are not ſo wiſe, as to regard either Body or Soul, I have done with you, and ſo farewel.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Ghoſt: Or, *England*'s Forewarner. Diſcovering a ſecret Conſultation, newly holden in the Court of *Spain*. Together with his Tormenting of Count *de Gondomar*; and his ſtrange Affrightment, Confeſſion, and publick Recantation. Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subverſion of *England*.

Creſce, cruor, ſanguis ſatietur ſanguine, creſce,
Quod ſpero ſitio, vah ſitio, ſitio.

Deſtruction and Unhappineſs is in their Ways, and the Way of Peace have they not known; there is no Fear of God before their Eyes, Pſal. xiv. 7.

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ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH the Liberty of theſe Times (wherein your Courants, Gazettes, Paſquils, and the like, ſwarm too abundantly) hath made all News, how ſerious or ſubſtantial ſoever, liable to the jealous Imputation of Falſhood; yet this Relation, I aſſure you, although in ſome Circumſtances it may lean too near the Flouriſh of Invention, yet, for the Pith or Marrow thereof, it is as juſtly allied to Truth, as the Light is to the Day, or Night to Darkneſs.

To hold thee, then, gentle Reader, in no further Suſpence, be pleaſed to underſtand, that, ſome few Days after the Solemnity of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin, according to the *Roman* and *Spaniſh* Computation, it pleaſed the Majeſty of *Spain*, *Philip the Fourth*, to retire himſelf to his delicate Houſe of Pleaſure, called *Caſa del Campo*, ſituated near the Town of *Madrid*, or *Madrill*, where his ſtanding Court, for the moſt Part, continually remaineth: And the neareſt in Attendance unto him, next to the Count *de Olivares*, was the Count *de Gondomar*, the arch Enemy to the flouriſhing Eſtate of our *England*, and the Fox, whoſe Stench hath not cured the Palſy, but rather impoiſoned and brought into an Apoplexy many noble, and ſometimes well deſerving, *Engliſh* Hearts. Neither was the King, for his Pleaſure, retired to this Houſe of Pleaſure, but rather through the Neceſſity of ſome ſpecial Affairs, the greateſt whereof ſeemed to be gathered from the laſt Attempt of the *Engliſh* upon the Fort and Caſtle of *Punetall*, and the Town of *Cadiz*, or *Cales*; wherein, though the Loſs was not ſo great or material as might either make the Aſſailant or Aſſailed offer Roſes, or Nettles, upon the Altar of Fortune; yet, the Affront ſeemed to ſtrike a more deep Impreſſion in the Hearts of the *Spaniards*, than could be well taken away with Scorn, which is the Enſign of their Pride, or with the Hope of future Advantage, which only gives Life unto their Envy and Malice.

And, therefore now at this Time and in this Place, after many Conſultations held with the Earl of *Gondomar*, whom the whole World baptiſed the *Butt ſlave*, or *Incendiary* of *Chriſtendom*, the *Intelligencer*, *Ambaſſador*, and *Jeſuitical Archbiſhop Ledger*, as his Practices in our Nation hath well witneſſed, touching ſome notable Revenge to be had againſt the State of *Great-Britain*, being the only Jewel on which *Spain* had long ſince fixed her Heart, to make her univerſal Monarchy every Way full and perfect, he is, by Command from the King, in the Perſon of the Count *Olivares*, to make his Appearance before the Pope's Nuncio, the Duke of *Lerma*, the Duke of *Cea*, the Duke of *Infantaſgo*, and the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, who had a ſpecial Commiſſion ſigned for that Purpoſe, and to deliver unto them all thoſe ſecret Advantages, which he had, either by the Experience of Time, the continual Labour of his Brain, the Corruption of his Bribes, the Threatenings and Inſinuations of his Popiſh Prieſts, the petulant Flatteries of his Papiſtical *Engliſh* Miſtreſſes, diving into their Huſbands Counſels, or, by any other direct or indirect Means, won unto himſelf a Knowledge or Inſtruction, for the Alteration or Subverſion of that brave and flouriſhing *Britiſh* Monarchy. And, in this Charge, the Count *de Olivares*, according to the State and Magnificence of the *Spaniſh* Reſervations, began to make a great Flouriſh of many demure and auſtere Circumſtances unto the Earl of *Gondomar*, concerning the Greatneſs of his Engagement, the high Truſt repoſed in his ſingular Knowledge, and the infinite Expectations the King and the whole State had fixed upon the Wiſdom of his Proceeding; adding thereunto ſundry Admoniſhments, or Caveats, to call into his Remembrance, touching many Alterations in the State of *Great-Britain*, ſome defenſive, ſome offenſive, ſince his laſt Abode or Commencement in the ſame; and, amongſt the reſt, as a Thing of moſt eſpecial Note, the Count began to repeat many Relations, which *Gondomar* himſelf had delivered unto him, touching the general Warlikeneſs of the *Britiſh* Nation, affirming, that he had heard him ſay, That he had ſeen the very Children and Boys in the Street make their Sport and Play a School of War, and, by Imitation from elder Knowledges, to expreſs, in Child-play, the very Excellency and Perfection of Martial Diſcipline; which had ſummoned in him both Matter of Paſſion and Admiration, that he had often cried out, *What will the* Engliſh *do? Every Child will be an* Hercules, *and kill a Serpent in his Cradle.* This, *Olivares* told him, was but a ſmall Shadow, or little Prick, to expreſs a much greater Subſtance now in Uſe; for, ſince the Death of King

James of ever living and famous Memory, the *Engliſhmen*, who, for the Space of twenty-two Years before, had, but as it were, dallied and played with Arms, rather ſeeking to affect it for Novelty than Neceſſity, were now, in one Year's deliberate and material Exerciſe, become ſo ſingular and exquiſite, that the *Netherlands* bluſhed to ſee themſelves overgone in a Moment, and that to be made familiar in an Inſtant, which they had laboured to obtain to in divers Ages.

Beſides, *Olivares* aſſured him, that he had received infallible Intelligence out of the Archduchеſs's Countries, that an hundred and odd of the beſt experienced Soldiers, or Firemen (being all *Engliſh*) were ſent from the States of the United Provinces, into *Great-Britain*, to educate and inſtruct, in Martial Diſcipline, every ſeveral Country and Province, inſomuch that the whole Iſland was Nothing now but a Nurſery of excellent and exquiſite Soldiers.

To this, *Gondomar* replied, that he had, from certain Jeſuits in *England*, received the like Intelligence, and with this Addition, that thoſe excellent ſelected Men in the *Low-Countries* found their equal School-Fellows, nay, many Tutors and experienced Maſters, when they came into *England*; ſo that indeed their Neceſſity did but convert to Superfluity and a little Loſs, to ſome that were of much better Deſerving.

Yet, ſaid *Gondomar* further, for my own Part, though this make much for our Terror and Amazement, and that we muſt, with *Curtius*, leap wilfully into a Gulph of certain Ruin, before we can hope for Revenge or Triumph, yet doth this new Military Courſe little move my Blood; for, though I muſt confeſs the *Netherlands* to be the only unparalleled School of War in the whole World, yet the only Thing it teacheth, is, Form and Fire, Intrenchment and Beſiegement; but for the Uſe of the Sword, Puſh of the Pike, Bringing of Groſſes Body to Body, and Hand to Hand, the Exerciſe of every private Strength, and the Fortune of Battles, Things which the *Engliſh* muſt of Neceſſity be expoſed unto, *Hoc raro aut nunquam*; and therefore, my Lord, I tell you, I more quake when I ſee an old *Iriſh* Commander drilling an *Engliſh* Company, who never beheld an Enemy, but he felt his Sword and knew his Target, than, when I ſee Infinites of golden Fellows, teaching Men only dance to the Tune of *Poſture*, or framing Chimera's in their Brains, whether the Pike and the Bow, or the Pike and Dragoon, or Pike and long Piſtol, be of greater Importance: But of theſe Things we ſhall have a larger Time to diſcourſe and think upon; it ſufficeth me that I know my Royal Maſter's Pleaſure, and your honourable Inſtructions, all which I will ſtudy to ſatisfy: Only divers Things are (through other Employments) laid, as it were, aſide from my Memory, not utterly forgotten; therefore I beſeech I may have the Reſpite of ſome few Hours, to reckon with my former Knowledge, and ſo yield up the whole Sum of my Duty and Service.

To this, *Olivares* ſeemed exceeding willing, and ſo, for the Earl to make Choice of his beſt Time, they departed one from the other; *Olivares* returning to ſatisfy the King, and *Gondomar*, taking his Litter, went back to *Madrid*, where, what Contention grew between him and his old acquainted Miſchiefs, how every Minute he produced new and unnatural Cocks-Eggs, brooded them from the Heat of his Malice, hatched them from the Deviliſhneſs of his Policy, and brought forth Serpents able to poiſon all *Europe*, is a Diſcourſe monſtrous and almoſt inexpreſſible; I will therefore omit this Mutiny of his troubled Thoughts, and only pitch upon this one Accident, no leſs ſtrange than memorable; wherein, as in a Mirrour, every Eye may behold the Weakneſs of a guilty Thought, and how eaſily Frailty is ſurpriſed and overcome, when it encounters with theſe two main Enemies of our Blood, Fear and Amazement.

It ſo fell out, the Morning before the Noon on which *Gondomar* was to appear before the deſigned Commiſſioners, partly to refreſh his perturbed Spirits with the pure Air, and to recollect unto himſelf all thoſe Thoughts and Circumſtances, which might make a glorious Paſſage for the huge and monſtrous Body of Miſchief, wherewithal he was, that Day, in Labour; that he cauſed his Attendants to bring him in his Litter to the *Prada*, near unto the City of *Madrid*, being a Place of Recreation and Pleaſure for the Nobility and Gallantry of *Spain*, not much unlike to our new *Moorfield* Walks, near to the City of *London*, only, that this is more private and reſerved; for, as ours is common to all Men of all Sorts, ſo is this *Prada* only but for the King, the Grandees of *Spain*, the Nobility, and ſome Gentlemen of the uppermoſt or beſt Quality.

After

After *Gondomar* had, in this Place of Recreation, taken a Turn or two in his Litter, whether he found his Ruminations diſturbed with the uneaſy Pace of his Mules, or, that that he had not Elbow-room enough in his Litter, to give Action and Grace to many of thoſe damnable Thoughts, which, in that Hour, gave him ſingular Contentment, for the *Spaniard* is not of our dull *Engliſh* Quality, to let his Words paſs from him as neglected Strangers, or Thoughts out of the Compaſs of his deareſt Familiarity, but rather as dear Children, or choiceſt Friends, to lend them Admiration with his Eyes and Hands, to adorn them with Expectation in the Shrug of his Shoulders, and, with a Thouſand other mimick Geſtures, to make a Speech that is as trivial and unſeaſoned as Folly itſelf, to appear as ſerious as if it were a *Delphian* Oracle; upon ſome one or other of theſe *Spaniſh* Diſguſts, this Fox (our Earl) unkennels himſelf, and makes his Servants take him from his Litter; then, placing his Chair (the true ſworn Brother, or, at leaſt, the neareſt Kinſman that might be to a Cloſe-ſtool) under the Shadow of certain Trees, in a Walk more reſerved than the reſt, he commanded his Attendants to withdraw themſelves; and he had Reaſon ſo to do for two principal Reſpects: The firſt, leſt his antick Poſtures, Mumps, Moes, and Monkey-wry Faces might draw Laughter, or Scorn from his Vaſſals; or, laſtly, leſt the Violence of his Study and Meditations might make ſome Words fall from him, which he thought too precious for another Man's Boſom.

Being obeyed in all his Commandments, and ſeated thus alone by himſelf, only guarded by his two choice Friends *Malice* and *Miſchief*, he had not called up many evil Thoughts to appear before him, when, on a ſudden, (according to the Weakneſs of his Apprehenſion) there ſhined round about him a moſt glorious and extraordinary Light, which might be taken rather for Fire and Flaming, than Shine or Glittering; and this appeared ſo ſuddenly, ſpread itſelf ſo largely, and increaſed ſo violently, that Terror, Fear, and Amazement, at one Inſtant, roſe upon the Heart of the Earl, and, with their cold Qualities, did ſo ſtupify, dull, and contract all his Spirits, that, as if he had ſeen *Meduſa*'s Head, the poor Don was become altogether a Piece of Ice or Marble; he had no Spirit to remember there were Spirits; his Croſſings and Bleſſings, his Holy Water, and his *Agnus Dei*, his Monks Charms, and his Jeſuits Conjurations, were all now turned to Quaking and Trembling, to Staring and ſtark Madneſs, to Gaping and Groaning, to Want of Words through Strife for Words, and, indeed, to what not that might ſhew the Singularneſs of a perplexed Aſtoniſhment! His Night-cap throws his Hat in the Duſt, and his Hair makes his Cap fly into the Air like a Feather; he doeth Reverence, but ſees no Saint; would fain utter either Salutations or Curſes but knows not by what Name to call his Controuler: In the End, ſtarting and ſtanding upright, ſeeming to ſee what he would not ſee, or to find out that with Curioſity, which he had rather loſe with the beſt Care of his Spirits; ſtraddling like a *Coloſſus*, as if he neither reſpected preſent Perils, nor feared thoſe which were further off, he looked as if he would look through the pure Air, and, though it have truly no Colour, yet was his Search ſo diligent, that he appeared to find out a conſtant Complexion; yet all was but his new Fear, which neither his Manner of Life (which had ever been deſperate, ſubtle, and reſerved) the Condition of the Times (at that Time and in that Place, free from Perplexities and Incumbrance) the State of his Affairs (rather riſing than declining) nor his preſent Negotiations, ſtrong enough to have encountered with any *Goliah*'s Amazement, was able now to keep conſtant any one Joint about him: I have read, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had like to have died at the Sight of the nine Worthies, which a Magician had diſcovered; but, our Don *Gondomar* is like now to die at the Sight of Nothing but Air, and his own Imagination, for he had every Symptom of Death about him, as a Body trembling, a Stomach ſwelling, Forehead turned yellow, Eyes dead or ſinking, a Mouth gaping, and what not that could ſay, our Don is now upon the Pitch of departing. They ſay, that great Princes ſhould never ſee the Portraiture of Fear, but upon their Enemies Backs; ſure I am, *Gondomar* now ſaw both Fear and Cowardice upon his own Heart. But why ſhould I drive you off with more Circumſtance? The Nakedneſs of the Truth is, that, as he gazed thus fearfully about, there appeared, or ſeemed to appear before him, the Ghoſt of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, a noble famous *Engliſhman*, and a renowned Soldier: At this Apparition, the Earl fell down flat to the Earth upon his Face (for backward

he durſt not, leſt he might give an Offence to his Surgeon) and yet the Poſture, in which this noble Gentleman appeared, however fearful to the Guilt of *Gondomar*'s Conſcience, was amiable and lovely to any pure and honeſt Compoſition, for he was armed at all Pieces, and thoſe Pieces of Silver, which is the Enſign of Innocence and Harmleſneſs: In his right Hand, he brandiſhed his Sword, which was an Inſtrument that had been ever fatal to *Spaniſh* Practices, and, had not the Edge been taken off by this Fox's Subtleties, I perſuade myſelf, by this Time, it had near made a new Conqueſt of the *Weſt-Indies*; in his left Hand, he ſeemed to carry a Cup of Gold filled with Blood, which Blood he ſprinkled, ſome upon *Gondomar*, and ſome upon the Ground, uttering, in an hollow and unpleaſant Voice, theſe or the like Words following:

Creſce cruor, ſanguis ſatietur ſanguine, creſce, quod ſpero ſitio, ah ſitio, ſitio.

Gondomar's Attendants, who had all this While, afar off, beheld their Lord's Actions, ſeeing him now falling down in this Trance, came with all poſſible Speed running unto him; but, before they could offer an Hand to his Aſſiſtance, they might hear him utter Words of that ſtrange Nature and Quality, that their Fears bridled their Charities, and they were rather willing to let him lie ſtill, bending their Attentions to his Words, than by a too officious Diſturbance, to break off any Part of that Diſcourſe which might make for the Bettering of the Knowledge of the State, or otherwiſe be applied to future Service, at which theſe unnatural and abortive Accidents ever point; and, therefore, fixing their Eyes and Ears conſtantly upon him, as he lay groveling on the Earth, they might hear theſe, or Words much like unto theſe, proceed from his perplexed and amazed Spirit:

Bleſſed Soul, noble Sir *Walter Raleigh*, What have I to do with thy Goodneſs, or wherefore haſt thou left the Peacefulneſs of thy Reſt, to torment, and call me to Account, before the prefixed and full Day of my Trial be come, and that I muſt ſtand Face to Face with thee, and a World of others, before the greateſt Tribunal? I can confeſs mine Iniquities, and that I have been to the King my Maſter, as *Borgia Cæſar* was to Pope *Alexander the Sixth*, an Inſtrument willing to take upon me any or all Manner of Sins, how odious or vile ſoever, ſo I might but make *Spain* look freſh, and that thoſe Imputations, which otherwiſe might have drowned her, might be but put into the Catalogue of my Services, though Defame and Curſes were heaped upon me, in much greater Quantities than *Oſſa*, *Pelion*, or *Pindus*. I do confeſs, I have been the very Noſe of the *Spaniſh* State, through which hath been voided all the Excrements, both of the Head and the whole Body: I have been a Channel, or a Common-ſewer, to the Church of *Rome*; and what either Pope, Prieſt, Knave, or Jeſuit, could invent, I have not left to put in Practice: I knew the Odiouſneſs of Conſpiracies, and how hateful they are both to God and Man, yet had I never the Power to leave Conſpiring: I knew both, that the Law of God, and the Law of Honour, tied Princes to deteſt Conſpiracies, and had many Times read over that notable Hiſtory of *Lewis the Eleventh*, and could repeat the noble and famous Praiſes which all *Europ* gave him, for advertiſing his Arch-enemy, the Duke of *Burgundy*, of an Attempt againſt his Perſon: But what hath this wrought in me? Certainly, nothing but more Flame, and more Fuel, ſo long as my Thoughts were buſied with the Study and Remembrance of an univerſal Monarchy.

I confeſs, I have many Times ſaid, however I have believed, that thoſe great ones, which ſeek to make away their Enemies, otherwiſe than by Juſtice, or the Event of War, ſhew Minds baſe and cowardly, and that their Souls are empty of true Courage, fearing that which they ſhould ſcorn. I confeſs, I have admired the Goodneſs of *Faritius*, who delivered into *Pyrrhus*'s Hand the Slave that ſhould have poiſoned him. I have made *Tiberius Cæſar* a Demy-god, for anſwering a King of the *Celtes*, which made him an Offer to poiſon *Arminius*, 'That *Rome* did not uſe to be revenged of 'her Enemies ſecretly and by Deceit, but 'openly and by Arms;' but have I purſued this honourable Track? Have any of my ghoſtly Fathers, the Jeſuits, or my Maſters, the Inquiſitors, given Examples for theſe Reſtrictions? No, their Leſſons are of a clean contrary Nature; they ſay, *Flaminius* was an honeſt Man, when he made *Pruſias* the King of *Bithynia*, violate all the Laws of Hoſpitality and Virtue, in the Murther of *Hannibal*; but the whole Senate condemned the Action for moſt odious, accuſed *Flaminius* of Cruelty

and Covetouſneſs, of vain Glory, and of Oſtentation; And queſtionleſs, had they had any Touch or Feeling of Divinity or Chriſtianity, they could not have found any other Rank for him, than that next unto *Judas*: Theſe fair Paths I have known, but theſe I have forſaken: And, as *Flaminius* was the Cauſe of *Hannibal*'s Death, out of an ambitious Emulation, that he might, in the Hiſtories of ſucceeding Times, be made notorious and eminent for ſo foul an Action: So I muſt confeſs, I, that have, the whole Courſe of my Life, laboured continually in the deep Mine of Policy, have not ſpared any Blood, how excellent ſoever, ſo I might be remembered in our after Annals, for one of the chief Maſter Workmen, which went to the Building up of the King my Maſter's Univerſal Monarchy: And, in this, I muſt confeſs, moſt bleſſed Soul, that thy Death, thy untimely, and to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, much too early Death, which with all Violence, and with all the Conjurations, Perſuaſions, and Examples, that could tie and bind together the Hearts and Bodies of Princes, I did both plot, purſue, effect, and conſummate, was one of the greateſt Maſter-pieces, in which I ever triumphed; I have made myſelf fat with thy Downfal; and the Blood, which iſſued from thy Wound, was Nectar and Ambroſia to my Soul; for from thy Ending I knew right well muſt proceed *Spain*'s Beginning; for never could the *Spaniſh* King ſay, as the *French* King did, *Je ſuis Roy ſeul*, I am King alone of the *Indies*, as long as *Raleigh* lived, whoſe Knowledge and Experience was able to divert, convert, and turn topſy-turvy all his Conqueſts, all his Proceedings. I ſay, the tottering Ground, whereon my King's Title to the *Indies* ſtood, that it was nothing but Violence and Force, Tyranny and Uſurpation, and that, if a ſtronger or more gentle Army ſhould enter, How eaſy it was to ſet us beſides the Cuſhion? This I knew thou kneweſt, and what not beſides, which belongs to ſo great an Attempt and Triumph. I muſt confeſs, I have called up into my Mind the Honour, the Antiquity and Greatneſs of thy great Family, how rich thou wert in Blood and Friends, the whole Weſt of the *Engliſh* Nation depending on thine Alliance: The Manner of thine Education, which was not Part, but wholly Gentleman, wholly Soldier; the Endowments of thy Virtues, which was Learning and Wiſdom; the Advancement of thoſe Endowments, which was to by the greateſt, the beſt, the moſt renowned Princeſs that ever breathed in *Europe*; and in the greateſt Time, of the greateſt Actions, the buſieſt Time of the moſt troubled Eſtates, the wiſeſt Time for the Diſcuſſion of the moſt difficult Affairs, and the only Time that did produce the Excellency and Perfection of Wiſdom, War, and Government, ſo that nothing could be hid from thy Knowledge, neither wouldſt thou ſuffer any Thing to be concealed from thine Experience, for thou hadſt ever a Mind actively diſpoſed; and howſoever thy Fortune was accompanied with all Manner of Felicities, Things able in themſelves to have drawn thy Mind, from all other Objects, and to have ſettled thee upon this Theory, That Solitarineſs is the moſt excellent Condition belonging unto Mankind, inaſmuch as in it he only findeth the true Tranquillity of the Mind, for nothing is wanting in that quiet Habitation; Manna falls there, the Ravens bring Bread from Heaven; if the Waters be bitter, there is Wood to ſweeten them: If the Combate of *Amaleck* and *Edom* be there, the Triumphs of *Moſes* and *Joſhua* are likewiſe there, for what cannot a Life retired either ſuffer or cure in its Contemplation? Yet all this thou didſt neglect, and both contradict and diſprove; thou kneweſt this Life unfit for thy Greatneſs, and thou wert not born for thyſelf but thy Country; thou kneweſt the Sea, wherein every great Soul ſhould wander, had no Haven but the Grave, and that, as they lived, ſo they ought ever to die in Action. Hence it came, that even in the very Flouriſh and Glory of all thy great Eſtate, thou betookeſt thyſelf to the Seas, and what thou hadſt before, by thy Purſe, and infinite great Charge in the Actions of other Men, won and annexed to the Diadem of thy great Miſtreſs, now thou doſt, in thine own Perſon, take a View and Survey of the ſame, applying Knowledge to Report, and making thine own Experience a Controuler to other Men's Relations: I dare not, for the Honour of my Nation, unfold the woeful Perplexity, in which *Spain* ſtood during this tedious Voyage; how ſhe quaked to think of the general View which thou hadſt taken, without Impeachment of all the *Weſt-Indies*; but moſt of all, when ſhe was advertiſed of thy long and laborious Paſſage upon the River *Oroonoko*, the Diſtinguiſhments which thou hadſt made, betwixt it, and the

River,

River of *Amazons*; and the Intelligences which thou hadſt gotten for thine Aſcent to the great City of *Manoa*, and Kingdom of *Guiana*; Deſigns, which if they had been purſued according to thy Willingneſs and Knowledge, we had not, at this Day, acknowledged one Foot of Earth for ours, in all the *Weſt-Indies*: O the miſerable Eſtate of *Spain*, if theſe Things had proceeded; ſhe had then, which now threatens all, begged of all; and the Piſtoles of Gold, and Pieces of Plate, wherewith it now corrupts and conquers Nations, had then been turned to Leather or Iron, or ſome other *Spaniſh* Stuff, more baſe and contemptible: Was it not now high Time to conſpire againſt thee, to dig, mine, undermine, to enter into Familiarity with Male-contents, to ſeduce ſome, to bribe others, to flatter all; to preach a Thouſand moſt damnable falſe Doctrines, for the Subverſion of Princes, and the Deſtruction of their faithful Servants? Was it not Time for us to make Religion a Cloke for our Villainy, and under the Lamb's Furr to cover the Wolf's Policies? Believe me, bleſſed Shadow, had we either made Conſcience of Sin, or Scruples for the Maintenance of Honour, we had not ſubſiſted as we do, but had ſadly lain, like thoſe, which now lie captived below us. Can *Spain* ever forget thine Attempt, upon her own Confines, and in her ſecureſt Places? Call up *Cadiz* to Witneſs, ſhe will ſhew you ſome of her Aſhes; call the King's great Armada to Account, which was led by his twelve, ſuppoſed invincible Apoſtles, and the moſt of them muſt riſe from the Bottom of the Seas, ſome muſt diſembogue from your and our own Harbours: Let *Pharaoh* in *Portugal* ſpeak, and ſhe will confeſs that her Church will yet hardly cover her Idols. When I look upon the Iſlands of the *Azores*, methinks I ſee *Fiall* burning in the Flames, which you caſt upon her, whilſt all the reſt bring in the Tributes of their beſt Wealths, to ſave themſelves from periſhing. *Laſtly*, but not leaſt, for from it I raiſed the Ground-work of thy fatal Deſtruction, I cannot but recount thine Action upon the Town of St. *Thomas*, ſtanding upon the River of *Oroonoko*, how fit it lay as a Bait to draw thee into Miſchief, and how bravely it gave me Occaſion never to deſiſt till I ſaw thy Ruin; alas! Was that deſpiſed Town to be prized with thy Life, with thine Experience, with thine Ability to direct, or with the leaſt Part of thine Actions? No, it was not, only my Malice, made it ineſtimable, and my continual Sollicitations, mine Imprecations, my Vows, mine Exclamations upon Juſtice, mine Inſtances on the Actions of pious and religious Kings, and the Darings of too bold and ambitious Subjects, was ſo importunate and violent, that but in the great Forfeiture of thy Blood, my Fury could find no Satisfaction; hence you fell, and that Fall was to me more than a double Banquet; for now methought I ſaw all Things ſecure about me: Now ſaid I to myſelf, Who ſhall ſhake any one Stone in our Building; who ſhall give us Affright by Sea, or ſhew us the Terrors of the Land? What ſhall hinder us now to bring Home our Gold in Carviles, and our Marchandiſe in Hoys and Fly-boats; all is ours, the Ocean is ours, and the *Indies* are ours; this could we never boaſt before, yet this was my Work, and in this I triumphed.

At theſe Words, the Ghoſt appeared to ſhew Anger, and menacing him with Frowns, and the Shaking of his Sword, the poor Don, lifting up his Arms under his Cloke, ſhewed his red Badge of the Order of *Calotravia*; but, finding the Croſs utterly void of Vertue, to divert that Charm, he began to cry out again in this Manner:

Do not miſtake me, bleſſed Soul, in that I have ſaid I triumphed, for I will now, with Grief and Repentance, buy from thy Mercy my Abſolution. It is true, that then I triumphed, for what is he, that takes in Hand any Labour or Work, of high Conſequence, but, when he hath finiſhed it to Perfection, he ſits down, and rejoiceth? So I, that ſaw (not afar off, but near at Hand) the infinite Hinderances, Rubs, and Impediments, which thy Knowledge, thy Valour, thy Command, and Experience, might bring to any Work, undertaken by my King, for the Advancement or Bringing forward of his univerſal Monarchy; and, when I pondered with myſelf, that no Nation, under Heaven, was ſo able in Power, ſo apt in the Nature and Diſpoſition of the People, nor ſo plentiful in all Accommodations, both for Sea and Land, as this Iſland of *Great-Britain*, to oppoſe or beat back any, or all of our Undertakings: When I ſaw *France* buſy, both at Home and Abroad; the *Low-Countries* careful to keep their own, not curious to increaſe their own: When I ſaw *Germany* afflicted with Civil Anger, *Denmark* troubled to take Trouble

from his deareſt Kinſman; the *Polander* watching of the *Turk*, and the *Turk*, through former Loſſes, fearful to give any new Attempt upon *Chriſtendom*, and, that in all theſe, we had a main and particular Intereſt: When I ſaw every Way ſmooth for us to paſs, and that nothing could keep the Garland from our Heads, or the Goal from our Purchaſe, but only the Anger or Diſcontent of this fortunate *Britiſh* Iſland: Blame me not then, if I fell to Practices unlawful, to Flatteries deceitful, to Bribery moſt hurtful, and to other Enchantments moſt ſhameful, by which, I might either win mine own Ends, or make my Work proſperous in the Opinion of my Sovereign. I confeſs I have, many Times, abuſed the Majeſty of *Great-Britain* with curious Falſhoods: I have proteſted againſt my Knowledge, and uttered Vows and Promiſes, which I knew could never be reconciled: I have made Delays ſharp Spurs, to haſten on mine own Purpoſes, and have brought the ſwifteſt Deſigns to ſo ſlow a Pace, that they have been loſt like Shadows, and neither known nor regarded: I looked into your Commonwealth, and ſaw, that twenty-two Years Eaſe had made her grow idle: I ſaw the *Eaſt-Indies* eat up and devour your Mariners and Seamen, and Time and old Age conſume and take away your Land-Captains; and, of all, none more material than yourſelf: Blame me not then, if I made thy End my Beginning, thy Fall the Fulneſs of my Perfection, and thy Deſtruction the laſt Work, or Maſter-piece of all my Wiſdom and Policy. This is the Freedom of my Confeſſion, and but from this Sin abſolve me, and I will die thy Penitent in Sackcloth and Aſhes.

At theſe Words, the Apparition ſeemed (in the fearful Imagination of the poor Don) to be more than exceeding angry, and looked upon him with ſuch Terror and Amazement, that *Gondomar* fell, with the Affright, into a Trance, or deadly Sound, whilſt the Ghoſt ſeemed to utter unto him theſe, or the like Words following:

To thee, whom baſe Flattery, Want, and Covetouſneſs have gilded with theſe fooliſh and unfitting Hyperbole's, as to call thee, The Flower of the Weſt, The Delight of *Spain*, The Life of Wit, The Light of Wiſdom, The *Mercury* of Eloquence, The Glory of the Gown, The *Phœbus* in Court, *Neſtor* in Council, Chriſtian *Numa*, and principal Ornament of this Time.

Lord *Diego Sarmiento de Acuna*, Moſt honourable Earl of *Gondomar*, Governor of *Menroyo*, and *Pennaroyo*, of the moſt honourable Order of *Colotravia*, Counſellor of State, one of the King's Treaſurers, Ambaſſador for his Catholick Majeſty to his Royal Majeſty of *England*, Regent of the Town and Caſtle of *Bayon*, Preſident of the Biſhoprick of *Tuid* in *Galicia*, Chief Treaſurer of the moſt noble Order of *Alcantara*, one of the four Judges of the ſacred Privileges, Pronotary of the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Leon*, and *Galicia*, and Principality of *Aſturias*, and Lord High-Steward of the moſt puiſſant *Philip the Fourth*, King of all the *Spains*, and of the *Indies*.

Lo thus I ſalute thee with thy true Stile, and eminent Inſcription, according to thine abſolute Nature, Quality, and Profeſſion:

To thee then, that art The poiſonous Weed of *Europe*, The *Atlas* of *Spain*'s Sins and Conſpiracies, The Devils's Fool, The Wiſeman's Bugbear, The *Mercury* of knaviſh Policy, The Diſgrace of Civility, The Buffoon in Court, *Até* in Counſel, Atheiſt for the Pope's Advantage, and principal Intelligencer between Hell and the Jeſuits.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Moſt diſhonourable Earl of *Gondomar*, Poller and Piller of *Menroyo*, and *Pennaroyo*, of the rich covetous Order of *Co'otravia*, Gazettiſt of State, one of the Conſumers of the King's Purſe, Intelligencer for his Catholick Majeſty, againſt the Royal Majeſty of *England*, Spoiler of the Town and Caſtle of *Bayon*, an ill Example to the Biſhoprick of *Tuid* in *Galicia*, Chief Caſh-keeper for the Order of *Alcantara*, one of the four Bribe-takers for the profane Privileges, Promoter for the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Leon*, and *Galicia*, and Principality of *Aſturias*, and a continual Broker between the King of *Spain* and the Pope, and between the Jeſuits, the Inquiſitors, and the Devil.

Hearken to my Detection; and though I know thou canſt ſteal and kill, ſwear and lie, weep and wound, and indeed do any Thing that is contrary to Truth and Juſtice; yet in this Accuſation, Shame, and thine own putrefied Conſcience ſhall be Witneſſes ſo powerful and undaunted, that thou ſhalt not be able to refel any one Allegation or ſmalleſt Particle.

To begin then with mine own End, though I know the Day of my Death was the greateſt Feſtival that ever thy Fortune did ſolemniſe, though it brought to *Spain* a Year of Jubilee, to thy Reputation *Abſolam*'s Pillars, and to every Papiſtical Miniſter in the World, the Praiſe of his Arts-maſter; yet poor deſpiſed Mortal, know, it was not you, but a more divine and inſcrutable Finger, which pointed out my Deſtiny to this Manner of End and Deſtruction; neither is it fit for the Humility of ignorant Man to open his Eyes, as daring to preſume to gaze on the radiant Beams of that Sovereign Power, which diſpoſeth of ſecond Cauſes, as he pleaſeth; neither do I afflict thee as my particular Executioner, but as my Country's general Enemy: It ſufficeth me, that the great God, who is Judge of Life and Death, hath diſpoſed of my Life, and after this early Manner, that in it he might expreſs the Effects of his Juſtice; therefore, trouble not thyſelf with my Death, which was thy Comfort, but be vexed at thine own Life, which is nothing but a continual Pilgrimage to Ambition, and an undermining Mole to dig down the Church of God, and to bring the Goſpel of our bleſſed Saviour into eternal Captivity. Haſt not thou been an untired Packhorſe, travelling Night and Day, without a Bait, and loaden like an Aſs, till thy Knees have bowed under the Burthen of ſtrange and unnatural Deſigns, by which to advance thy Maſter to the univerſal Monarchy of all *Europe?* This thy Fear hath made thee confeſs, but this thy Flattery and Falſhood will deny, ſhould not the Efficacy of Truth make it moſt apparent and pregnant: Therefore, to enter into the firſt Streams from whence *Spain* hath gathered the great Ocean of its Sovereignty, there is no Fountain more remarkable than the Battle of *Alcazar* in *Barbary*, where the too forward Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, whether ſlain or not ſlain, engaging himſelf too unfortunately, gave Occaſion to *Philip the Second* of *Spain*, to enter and uſurp upon his Kinſman's Kingdoms, to expel Don *Antonio* from his Right and Inheritance, and as it is ſtrongly ſuppoſed, to cauſe the true King himſelf to die in the Gallies; hence he became King of all the *Spains* and *Portugal*, pulled to himſelf the Sovereignty both of the Iſlands of the *Canaries*, and of the *Azores*; the one ſecuring his Way forth, the other ſecuring his Way Home, from the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſo made the Conqueſt thereof more ſafe and undoubted; he took alſo, by the ſame Intereſt, many Strong-holds, and merchantable Places, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſo that ſitting now alone in *Spain*, without a Competitor, and having Treaſure from the *Weſt-Indies*, wherewith to pay Soldiers, and Merchandiſe from the *Eaſt-Indies*, wherewith to inrich his own Subjects, What could he, or what did he contemplate upon but the Augmentation of his Monarchy? Hence it came, that his War grew violent upon the *Low-Countries*, and under the Governments of the Duke of *Alva*, and Don *John*, Duke of *Auſtria*, the Tyrannies ſo inſufferable, that all Manner of Freedoms were converted to Slaveries, and the Blood of the Nobility, made only Food for the Slaughter-houſe; yea ſuch as were remote and ſtood farther off from his Cruelty, depending upon their own Rights and under the Covert of their own Guards, were not yet ſafe from *Spain*'s Conſpiracies; and that witneſs the Death and Murther of the famous Prince of *Orange*, the Impriſonment and Death of his eldeſt Son, and a World of infamous Practices againſt the Life of Count *Maurice*, the laſt Prince deceaſed, and againſt the Safety of Count *Henry* the Prince now ſurviving. What Incroachments were daily made upon theſe diſtreſſed Provinces, all the Princes of *Europe* bluſh to behold, and had not *Eliſabeth*, my dread Lady and Miſtreſs of famous and bleſſed Memory, taken them to her Royal Protection, they had long ſince been ſwallowed up in the Gulph of his Tyranny, and none of them, now living, had known the Name of free Princes; and as this Work was begun by *Philip the Second*, ſo it was continued by *Philip the Third*, and is now at this Hour as earneſtly purſued by *Philip the Fourth*, and his Siſter the Archduchеſs, and rather with Gaining than Loſing; ſo that, ſhould *England* but turn its Face a little away from their Succour, there would be a great Breach made in the Hope of their ſubſiſting.

But you will anſwer, that if *Spain* had fixed down its Reſolution upon an univerſal Monarchy, they had never then hearkened to a Peace with the *Netherlands*; to this thine own Conſcience is ten-thouſand Witneſſes, that the Peace, which it entertained, was nothing elſe but a politick Delay to bring other,

and

and imperfect Ends and Deſigns, to a more fit and ſolid Purpoſe, for Effecting of his general Conqueſt; for what did this Truce, but divert the Eyes of the *Netherlands* (which at that Time were growing to be infinite great Maſters of Shipping) from taking a Survey of his *Indies*, and bring a Security to the Tranſportation of his Plate and Treaſure, and make him ſettle and reinforce his Gariſons, which then were grown weak and over-toiled, beſides a World of other Advantages, which too plainly diſcovered themſelves, as ſoon as the War was new commenced?

As he had thus gotten his Feet into the *Netherlands*, Had not *Spain*, in the ſame Manner, and with as much Uſurpation, thruſt his whole Body into *Italy*? Let *Naples* ſpeak, let *Sicily*, let the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, the Dukedom of *Milan*, the Revolt of the *Valtoline*, and a World of other Places, ſome poſſeſſed, ſome lying under the Pretence of ſtrange Titles, but come to give up their Account; and it will be more than manifeſt, that no Seignory, in all *Italy*, but ſtood upon its Guard, and hourly expected when the *Spaniſh* Storm ſhould fall upon them. How many Quarrels have been piled againſt the State of *Venice*, ſome by the Pope, ſome by the King of *Spain*? How many Doubts have been thrown upon *Tuſcany*? What Proteſtations have flown to *Genoa*, and what Threatenings againſt *Geneva*? And all to put *Italy* into a Combuſtion, whilſt the Pope's Holineſs, and his Catholick Majeſty, like *Saturn*'s Sons, ſat full gorged with Expectation to divide Heaven and Earth between them.

O! Was it not a brave politick Trick of *Spain*, neither was thine Advice abſent from the Miſchief, when the Difference fell between *Henry the Great* of *France*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, about the Marquiſate of *Saluſes*? The King then your Maſter, under Pretence of aiding the Duke, his Brother-in-Law, ſent divers Regiments of *Spaniards*, which were quartered ſome in *Carbonieres*, ſome in *Montemellion*, *Savillan*, *Pigneroll*, and divers other Places, about *Savoy* and *Piedmont*; but when the Truce was concluded, Could the Duke, upon any Intreaty, or potent Meſſage, make theſe *Spaniards* to quit his Country? No, by no Means, for they were ſo far from leaving their Foothold, having received divers Commandments to keep it, both from the Count *de Fuentes*, at that Time, Vice-roy of *Milan*, from thee by private Letters, and from the King your Maſter by ſundry Commiſſions; that the Chiefs of thoſe Troops peremptorily anſwered the Duke, that they would hold their Gettings, in Deſpight of all Oppoſition, and were indeed, full as good as their Words for a long Time; till at laſt, the Duke, forced thereunto, raiſed up a ſtrong Army, and in a few Days put them all to the Sword. I would here repeat the *Spaniſh* Attempt againſt the Caſtle of *Nice*, being the very Key or Opener of an Entrance into the very Bowels of *Italy*; I could ſpeak of the dangerous Quarrel, raiſed between the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, for the Marquiſate of *Montferrat*, and how fatal it was likely to have been to the whole State of *Italy*, wherein *Fuentes*, and thyſelf, ſhewed all the Art of Practice that might be, which ſhould become the Maſter Workman; but theſe Things are ſo pregnant and apparent, that they need little Diſcuſſion.

Let me now awaken thy Memory with ſome Stirrings up, or Practices againſt the Kingdom of *France*, no leſs but more pernicious than any of the former: Who was the Head or chief Sovereign (after the Death of *Henry the Third*, King of *France* and *Poland*) of that moſt unchriſtianlike Combination, intitled the *Holy*, but truly, *unholy League*? Was it not *Philip* of *Spain*, one of your moſt Catholick Maſters, who made the great and valiant *Guiſe* his Sword and Servant, the old Queen-Mother his Intelligencer and Admirer, the Cardinals his Miniſters and Seducers, and the Pope himſelf a prodigal Child, to beſtow and give away whatſoever he required? Was not all this *Philip* of *Spain*, your Catholick Maſter? How long did he keep *Henry the Fourth*, ſirnamed, *the Great*, from his lawful Throne and Inheritance? What Cities did he poſſeſs? Even the greateſt that *France* could number. What Countries under his Command? All that were rich or fruitful. And what Nobility had he drawn from their Obedience? Thoſe that were moſt powerful and beſt beloved; inſomuch that had not my moſt excellent Miſtreſs, *Eliſabeth*, of bleſſed and famous Memory, like a ſtrong Rock againſt the Rage of a furious Sea, taken the Quarrel into her Hand, and by her Royal Protection, firſt under the Conduct of the Lord *Willoughby*, after under the Conduct of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſtaid and ſupported that reeling State, *France*, it is feared,

at this Hour, had only ſpoken the *Spaniſh* Language; but God in his great Mercy had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe Practices, and though with ſome Difficulties, brought the Crown of *France* to its true Owner; a Prince ſo abſolutely excellent in every Perfection of true Honour and Magnanimity, that his Parallel hath not been found in all the Hiſtory of *France*; and although he had in his very Youth, and almoſt Childhood, prevailed in divers Battles, as that at *Monconter*, and at *Rene-le Duke*; and although he had, been aſſailed in the Days of *Henry the Third*, and in the Space of four Years, by ten Royal Armies ſucceſſively one after another, and ſent one to refreſh the other, and under the Conduct of great and moſt glorious Captains, againſt all which he prevailed, as witneſſed his Victory at the Battle of *Coutras*, and other Places; though he had given Succour to *Henry the Third*, and delivered him from his great Danger at *Tours*, bringing to his Obedience *Gargeau*, *Gien*, *la Charite*, *Pluviers*, *Eſtampes*, *Dourdan*, and divers other Places; though he had been generally fortunate in all his great Actions, yet after the Death of *Henry the Third*, this deviliſh Combination, or *Spaniſh* Knot of the League, is more ominous, fatal, and troubleſome unto him, than all his former Undertakings; and he found that, although he might have come to the Crown of *France*, by Succeſſion, which was the eaſieſt Way, yet God, to try his Courage, to exerciſe the Force of his Mind, and to make a fooliſh Shadow, or *Ignis Fatuus* of *Spain*'s Ambition, preſented the moſt painful and difficult unto him, which was that of Conqueſt: He was forced to raiſe on Foot, by the Help of our *Engliſh* Nation, three Royal Armies, which he diſperſed in three Provinces; the *firſt* into *Normandy*, where he was aſſiſted by the Earl of *Eſſex*; the *ſecond* into *Champaigne*; and the *third* into *Picardy*, where he was ſeconded by the Lord *Willoughby*, who brought him triumphantly into the Suburbs of *Paris*, and by the Blowing up of a Port, offered to deliver the whole City to his Subjection. The Earl of *Eſſex* did as much at *Roan*, but the King deſired to win *France*, not to deſtroy it; yet before the Earl departed, he chaced Rebellion out of the moſt Part of *Normandy*. The King gave his Enemies, the *Spaniſh* Faction, Battle upon the Plain of *Yury*, and won it, by which he regained, in leſs than two Months, fifteen or ſixteen great Towns, brought *Paris* to infinite Extremity, made the *Spaniards* wiſh themſelves on the other Side of the *Pyreneans*, and indeed, was ſuch a general Amazement to all the unhappy *Leaguers*, that all ſtood agaſt, as uncertain, which Way to turn them.

This when your great Maſter beheld, and ſaw that all his Hopes were dying in an Inſtant, like a cunning Conjurer, he ſeeks to draw Fire and Lightning from Heaven, to conſume what his Armies durſt not approach, or diſvalue; whence it came, that he rouſes up *Gregory the Thirteenth*, then Pope, who, indeed, was the Oracle, or rather the Creature of *Philip* your Maſter, and makes him, of a common Father, between the Head of a rebellious and uſurping Party, caſt forth his Fulminations, with ſuch Violence and Injuſtice, that the Bulls were taken and burnt, both at *Tours* and at *Chalons*; neither ſent he out theſe Bulls by his ungodly and bloody Miniſters, the Jeſuits, or ſuch like deſperate and obſcure Malecontents, but with an Army of a thouſand Caſſocks of watchet Velvet, imbroidered with Gold, and Cyphers of Keys joined unto Swords; whoſe Errand was, to demand the Execution of theſe Bulls: Now, ſeeing the Difficulty wherein Affairs ſtood, upon the View of one-hundred Horſe of the *French* King's white Cornet, they dare not, for all the Pope or the King of *Spain*'s Hopes, or Commandments, abandon the very Shadow of the Walls of *Verdun*, but, like ſo many Foxes, lay lurking in their Kennels of Security, knowing they had to deal with Men, whoſe Swords were ſo well ſteeled, that they feared not the Lead of *Rome*; only, like ſo many Furies of Hell, they ſeek to break all Treaties of Peace, and made it an Action treaſonable and moſt impious, to talk of an Unity between the Sovereign and the Subject.

But, for all this, great *Henry* loſt no Time, for, *Firſt*, he paſſed into *Normandy*, and ſecured his Friends there; thence he went into *Picardy*, beſieged *Noyon*, and took it, even in the View of the *Spaniſh* Army, who, although they were three to one, yet durſt not hazard the Battle; which Advantage the King wiſely taking, and turning Head upon his Enemies, although he was adviſed to the Contrary by his chiefeſt Servants, yet his Cou-

rage

rage bound him, rather to follow the Path of Danger with Honour, than that of Safety with Shame, ſaying as *Pompey* ſaid, 'That, in 'ſtriking his Foot againſt the Earth, he would 'raiſe up Legions;' ſo the Armies met together at *Aumale*, where though, upon the firſt Approach, the King was hurt with a Shot, yet he had Strength enough to cry, *Charge*, *Charge*; and, breaking through his Enemies, he put the Duke of *Parma*, and all his *Spaniards*, to a ſhameful Retreat; as this, ſo he beat his Enemies at *Bellencombe*, ſtriped them at *Bure*, and made them to quit *Yuetot* with much Shame and Loſs.

Thus this Royal King's Quarrel being juſt, and maintained by a good Sword, the Pride of *Spain* found, that, if the War continued longer, her Catholick Greatneſs could have more Wood to heat her Oven, than Corn to ſend to the Mill.

It is to no Purpoſe to ſpeak of the Ruin of *Quibeuf*, the Recovery of *Eſpernay*, or that brave Aſſault, where eight Horſes put three-hundred to Rout; let it ſuffice me, in one Word, to conclude, That, in Deſpight of all the Engines, which the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, could uſe, *Henry* of *France* became triumphant, and your Maſter's univerſal Monarchy was turned topſy-turvy; nay, the League, the *Typhon* of Sedition, from whence ſprung ſo many Serpents and Vipers of Diſloyalty, was ſmothered under the *Ætna* of her own Preſumption and Pride.

But did either *Spain* or *Rome* here ſtay their Malice? Fie, no, but rather *Anteus* like, they roſe up with double Vigour, and, what publick War could not effect, private Practice and Conſpiracy muſt bring to paſs; for, before the great *Henry* was well warmed in his Throne, Hell, and the *Spaniſh* Gold, ſtirred up a Wretch, who undertook to kill him; the Tyger ſtaid his Hand, at the Shining of a Glaſs, and, after his Apprehenſion, confeſſed, that he ſaw ſo much Piety and Zeal ſhining in the Eyes of this Prince, that he felt Horrour in himſelf, to offend the ſovereign Dignity ordained of God among Angels and Men. Hence it came, that all *France* beheld and took Notice of *Spain*'s Ambition, and that, indeed, all their Labour was but to reduce that flouriſhing Nation to a private Province, which the Parliament of *Paris* (after it had vomited the Phlegm of temporiſing) taking to Heart, made forth a Decree, for the Diſperſing and Baniſhing of all the *Spaniſh* Regiments; and now fine great Dukes, formerly bewitched with Catholick Incantations, fall at the Foot of this great King, and confeſs how they were beguiled.

The firſt was the Duke of *Lorrain*, which obtained a general Peace for his Eſtate, through the Mediation of *Ferdinand*, the Archduke of *Tuſcany*; the ſecond was the Duke of *Mayenne*, who obtained Pardon, through the Wiſdom of his Carriage, having ſtill a watchful Eye, that no general Ruin might happen to the Kingdom; the third was the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Loſs of whoſe Father and Uncle made his Intereſt the greateſt in this Quarrel, yet had he the Honour to receive the King's firſt Embraces; the fourth was the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who, as ſoon as he had kiſſed the King's Hand, forſook the Troubles of the World, and betook himſelf to a ſolitary Life; and the laſt was the Duke *Mercure*, who brought to the King, not himſelf alone, but, with him, the Reduction of the goodlieſt Province in all *France*: To conclude, *Philip* of *Spain*, your Maſter, ſeeing upon what falſe Wheels his Engines ran, was content to intreat for Peace of this great Chieftain.

But did here Conſpiracies and *Spaniſh* Plots end? No, nothing ſo; for, to come nearer to your own Touch, and to repeat Matters of thine own Proſecution, Is it not an Hiſtory moſt remarkable, and, to *Spain*, moſt infamous, of that deſperate Villain born at *Negre-peliſſe*, who, going into *Spain* upon ſome Diſcontents conceived againſt this great *Henry* of *France*, and, as it was ſtrongly ſuppoſed, having taken ſome Directions from you, but full and material Inſtructions from the Devil's Poſt-horſes, your Maſters, the Jeſuits, did, with all Violence, proſtitute himſelf to murder this moſt Chriſtian King; but the Matter being ſo important, and carried through ſo many ſeveral Hands, had loſt ſo much Strength of Secrecy, that an Inkling thereof came to the Ears of *de Barraut*, then ordinary Ambaſſador in *Spain* for the King of *France*, who inſtantly, out of Duty, and the Hatred which every true Chriſtian ought to bear againſt theſe odious and moſt atheiſtical Practices, complained to the Pope's Nuncio,

hoping for Redreſs, both againſt the Villain himſelf, and the Jeſuit, who are both Villains, and yourſelf; but the Matter was fully blanched, and your impious Ear, that had liſtened to his abominable Sin, was excuſed, and the whole Offence of Subornation was laid upon a Creature of yours, but one of the King of *Spain*'s Eſquires, named, from the Place of his Birth, *Valdemoro*; who, upon Examination (having his Leſſon before taught him) confeſſed all the Paſſages to the Duke of *Lerma*, and that, not only this Slave, but divers others, had tendered themſelves to the like Service, yet this, with the greateſt Violence, aſſuring him, that he knew the Means how to kill the King; which Propoſition, upon ſome Conference with a Jeſuit (who never take Diſtaſte at ſuch a Practice) he had accepted of, but yet, with that Caution and Delay, that nothing proceeded therein, neither was likely to proceed, and ſo all Things were ſhut up, without any further Diſcovery, only that *de Barraut* advertiſed the King, his Maſter, thereof: But was this honourable or pious in *Spain*? No, the Praiſe had been more perfect, and the Merit more plain and evident, for the *Spaniards*, if they had puniſhed the Traytor, made thyſelf, *Valdemoro*, and the Jeſuit, Examples, not to liſten or give Ear to ſuch odious Conſpiracies, and, by a careful Advertiſement to the King, made others dread the Entering into ſo odious a Buſineſs; for it is true, in all the Laws of Hoſpitality, that this Slave ought not to have come out of *Spain* unchaſtiſed, for all Kings are Brothers, and all Kingdoms intereſted in theſe Attempts. But the Deſigns of *Spain* looked now another Way, and the Traytor had Leave to eſcape, who, returning afterwards into *France*, was, by *de Vardun*, firſt Preſident of *Languedack*, apprehended at *Tholouſe*, and there executed, and his Companion condemned to the Gallies. O how far was this Action ſhort of that Royal and Princely Act of the famous late Queen *Eliſabeth*! who, having received Intelligence of ſome *Spaniſh* Miſchiefs pretended againſt this great King, forthwith gave him Intelligence, that a ſtrange Gentleman, who was one of his Followers, had no good Meaning towards his Perſon, and related unto him every Circumſtance as ſhe had received it; but ſuch was the Bounty of this great King, that, although Reaſon would that he ſhould have been apprehended, yet the King never diſcovered unto him a Frown, but he ſtill remained in the Court well entertained, was mounted out of the King's Stable, and honoured with many of his truſty Commandments, till, in the End, tortured with his own Conſcience, he ſtole away from the Court, and durſt no longer abuſe ſo Royal a Bounty; that this was a Favourite of *Spain*, yourſelf cannot deny; that he fled from *France* into *Spain*, your own Cabinet is a Witneſs; and, that you did preſerve him for the like Exploits in other Places, the Mark on his Face, the Colour of his Beard, and his Cloaths, cut after the *Walloon* Faſhion, were too apparent Teſtimonies.

I might here recount this great King's Death by *Ravillack*, from whoſe Blood, neither thyſelf, nor *Spain*, can waſh themſelves, though all the Rivers in the World were exhauſted and thruſt into one intire Bath, and ſo ſpent upon your particular Cleanſings; but theſe Truths are ſo freſh in Memory, they need neither Repeating, nor Amplification.

I could to theſe add a World of others, as the Attempts upon the Life and Safety of the late Queen *Eliſabeth*, of famous Memory, and the making of all thoſe inhuman Creatures Penſioners of *Spain*, who had either by Rebellion, or other treaſonable Practice, attempted any Thing for her untimely and ſad Deſtruction.

Was our late dread Sovereign, King *James*, of bleſſed and happy Memory, that *Solomon* of his Time, a Prince ſo indulgent and careful for every good Thing that might happen to *Spain*, a Man ſo tender and vigilant for her Reputation, that he ever placed it in the next Rank to his own Honour? Was he, I ſay, was this good King free from the bloody Practices of *Spain*? No, to the eternal Infamy of ungrateful and bloody *Spain*, I may ever proclaim it, that he was more deeply plunged, and his like, more bitterly beſieged and aſſaulted, than any whatſoever before rehearſed; and to this I call up the Plot of all Plots, that Devil of many Legions of Devils, the Gunpowder Conſpiracy, that which ſhould have deſtroyed all, not a ſingle Prince, or a ſingle Man; but many Princes, many Men's whole Generations; here was cruel *Spain*, and here indeed, had not God prevented, was a ſtrong Foundation for an univerſal Monarchy; and, that *Spain* may,

may not, in this, plead Not guilty, let her diſcover to the World what Occurrents they were which drew *Thomas Winter* into her Confines, what Negotiation was that which he held with *de Laxis?* Whence came his Inſtructions and Letters commendatory into the Archduchеſs's Country? Where did *Guy Fawkes* receive his Breeding? Who gave Information of his Knowledge in Mining? And who preferred and advanced him to this Piece of moſt damnable Service? Queſtionleſs, let Truth anſwer to any of theſe Poſitions, and the Speech, it muſt utter, will be *Spaniſh* Language: Who in all this Nation was ſo intimate with you as the Archprieſt *Garnet?* Or who, like him, found at your Hands equal Protection? He confeſſed and abſolved the Traitors, and thou didſt abſolve and confeſs him, and thereby didſt get unto thyſelf, from thine own Tribe, the Nick-name of Archbiſhop Ambaſſador.

Thus, I have brought *Spain's* Attempts for an univerſal Monarchy, from *Portugal* to the *Netherlands*, thence through *Italy*, and ſo into *France*; *England* was looked upon by the Way, in the Year 1588, but ſhe was not ſo drowſy as others: There is now but *Germany* betwixt him and the End of his Ambition, but is that free and untouched? Woe to ſpeak it, that of all is the worſt and moſt horrid. O! the lamentable Eſtate of thoſe once moſt happy Princes! How hath the Houſe of *Auſtria* drowned them in Blood? And, by the Work of Civil Diſſenſion, made them in their Furies to devour one another? Is there any Thing in this Age more lamentable or remarkable, than the Loſs of the *Palatinate?* Or is there any Thing in which thy Villainy can ſo much triumph as in that politick Defeature? Why, the Lyes which thou didſt utter to abuſe the Majeſty of *England*, and to breed Delays till thy Maſter's Deſigns were effected, were ſo curious and ſo cunning, ſo apt to catch, and ſo ſtrong in the Holding, that the Devil, who was formerly the Author of Lyes) hath now from thee taken new Precedents for Lying. I would here ſpeak of thy Archduchеſs's Diſſimulation; but ſhe is a great Lady, and their Errors at the worſt are weak Virtues.

Therefore to thee that haſt lent both Fuel and Flame to all the Miſchiefs of *Europe*, and that art now big in Labour with new Troubles and Vexations: Ariſe and collect thy Spirits; become once honeſt and religious; let thy Services depend upon good and neceſſary Affairs, and not upon malicious and bloody Practices; for behold, I, thy Tormentor, will never be abſent from thine Elbow, and whatſoever thou ſhalt contrive or plot for the Hurt of *Great-Britain*, I, with the Help of the holy Angels, will return upon thine own Boſom, and the Boſom of thy Country, for the God of Heaven and Earth, who is the Protector of the Innocent, hath made Royal King *Charles*, and his Throne, precious in his Sight; therefore, if thou deſireſt to live and ſee good Days, touch not his Anointed, and do his Prophets no Hurt.

At theſe Words, the glorious Apparition, waving his Sword about, vaniſhed out of his Sight, and the poor Don, as if awakened from a deadly or mortal Sleep, roſe up, looking about with ſuch ghaſtly Amazedneſs, as affrighted all that beheld him. In the End, eſpying his own Servants, with Tears in his Eyes, Terror in his Heart, and a general Trembling over all his Body, he went into his Litter, and returned Home; where, how he refreſhed himſelf, how he appeared before the deſigned Commiſſioners, and how he anſwered the Expectation both of them, and the King his Maſter, ſhall be declared upon the next Return of the Woman-Poſt, which paſſeth betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniſh* Jeſuits.

The Qualifications of Perſons, declared capable by the Rump-Parliament, to elect, or be elected, Members to ſupply their Houſe. Printed in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

THE

THE Repreſentative of the Parliament of *England*, having for many Years employed their conſtant Endeavour, to impoſe Freedom and Liberty on the three Nations; notwithſtanding their obſtinate Reluctancy and Oppoſition thereunto, who would take upon them, againſt all Right and Reaſon, to be their own Judges; and being now, after two ſcandalous Ejectments, and as many ſignal Reſtorations, happily returned to diſcharge the remaining Fragment of their Truſt; do find, to their unſpeakable Grief, the Red Coats, in whom they always loyally acquieſced, failing of their Pay, to fail likewiſe of their Truſt, and, ſeduced by evil Counſel, to adhere unto the common Enemy; that is to ſay, the ſaid three Nations, in complying with their Deſires and Addreſſes, which are, to have this preſent Repreſentative diſſolved, and a Free Parliament ſpeedily convened, which they tremble to think upon, or the ſecluded Members re-admitted, which they equally abominate, or the preſent Houſe ſupplied with new Elections, which their Bowels ſigh to reflect on. Nevertheleſs they have, after ſerious and mature Deliberation, reſolved upon the leaſt, that is to ſay, to fill up their Houſe, as being, though of dangerous Conſequence, leſs horrible and dreadful to themſelves, than any other Way. And to the End the Perſons to be elected may be of as near a Condition as may be, to match the preſent Members, and ſo, poſſibly, go Hand in Hand with them, in carrying on the ſaid Work; they have agreed upon theſe following Qualifications, and do enact, and be it hereby enacted, that no Perſon whatſoever preſume to elect or be elected, under Pain of Confiſcation of his Eſtate, and Sale of his Perſon, that is not allowed capable thereof, by the ſaid Qualifications, in which they do profeſs, before the Searcher of all Hearts, that they have freely diſcovered the naked Truth of all their Intentions, as, if their Breaſts were to be opened, and their Hearts taken out, which God defend, it would manifeſtly appear to all the World.

Qualification I. Whoſoever hath at any Time been known to take the Name of God in vain, that is, to ſwear or forſwear himſelf for nothing, without Advantage to the Publick, or his own particular Concernments, but merely out of raſh and needleſs Prophanation, is hereby declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, as a Member to ſerve in this preſent Parliament. For Oaths have been found, by Experience, to be wonderful Expedients in State-Affairs; and ought not to be made or broken, but with great and ſerious Conſideration.

Qualific. II. Whoſoever is noted to be a Sabbath-breaker, or Prophaner of the Lord's Day, is declared incapable to elect, or be elected, *&c.* For he that cannot one Day in ſeven obſerve, at leaſt in Shew, one Commandment in ten, that coſts nothing the Keeping, nor gains any thing by being broken, is not fitly qualified to ſit in this Parliament: For all ſuch Sins, as have no immediate Relation to the Service of this Houſe, muſt be openly deteſted, that there may be the leſs Notice taken of ſuch as are for the Advantage and Intereſt thereof.

Qualific. III. Whoſoever hath at any Time, within the Space of theſe twenty Years laſt paſt, been obſerved to be diſguiſed in Drink, unleſs he can bring Teſtimony that it is his uſual Cuſtom to drink himſelf drunk in private alone, to avoid giving evil Example, or in ſecret and well affected Company, without Healths, is declared incapable to elect or be elected: Provided that Surfeit and Gluttony be not included within this Incapacity, nor ſuch other Alterations as may fall upon the Spirit of a Man, at Thankſgiving Dinners.

Qualific. IV. Whoſoever doth live in Adultery, or Fornication, or hath at any Time had carnal Copulation with the Wife, Siſters, or Daughter, of any Member of Parliament, now ſitting, without the Conſent or Satisfaction of the ſaid Member; or hath been ſeen, in the Day-time, to reſort to Houſes of evil Fame, or frequent the Company of common Women, is declared incapable to elect or be elected, *&c.* Provided, that this do not extend to any Perſon, that hath kept a Concubine or Concubines ſo long, that now there is no Notice taken thereof, or to ſuch as by the Loſs of their Eyes or Noſes, Botches in their Skins, or Achs in their Bones, can bring Proof of their Repentance, and Reſentment of their former Lives; as it hath been allowed in the Caſes of *William* Lord Viſcount *Monſon*, Sir *Henry Martin*, Mr. Secretary *Scot*, *William Heveningham*, Eſq; and others.

Qualific.

Qualific. V. Whoſoever hath ſuffered for his Conſcience, either by Impriſonment, Sequeſtration, or Sale of his Eſtate, or hath refuſed to take any Oath impoſed by this Parliament, howſoever contradictory to any former Oath, by him taken: Or hath gained nothing by the Ruin of his Native Country, nor is liable to ſuffer by any Revolution, that may tend to the general Settlement thereof, but, being unbiaſſed by any Party, is at Liberty to promote the proper and natural Intereſts of the Nation in general: Or hath ſubſcribed any Petition or Remonſtrance for a Free Parliament; or for the Re-admiſſion of the ſecluded Members to their Right of Sitting; or, at a Time to be prefixed, to determine the Sitting of this preſent Parliament, or any Thing elſe againſt the Senſe of this Houſe, in order to the Settlement of the Nation: Or hath declared againſt Taxes, Exciſe, Free-Quarter, Plunder, Arbitrary Government, the Perpetuation and Supremacy of the preſent Parliament, Continuation of the Diſtractions, Decay of Trade, and Slavery of the *Engliſh* Nation. Any, and every ſuch Perſon, is hereby declared not only incapable to be elected a Member of this preſent or any future Parliament, or of bearing any Office, or Place of Truſt, in this Commonwealth, but ſhall ſuffer ſuch farther Puniſhment, either by Sequeſtration, or Sale of his Eſtate or Perſon, as to the Wiſdom of this Houſe ſhall ſeem expedient.

Qualific. VI. Whoſoever hath been engaged in the late Rebellions of Sir *George Booth*, Bart. or *Lambert Symnell*, Eſq; or any Way aiding or aſſiſting thereunto: Or hath ſat or acted in, or under the late Committee of Safety, or had any Hand in the late Diſturbances of this preſent Parliament, is, beſide ſuch other Puniſhment as this Houſe ſhall judge fitting, declared incapable to elect, or be elected, to ſerve in this or any future Parliament: Provided that this ſhall not extend to ſuch Members of this Houſe, as were engaged in the ſaid Inſurrections. For, if all ſuch ſhould be impeached before the Houſe be full, there would not be a Quorum left to make it a Parliament.

Qualific. VII. Whoſoever hath called *Charles Stewart* King, or drunk his Health, or prayed God to reſtore him to his Right, and every honeſt Man to his own, or uſed any malignant and treaſonable Expreſſions: Or hath called the preſent Parliament *Rump*, *Arſe*, *Bum*, *Tail*, or *Breech*: Or hath rejoiced at the Interruptions thereof, or wiſhed it at an End: Or hath *Sued*, *Arreſted*, *Reviled*, *Beaten*, *Kicked*, *Cuckolded*, *Trepanned*, or refuſed to truſt any of the Members thereof, during the Intervals: Or hath Action of Debt, or Bill of Complaint againſt any Member now ſitting; and doth refuſe to give the ſaid Member a full Diſcharge, and general Releaſe; any, and every ſuch Perſon, is declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, to ſerve in this preſent or any future Parliament, or of bearing any Office or Place of Truſt in this Commonwealth.

Qualific. VIII. No Man ſhall be judged qualified, nor admitted to ſit in this Houſe as a Member thereof, that doth not firſt acknowledge this Parliament to be a Free Parliament, unfounded by the Laws of God or Man; that all Things are expoſed to the Will of the Members thereof, who may freely diſpoſe of the Eſtates, Perſons, Conſciences, and Lives of Men, as they pleaſe, and afterwards make it lawful. That this Houſe hath a greater Power in Civil Affairs than the *Turk*, and in Spiritual than the Pope, for it is Head of Churches, not yet in Being, and Judge more of Faith, than all the General Councils ever were. That it can damn, and ſave, and bind, and looſe in this World, in Deſpight of the next; make what it pleaſes Holy or Profane, True or Falſe, Scripture or Apocrypha, and no Man dares to queſtion its Infallibility; and that every Member thereof can vote and ſwear Contradictions, and make others do ſo too, or pay them for it.

Qualific. IX. No Man ſhall be judged rightly qualified, nor admitted to ſit in this Houſe, until he hath engaged to uſe his Chriſtian Endeavour to carry on a thorough Reformation of the Calendar, that the *Engliſh* Nation may no more uſe the *Julian* Account, nor reckon by the Year of our Lord, but by the *Roman* Indiction, according to the Cuſtom of the Chriſtians in ancient Times; that is, reckon the Year by their Taxes, and not their Taxes by the Year: A Reformation, which this Parliament made ſome Progreſs in before their late Interruption, when they drew the whole Year within the Compaſs of four Months, and do intend, by God's Help, to bring to Perfection with all convenient Expedition.

Qualific. X. Whoſoever makes Profeſſion of Godlineſs and Holineſs of Life, although he be commonly reputed to be both a Fool, and a Knave, a notorious Villain, and diabolical Hypocrite, ſhall, nevertheleſs, be allowed, if duly elected, to be rightly qualified to ſit in this preſent Parliament. Provided that this Capacity do not extend to *Charles Fleetwood*, Eſq; *John Deſbrow*, Yeoman, and Sir *Henry Vane*, Knight, lately elected, or *John Hewſon*, Cordwainer, of the City of *London*.

Ordered that Dr. *John Owen*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and Major *John Wildman* be included within this Qualification, notwithſtanding they are in Orders.

Qualific. XI. Whoſoever hath had a Hand in the late King's Blood, or petitioned to bring him to Tryal, or hath demoliſhed his Houſes, cut down his Woods, or pulled down Churches, to ſell the Materials; or can bring Proof, that he hath been of one or more High-Courts of Juſtice, or at one or more Committees of Sale or Sequeſtration of the Committee for Propagation of the Goſpel; or hath been a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, a Sequeſtrator, Treaſurer, or Truſtee, for the Sale of King's Lands or Goods, or Biſhops, and Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents Lands; and hath gotten a conſiderable Eſtate, by buying or ſelling the aforeſaid Lands; and can make it appear, that his Head is forfeited to the *Tower* on *London-Bridge*, and the four Quarters of his outward Man to four reſpective Gates of the City, if any Revolution ſhould happen to the general Settlement of the Nation. Any, and every ſuch Perſon, is declared rightly qualified to ſit in this preſent Parliament, and ſhall be admitted without taking any Oath at all; for a Man's Skin is tenderer than his Conſcience, and this World much nearer to him than the next.

Qualific. XII. Whoſoever can bring Proof, by the Loſs of his Ears, or otherwiſe, that he hath ſtood on the Pillory for Perjury, Forgery, Faction, or Sedition, to hinder the Government of the late King; or that he hath been burnt in the Hand, Forehead, or Shoulder, thrown over the Bar, ſet in the Stocks, carted, or whipped at the Tail of a Cart, for any Thing by him done, ſaid, or written againſt the ſaid Government, before the Year 1642, ſhall be approved as moſt fitly qualified to ſit in this preſent Parliament. Provided that this ſhall not extend to *William Prynne*, of *Swanſwick*, Eſq; *Utter Boucher* of *Lincoln's-Inn*, nor to Major *William Poe*.

Qualific. XIII. Whoſoever is Son, Brother, or Nephew, or can prove himſelf to be the natural Son or Baſtard of any Member, or of the Mother, Siſter, or Wife of any Member of this Parliament now ſitting, or any Member thereof deceaſed, that ſat ſince the Year 1648, and will engage to conform to the Senſe of this Houſe, according to the Example of the ſaid Member unto whom he hath Relation, is hereby declared rightly qualified, either to elect, or be elected, a Member of this preſent Parliament.

Qualific. XIV. Whoſoever can bring Proof, that he is a Man of a publick Spirit, fit for all Times and Occaſions, of approved Liberty of Conſcience, and of Courage and Reſolution to encounter any Danger that extends to Soul or Body, if Need be, rather than live out of Authority and Command, or under the Laws of God or Man. That he hath proper Suits for the Service of the preſent Government, and can do the ſame Things by the Spirit of God, which other Men are drawn to by the Temptations of the Devil. That he can break Oaths by Providence, and forſwear himſelf, to the Glory of God; deal falſely and treacherouſly with Men, out of Conſcience; and verily believeth it to be a greater Sin to name Faith, than to break it. That Religion is his Trade, and God himſelf his Occupation. That he can hold forth any uſeful, though notorious Untruth, with convenient Obſtinacy, until he believes himſelf, and ſo renders it no Sin. That he hath an excellent Spirit to find out Ways of raiſing Money, and will deſerve his Share both of the Subſtance and Curſes of the People. Any, and every ſuch Perſon, is declared to be moſt aptly qualified to elect, or be elected, Member of this preſent Parliament. Provided that this Capacity do not extend to *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; or *Richard Salway*, Grocer, lately ejected this Houſe.

Qualific. XV. Whoſoever can produce Teſtimony, that he hath taken the late Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, the Proteſtation, the ſolemn League and Covenant, the Engagement, to be true and faithful to the preſent Government, without King or Houſe of Lords. That he hath ſubſcribed the Addreſſes,

dreſſes, to live and die with *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*, and taken the Oaths to be true and faithful to the Governments under them, and feels no Alteration in his Conſcience, but is ready to take the Oath of Abjuration of *Charles Stewart*, King *Jeſus*, or any other ſingle Perſon. Any, and every ſuch Perſon, is declared, as rightly qualified, to elect, or be elected, a Member of this preſent Parliament, and ſhall be admitted to ſit, being duly elected, without taking any further Oath at all.

Qualific. XVI. Ordered, that a Bill be forthwith brought in, to make *Newgate*, *Bridewell*, and *Bedlam* Corporations, that Writs may be iſſued out, to impower them to chuſe their reſpective Repreſentatives, to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, in as full Manner, as the *Upper-bench* and the *Fleet* have already done.

Qualific. XVII. Any Nobleman, or late Peer of the Realm, that will renounce his Creation, or his Creator, and is otherwiſe qualified, ſhall be allowed capable (being firſt naturaliſed by an Act of this Houſe) to be made a Knight, Citizen, or Burgeſs, and, being duly elected and ſworn, ſhall be admitted to ſit among the Rabble of this Houſe, in as full Manner as *Philip Herbert*, Eſq; late Earl of *Pembroke*, and *William Cecill*, late Earl of *Saliſbury*, at this preſent do. Provided that this ſhall not extend to any Peer of the late other Houſe, that, having a Trade to get his Living honeſtly by, did, nevertheleſs, betake himſelf to ſo lewd a Courſe of Life.

Qualific. XVIII. Whoſoever, by Fraud, Coven, or otherwiſe, hath poſſeſſed himſelf of another Man's Eſtate, or hath gotten into his Hands any Office or Place, of conſiderable Value, by ejecting, indirectly, the right Owner thereof, and does not know how to maintain and juſtify the ſame ſo well, as by being choſen a Member of this Houſe, ſhall be approved of, in ſo doing, to have given good Security for his Fidelity to the preſent Government, and be capable to elect, or be elected, *&c.*

Qualific. XIX. Reſolved, that the Curſes of the People ſhall, henceforth, that is to ſay, from this preſent Fourteenth of *February*, 1659, be reputed, and taken for their free Voices; and whoſoever hath moſt of the Curſes of his Country, ſhall be underſtood to have moſt of their free Voices, and be approved, as moſt fitly qualified to ſit in this preſent Parliament. For ſuch will be very profitable Members to this Houſe, when it ſhall be judged ſeaſonable to make the People pay for their Curſing, as well as they have done for their Swearing.

Qualific. XX. No Man ſhall be admitted to ſit in this Houſe, as a Member thereof, howſoever duly qualified and elected, except before excepted, until he hath taken the following Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts.

The Oath.

'I *A. B.* do ſwear, in the Preſence of Almighty God, and by the Contents of this Book, to be true and faithful to this preſent Government, as it is now uneſtabliſhed, and to the Keepers of the Liberties, unſight unſeen, whether they are of an inviſible and internal Nature, as Fiends, Pugs, Elves, Furies, Imps, or Goblins, or whether they are incarnate, as Redcoats, Lobſters, Corporals, Troopers, or Dragoons. I do alſo ſwear, that neither *Charles Stewart*, nor any Perſon claiming from King *James*, ſhall ever be reſtored to the Crown of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, either by foreign or domeſtick Aſſiſtance, all Diſpenſations and Outgoings of Providence to the Contrary notwithſtanding. I do likewiſe ſwear, never to underſtand, nor believe any Thing, that is againſt the Authority, Intereſt, or Senſe of this Houſe; and that I will never give my Vote, to determine the Sitting thereof, during the natural Life of every reſpective Member thereof now ſitting, nor conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of any Thing, but Taxes, Exciſe, Free-quarter, Plunder, Confiſcations, Arbitrary Government, High-Courts of Juſtice, Committees of Sale and Sequeſtration, a Goſpel-preaching Miniſtry, and Liberty of Conſcience. I do further ſwear, that I will conſtantly believe in all the Privileges of Parliament, as the Houſe believes; and that I will, to the utmoſt of my Power, maintain and defend the ſame, although I do not underſtand, nor ever will, what they are, or how far they extend. And leſt the preſent Members ſhould, when the Houſe is full, be ſecluded by their own Votes (by which the ſecluded Members

' are declared uncapable of ever ſitting in ' Parliament, or bearing any Office of Truſt ' in this Commonwealth) I do ſwear, that ' the ſecluded Members, properly ſo called, ' are not theſe who have been twice ſeclu- ' ded, that is to ſay, the preſent Members ' now ſitting, but thoſe who have been ſe- ' cluded but once, that is, the major Part of ' the Long Parliament. As alſo, that, when ' it ſhall ſeem good unto this Parliament to ' make every Member thereof an Officer or ' Commander of the Army, this Houſe will, ' nevertheleſs, be no Council of Officers, but ' a very Parliament, and the Sword ſtill in ' the Hand of the Civil Magiſtrate. I do al- ' ſo ſwear, that whatſoever Time ſhall here- ' after produce (ſix Governments off) for the ' Advantage of the preſent Parliament, or ' whatſoever they ſhall at any Time do, ſay, ' or ſwear, in order thereunto, how contrary ' ſoever to any Thing by them formerly ' done, ſaid, or ſworn, is, and will be al- ' ways the good old Cauſe, and the Work of ' the Lord. That the preſent Diſtractions ' are for his Glory, and the Peace of the Go- ' vernment, and that the Slavery of the ' *Engliſh* Nation is for the Liberty of the ' People. That, notwithſtanding, they are ' barred to change their Maſters, as Chriſtian ' Bondſlaves, as in *Turky*, and are conveyed ' from Government to Government, as Rogues ' are from Conſtable to Conſtable, ſtill to be ' whipped and puniſhed; all is for their Free- ' dom and Protection in their ancient Laws, ' Rights, and Immunities. *Laſtly*, I do ſwear ' never to divulge the Secrets of this Houſe, ' nor diſcover the hidden Myſteries thereof. ' The admirable Art of managing Factions, ' with confederate Conteſts in ordinary Mat- ' ters, and Staving, and Tailing with the Rab- ' ble of Parties in Buſineſſes of Profit and ' Advantage, to carry on private Deſigns ' under the Maſque of publick Good. The ' ſubtle Ways of packing Committees, and ' proroguing Buſineſs without Doors. The ' ingenious Artifices of Double-dealing, by ' ſelling with one Hand, and buying with ' the other, whereby ſeveral Members have ' afforded themſelves good Bargains of De- ' linquents Eſtates, in ſuborned Purchaſers ' Names. The moſt excellent Invention of ' adviſing Votes, and finding out the true ' Value of a leading or ſeconding Voice, ' third, fourth, or fifth; how many a laſting ' Voice goes for, like the laſt Trick at Pic- ' quet; how to balance all theſe upon Ac- ' count, ſo that every Sharer may have his ' Due; with infinite other curious and occult ' Sciences, which the preſent Members, out ' of their long Practice and Experience, have ' found out, to the Glory of God, and Good ' of the Nation.'

So help me God.

Qualific. XXI. And leſt the new-elected Members ſhould (notwithſtanding all theſe Oaths and Qualifications) oppoſe, and, being the greater Number, overvote the preſent Members, like a new Piece of Cloth upon an old Garment, inſtead of patching, tear it wider: It is reſolved, that but eight Writs for new Elections be iſſued forth, at one Time, and no more, until the new returned Members have been intruſted in the Practice of this Houſe, and, being engaged by profitable Employments, have given Proof of their Conformity thereunto; or, in Caſe of Refuſal, have been ejected.

The King's Majeſty's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be uſed. Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty; and by the Aſſigns of *John Bill*, 1633. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

By

By the KING.

OUR dear Father of bleſſed Memory, in his Return from *Scotland*, coming through *Lancaſhire*, found that his Subjects were debarred from lawful Recreations upon *Sundays*, after Evening Prayers ended, and upon Holidays; and he prudently conſidered, that, if theſe Times were taken from them, the meaner Sort, who labour hard all the Week, ſhould have no Recreations at all to refreſh their Spirits. And, after his Return, he farther ſaw, that his loyal Subjects, in all other Parts of his Kingdom, did ſuffer in the ſame Kind, though, perhaps, not in the ſame Degree; and did, therefore, in his Princely Wiſdom, publiſh a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be uſed at ſuch Times; which was printed and publiſhed, by his Royal Commandment, in the Year 1618, in the Tenor which hereafter followeth:

By the KING.

WHEREAS, upon our Return the laſt Year out of *Scotland*, we did publiſh our Pleaſure, touching the Recreations of our People in thoſe Parts, under our Hand; for ſome Cauſes us thereunto moving, we have thought good to command theſe our Directions, then given in *Lancaſhire*, with a few Words thereunto added, and moſt applicable to theſe Parts of our Realms, to be publiſhed to all our Subjects.

Whereas we did juſtly, in our Progreſs through *Lancaſhire*, rebuke ſome Puritans and preciſe People, and took Order, that the like unlawful Carriage ſhould not be uſed by any of them hereafter, in the Prohibiting and unlawful Puniſhing of our good People, for uſing their lawful Recreations and honeſt Exerciſes, upon *Sundays* and other Holidays, after the Afternoon Sermon or Service: We now find, that two Sorts of People, wherewith that Country is much infected (we mean Papiſts and Puritans) have maliciouſly traduced and calumniated thoſe our juſt and honourable Proceedings; and therefore, leſt our Reputation might, upon the one Side (though innocently) have ſome Aſperſion laid upon it, and, upon the other Part, our good People in that Country be miſled, by the Miſtaking and Miſinterpretation of our Meaning, we have therefore thought good hereby to clear and make our Pleaſure to be manifeſted to all our good People in thoſe Parts.

It is true, that, at our firſt Entry to this Crown and Kingdom, we were informed (and that too truly) that our County of *Lancaſhire* abounded more in Popiſh Recuſants, than any County of *England*, and thus hath ſtill continued ſince, to our great Regret, with little Amendment; ſave that now of late, in our laſt Riding through our ſaid County, we find, both by the Report of the Judges, and of the Biſhop of that Dioceſe, that there is ſome Amendment now daily beginning; which is no ſmall Contentment to us.

The Report of this growing Amendment amongſt them made us the more ſorry, when, with our own Ears, we heard the general Complaint of our People, That they were barred from all lawful Recreation and Exerciſe upon the *Sunday's* Afternoon, after the Ending of all Divine Service; which cannot but produce two Evils: The one, the Hindering of the Converſion of many, whom their Prieſts will take Occaſion hereby to vex, perſuading them, that no honeſt Mirth or Recreation is lawful, or tolerable, in our Religion; which cannot but breed a great Diſcontentment in our People's Hearts, eſpecially of ſuch as are, peradventure, upon the Point of Turning. The other Inconvenience is, That this Prohibition barreth the common and meaner Sort of People from uſing ſuch Exerciſes, as may make their Bodies more able for War, when we, or our Succeſſors, ſhall have Occaſion to uſe them; and, in Place thereof, ſets up filthy Tipplings and Drunkenneſs, and breeds a Number of idle and diſcontented Speeches in their Alehouſes: For, When ſhall the common People have Leave to exerciſe, if not upon the *Sundays* and Holidays? Seeing they muſt apply their Labour, and win their Living in all Working-days.

Our expreſs Pleaſure therefore is, That the Laws of our Kingdom, and Canons of our Church, be as well obſerved in that County, as in all other Places of this our Kingdom; and, on the other Part, That no lawful Recreation ſhall be barred to our good People, which ſhall not tend to the Breach of our aforeſaid Laws, and Canons of our Church: Which to expreſs more particularly, our Pleaſure is, That the Biſhop, and all other inferior Churchmen, and Churchwardens ſhall, for their Parts, be careful and diligent, both to inſtruct the Ignorant, and convince and reform them that are miſled in Religion; preſenting them that will not conform themſelves, but obſtinately ſtand out, to our Judges and Juſtices; whom we likewiſe command to put the Law in due Execution againſt them.

Our Pleaſure likewiſe is, That the Biſhop of that Dioceſe take the like ſtraight Order with all the Puritans and Preciſians within the ſame, either conſtraining them to conform themſelves, or to leave the County, according to the Laws of our Kingdom, and Canons of our Church; and ſo to ſtrike equally, on both Hands, againſt the Contemners of our Authority, and Adverſaries of our Church. And, as for our good People's lawful Recreation, our Pleaſure likewiſe is, That, after the End of Divine Service, our good People be not diſturbed, letted, or diſcouraged from any lawful Recreation, ſuch as Dancing, either Men or Women; Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other ſuch harmleſs Recreation; nor from having of *May*-games, *Whitſon*-ales, and Morrice-dances; and the Setting up of *May*-poles, and other Sports therewith uſed, ſo as the ſame be had in due and convenient Time, without Impediment or Neglect of Divine Service; and that Women ſhall have Leave to carry Ruſhes to the Church, for the Decoring of it, according to their old Cuſtom. But, withal, we do here account ſtill as prohibited all unlawful Games to be uſed upon *Sundays* only, as Bear and Bull-baitings, Interludes, and, at all Times, in the meaner Sort of People by Law prohibited, Bowling.

And likewiſe we bar, from this Benefit and Liberty, all ſuch known Recuſants, either Men or Women, as will abſtain from coming to Church or Divine Service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful Recreation after the ſaid Service, that will not firſt come to the Church and ſerve God: Prohibiting, in like Sort, the ſaid Recreations to any that, though conform in Religion, are not preſent in the Church, at the Service of God, before their Going to the ſaid Recreations. Our Pleaſure likewiſe is, That they, to whom it belongeth in Office, ſhall preſent, and ſharply puniſh all ſuch as, in Abuſe of this our Liberty, will uſe theſe Exerciſes before the Ends of all Divine Services, for that Day. And we likewiſe ſtraightly command, That every Perſon ſhall reſort to his own Pariſh-church to hear Divine Service, and each Pariſh by itſelf to uſe the ſaid Recreation after Divine Service; prohibiting likewiſe any offenſive Weapons to be carried, or uſed in the ſaid Times of Recreations. And our Pleaſure is, That this our Declaration ſhall be publiſhed, by Order from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, through all the Pariſh-churches; and that both our Judges of our Circuit, and our Juſtices of our Peace, be informed thereof.

Given at our Mannor of Greenwich, *the four-and-twentieth Day of* May, *in the ſixteenth Year of our Reign of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *and, of* Scotland, *the one-and-fiftieth.*

Now, out of a like pious Care for the Service of God, and for Suppreſſing of any Humours that oppoſe Truth, and for the Eaſe, Comfort, and Recreation of our well-deſerving People, we do ratify and publiſh this our bleſſed Father's Declaration; the rather, becauſe of late, in ſome Counties of our Kingdom, we find, that, under Pretence of taking away Abuſes, there hath been a general Forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feaſts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called *Wakes*. Now our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That theſe Feaſts, with others, ſhall be obſerved; and that our Juſtices of the Peace, in their ſeveral Diviſions, ſhall look to it, both that all Diſorders there may be prevented, or puniſhed, and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom, with manlike and lawful Exerciſes, be uſed. And we farther command our Juſtices of Aſſize, in their ſeveral Circuits, to ſee, that no Man do trouble or moleſt any of our loyal and dutiful People, in or for their lawful Recreations, having firſt done their Duty to God, and continuing in Obedience to us and our Laws: And of this we command

all

all our Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and other Officers to take Notice of, and to ſee obſerved, as they tender our Diſpleaſure. And we farther will, That Publication of this our Command be made, by Order from the Biſhops, through all the Pariſh-churches of their ſeveral Dioceſes reſpectively.

Given at our Palace of Weſtminſter, *the eighteenth Day of* October, *in the ninth Year of our Reign.*

God ſave the KING.

A worthy Speech, ſpoken in the honourable Houſe of Commons, by Sir *Benjaman Rudyard*, for Accommodation, betwixt his Majeſty and his Parliament. *July* the Ninth, 1642. *July* 18. Printed for *Richard Lownds*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

IN the Way we are, we have gone as far as Words can carry us: We have voted our own Rights, and the King's Duty: No Doubt there is a relative Duty betwixt a King and his Subjects; Obedience from a Subject to a King, Protection from a King to his People. The preſent unhappy Diſtance, between his Majeſty and the Parliament, makes the whole Kingdom ſtand amazed, in a fearful Expectation of diſmal Calamities to fall upon it: It deeply and conſcionably concerns this Houſe to compoſe and ſettle theſe threatening, ruining Diſtractions. Mr. *Speaker*, I am touched, I am pierced with an Apprehenſion of the Honour of the Houſe, and Succeſs of this Parliament. The beſt Way to give a Stop to theſe deſperate, imminent Miſchiefs, is, to make a fair Way for the King's Return hither; it will likewiſe give beſt Satisfaction to the People, and will be our beſt Juſtification. Mr. *Speaker*, that we may the better conſider the Condition we are now in, let us ſet ourſelves three Years back: If any Man then could have credibly told us, that, within three Years, the Queen ſhall be gone out of *England* into the *Low-Countries* for any Cauſe whatſoever; the King ſhall remove from his Parliament, from *London* to *York*, declaring himſelf not to be ſafe here; that there ſhall be a total Rebellion in *Ireland*, ſuch Diſcords and Diſtempers both in Church and State here, as now we find; certainly we ſhould have trembled at the Thought of it; wherefore it is fit we ſhould be ſenſible now we are in it.

On the other Side, if a Man then could have credibly told us, that, within three Years, ye ſhall have a Parliament, it would have been good News; that Ship-money ſhall be taken away by an Act of Parliament, the Reaſons and Grounds of it ſo rooted out, as that neither it, nor any Thing like it, can ever grow up again; that Monopolies, the High-commiſſion Court, the Star-Chamber, the Biſhops Votes ſhall be taken away, the Council-Table regulated and reſtrained, the Foreſts bounded and limited; that ye ſhall have a triennial Parliament, and, more than that, a perpetual Parliament, which none ſhall have Power to diſſolve without yourſelves, we ſhould have thought this a Dream of Happineſs; yet, now we are in the real Poſſeſſion of it, we do not enjoy it, although his Majeſty hath promiſed and publiſhed he will make all this good to us: We ſtand chiefly upon further Security, whereas the very Having of theſe Things is a convenient, fair Security, mutually ſecuring one another; there is more Security offered, even in this laſt Anſwer of the King's, by removing the perſonal Votes of Popiſh Lords, and by the better Education of Papiſts Children, by ſupplying the Defects of Laws againſt Recuſants, beſides what elſe may be enlarged and improved

improved by a ſelect Committee of both Houſes named for that Purpoſe. Wherefore, Sir, let us beware we do not contend for ſuch a hazardous unſafe Security, as may endanger the Loſs of what we have already; let us not think we have Nothing, becauſe we have not all we deſire; and, though we had, yet we cannot make a mathematical Security: All human Caution is ſuſceptible of Corruption and Failing; God's Providence will not be bound, Succeſs muſt be his: He, that obſerves the Wind and Rain, ſhall neither ſow nor reap; if he do Nothing, till he can ſecure the Weather, he will have but an ill Harveſt.

Mr. *Speaker*, it now behoves us to call up all the Wiſdom we have about us, for we are at the very Brink of Combuſtion and Confuſion: If Blood once begin to touch Blood, we ſhall preſently fall into a certain Miſery, and muſt attend an uncertain Succeſs, God knows when, and God knows what. Every Man here is bound in Conſcience to employ his uttermoſt Endeavours to prevent the Effuſion of Blood: Blood is a crying Sin, it pollutes a Land; let us ſave our Liberties, and our Eſtates, as we may ſave our Souls too. Now I have clearly delivered mine own Conſcience, I leave every Man freely to his.

A Diſcourſe, ſhewing in what State the three Kingdoms are in at this preſent. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

SIR,

AS the Faces of all *Britain* ſhew their Hearts and Inclinations, ſo if their Hearts were glazed with a Chryſtal, they would appear fearful of the future; were not the repreſentive Body of the State careful to cure the preſent Malady, purge the diſtempered Humours, and ſave the much gangrened Body, by cutting ſome rotten and putrified Members off, which infect, infeſt, and invade the Republick; this makes me chearful to diſcover the Conceptions of the Wiſe, and not as an Orator, but relate their Opinion as their Auditor: I hope it will take away from me Oſtentation, and Trouble from the Reader, even to give Eaſe of Diſcourſe.

Their profound Sighs, and earneſt Prayers, might quicken my Ingeny, better than the Sound of excellent Inſtruments can revive the Spirit; to preſent this with all Obedience to my Sovereign, and Faith to the Country, and declare what is convenient to be done at this Time, ſubmitting myſelf modeſtly to Head and Body.

Now if thoſe Streams of Tears, and ſweet Perfumes, make not my Pen fruitful and odoferous, pardon my Rudeneſs, and conſider the State we are now in.

When our miſerable Condition perceived, before the Acceſs of the univerſal Body, by the Wrinkles, put on the Brow of ruined Affairs, Counſel weakened, and Reputation of State blaſted, that the People cry out againſt ſuch Inſtruments; What miſerable Condition are we brought to? Oh God! Suffer not ill Counſellors to be as a bad Spleen, to ſwell ſo big as to make lean the Commonwealth, that our empty Purſes be not filled with Blood, though with Tears; wherefore, I humbly beſeech the Head to produce ſuch Effect, as the Sun on moiſt and cold Grounds; to reduce the general Capacity, to ſuch an Influence of Juſtice, Peace, Religion, and Liberty; and that, in Lieu thereof, the People may make a rich and potent King.

As all Rivers return to the Ocean, ſo ſhall the Laybrinth, we are in, be by the Help of wiſe *Ariadne*'s eſcaped, and the golden Fleece, Continance of Goſpel, Juſtice, Peace, and downy Tranquillity, with the Help of thoſe godly *Medea*'s, be preſerved and procured: Therefore, not as a Lawyer, give me Leave as a Well-wiſher to the State, to put the Caſe by Way of Suppoſition.

If the fundamental Laws be quite overthrown, Religion altered, the Nobility taken away by Councils of War, as the Lord *Mount-*

Norris ſhould have been; the meaner Sort uſed as *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*; the Propriety of Goods taken away from the Subject; an Army force an Arbitrary Way of Government, and Juſtice, bought and ſold; What Miſery will follow, when the Judges ſhall affirm it legal, the Clergy wrongfully in their Pulpits teach it, and the Cabinet-Council authoriſe the Conveniency, for Matter of State? Therefore, to have our Laws eſtabliſhed, Religion maintained, the Pride of Prelates abaſed, Juſtice adminiſtered, Liberty ſettled, and Peace continued for after Times: It is neceſſary, the King, Lords, and Commons join in a moſt ſevere Puniſhment, that none, in the *Poſtea*, dare to enterpriſe, the Surpriſe and Ruin of the common Good; for it is an infallible Maxim, The King is richer in the Hearts, than in the Treaſures of his Subjects.

Surely there was never a fitter Time, nor a more convenient Occaſion then now, when three Kingdoms unite for their own Safety; when the *Scot* hath an Army on Foot for this Purpoſe, and the King hath promiſed they ſhall not be interrupted in their Counſels, and God requires it for his Glory.

Eſpecially when Miniſters of State have begun to act this fatal Tragedy, the Guiltineſs by ſo many lively Teſtimonies proved, and the Treaſon by Precedents and weighty Authority aſſured, by Law maintained, and by all the Commons-houſe adjudged; who have Power by the 25th of *Edward the Third*; and when it is brought to ſo good a Paſs by the Lords, who both have Legiſlative Power, Why ſhould not Lords and Commons bring it to Perfection, that the King ſign, That who ſhall dare to alter Religion, innovate Law, or take away Liberty of the Subject, be condignly puniſhed, and for the future, cauſe an expreſs Law to be made on Purpoſe, to attaint Blood, forfeit Life, Lands, and Goods, if any ſhall eſſay ſuch crying Exorbitances?

If by the Law it be high Treaſon to kill a Commiſſioner of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, in Time of Juſtice; *à majori*, to confound the whole Body, when a Commiſſioner, is but one poor Member of the Body Politick.

2. To make a Law, that none be capable of any Place of Government, that hath, or ſhall give ſuch Counſel, and leave the reſt to the triennial Parliament, and not graſp too much, leſt all the Harpies fly away.

Likewiſe it is neceſſary to make a Remonſtrance of the Neceſſity of giving 300,000 Pounds, to the *Scots*, to give Satisfaction to future Ages, that it was no Puſillanimity, but upon mature Deliberation; becauſe the evident Neceſſity, and inevitable Dangers caſt upon us by ill Counſel, juſtly cauſed it.

To the Purpoſe, the Houſe of Commons hath done wiſely, to endeavour to clip the Wings of the Clergy, that they may fly into no temporal Place, whoſe Pens and Tongues have uttered ſuch Poiſon againſt the common Good, and in their Pride, would willingly adhere to *Rome*; as by many Superſtitions it plainly appears, they have introduced ſome *Babylonian* Ceremonies, and made a Bridge unto the Church, by the *Arminian* Opinion, to paſs over to Popery.

The State of *Venice*, jealous of any their Members confederating with Enemies, cauſe them to be ſtrangled, and hanged up between Columns, confiſcate their Goods and Eſtates, baniſh their Children, and make them incapable of Government; if for Jealouſy, much more, for ſo foul Acts committed, ought they to die, by the Law of God and Man.

Among the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Romans*; whoſoever ſhould go about to alter the Form of Government, or Laws, without publick Conſent, hath been ever accounted the higheſt Traitor; witneſs their Oſtraciſm, and many ſuch exemplary Puniſhments, uſed to ſuch Wretches.

If Deſtroying the Head be high Treaſon, then Ruining the State of the Body muſt be; for if it be ſuffocated with groſs Spirits, the Head will not only ach, but be apoplectical or lethargical, ſuch a Sympathy or rather Relation is betwixt Head and Members, that no Rhetorick or Eloquence can take it away: In this Caſe it is no Pity, but convenient to deſtroy the Brood of ſuch Vipers, and by our Law the Intention makes it Treaſon. But how many Ways the Lord of *Strafford* hath perpetrated this Inſention, hath been often proved.

In 18, and 21, *Jacobi*, the whole Houſe adjudged it Treaſon, to alien the Hearts of the Subjects from the Sovereign, which hath been done by his Counſellors. His Impriſoning without Law, was high Treaſon, in Sir *Haukin Hanby*, 25. *E.* 3. *Art.* 61, who was drawn, hanged, and quartered.

Judge,

Judge *Thorpe*'s Giving ſuch an Oath, contrary to Law, was high Treaſon; and is not his?

The Reaſon, *Richard the Second* was depoſed, plainly manifeſted, was, becauſe he ſuffered divers Malefactors to eſcape, condemned by Parliament, which cauſed the Oppreſſion of the Subject and Ruin of the Kingdom.

In all Ages, a Lethargy in Kings hath cauſed their Ruin; witneſs *Edward the Second*, *Richard the Second*, and *Henry the Sixth*. I humbly deſire God to bleſs his Majeſty. But conſider we, that the three Kingdoms will not be ſatisfied, unleſs the Wrong received be expiated with the Oblation of ſome, who have cauſed a Heretick Condition.

The Lord of *Strafford* hath had Counſel, in Caſe of Treaſon, when none hath had the like ſince the Conqueſt.

So the whole Word may ſee with what Temper, Gravity, and Patience they proceed.

Edward Earl of *Northumberland*, in the 8th of *Richard* II, becauſe his Deputy let the *Scots* take *Berwick* Caſtle, was condemned of high Treaſon, and yet he never conſented thereunto, for it was done without his Privity; but the Lord of *Strafford* writ to the Mayor of *Newcaſtle*, to let in the *Scots*, and cauſed the Arms to be taken away from the four adjacent Counties, making them incapable of Defence.

Wherefore it is viſible as the Sun, he is guilty, beſides his other Crimes; now his Delay of Puniſhment hath kindled ſuch a Fire, as all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms are in a Flame, and will not be ſatisfied:

Ex parvis magna creſcunt.

I pray God divert the Evil, and give us true Repentance.

Conſiderations touching a War with *Spain*. Written by the Right Honourable *Francis* Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount of St. *Albans*. Imprinted, 1629. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

YOUR Majeſty hath an Imperial Name: It was a *Charles* that brought the Empire firſt into *France*; a *Charles* that brought it firſt into *Spain*: Why ſhould not *Great-Britain* have its Turn? But to lay aſide all that might ſeem to have a Shew of Fumes and Fancies, and to ſpeak Solids: A War with *Spain*, if the King ſhall enter into it, is a mighty Work; it requireth ſtrong Materials and active Motions; he, that ſaith not ſo, is zealous, but not according to Knowledge: But, nevertheleſs, *Spain* is no ſuch Giant; and he that thinketh *Spain* to be ſome great Over-match for this Eſtate, aſſiſted as it is and may be, is no good Mint-man, but takes Greatneſs of Kingdoms, according to their Bulk and Currency, and not after their intrinſick Value.

Although therefore I had wholly ſequeſtered my Thoughts from Civil Affairs, yet, becauſe it is a new Caſe, and concerneth my Country infinitely, I obtained of myſelf to ſet down, out of long continued Experience in Buſineſs of State, and much Converſation in Books of Policy and Hiſtory, what I thought pertinent to this Buſineſs, and, in all Humbleneſs, to preſent it to your Majeſty; hoping, that at leaſt you will diſcern the Strength of my Affection, through the Weakneſs of my Abilities: For the *Spaniards* have a good Proverb, *Deſnarioſi Empre con la Calentura*. There is no Heat of Affection, but is joined with ſome Idleneſs of Brain.

To War are required a juſt Quarrel, ſufficient Forces and Proviſions, and a prudent Choice of the Deſigns. So then I will, *Firſt*, juſtify the Quarrel. *Secondly*, balance the Forces. And, *Laſtly*, propound Variety of Deſigns for Choice: For that were not fit for a Writing of this Nature, neither is it a Subject within the Level of my Judgment, I being in Effect, a Stranger to the preſent Occurrents.

Wars, I ſpeak not of ambitious predatory Wars, are Suits of Appeals to the Tribunal of God's Juſtice, when there are no Superiors on Earth to determine the Cauſe, and

they are as civil Pleas, either Plaints or Defences.

There are therefore three juſt Grounds of War with *Spain*; one upon Plaint, two upon Defence; *Solomon* ſaith, *A Cord of three is not eaſily broken*, but eſpecially when every of the Lines will hold by itſelf: They are theſe: The Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and a juſt Fear of the Subverſion of our Church and Religion: For, in the handling of theſe two laſt Grounds of War, I ſhall make it plain, that Wars preventive, upon juſt Fears, are true Defenſives, as well as upon actual Invaſions. And again, that Wars defenſive for Religion, I ſpeak not of Rebellions, are moſt juſt, though offenſive Wars for Religion are ſeldom to be approved or never, except they have ſome Mixture of Civil Titles. But all that I ſhall ſay, in this whole Argument, will be but like Bottoms of Thread cloſe wound up, which, with a good Needle, perhaps may be flouriſhed into large Works.

For the Aſſerting of the Juſtice of the Quarrel, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, I ſhall not go ſo high, as to diſcuſs the Right of the War of *Bohemia*, which, if it be freed from Doubt on our Part, then there is no Colour nor Shadow, why the *Palatinate* ſhould be retained, the Raviſhing whereof was a mere Excurſion of the firſt Wrong, and a Super-injuſtice. But I do not take myſelf to be ſo perfect in the Cuſtoms, Records, Tranſactions, and Privileges of that Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as to be fit to handle that Part; and I will not offer at that I cannot maſter. Yet this I will ſay in Paſſage poſitively and reſolutely, That it is impoſſible and repugnant in itſelf, that an elective Monarchy ſhould be ſo free and abſolute as an Hereditary, no more than it is poſſible for a Father to have ſo full Power and Intereſt in an adoptive Son, as in a natural, 'Quia naturalis obligatio fortior ci-'vili.' And again, that received Maxim is almoſt unſhaken and infallible, 'Nil magis na-'turæ conſentaneum eſt quam ut eiſdem modis 'res diſſolvantur quibus conſtituuntur:' So that, if Part of the People or Eſtate be ſomewhat in the Election, you cannot make them Nulloes or Cyphers in the Prorivation or Tranſlation; and, if it be ſaid, that this is a dangerous Opinion for the Pope, Emperor, and all elective Kings; it is true, it is a dangerous Opinion, and ought to be a dangerous Opinion to ſuch perſonal Popes, Emperors, or elective Kings, as ſhall tranſcend their Limits, and become Tyrannical.

But it is a ſafe and ſound Opinion for their Sees, Empires, and Kingdoms, and for themſelves alſo, if they be wiſe: '*Plenitudo poteſta-'tis eſt plenitudo tempeſtatis*;' but the chief Cauſe why I do not ſearch into this Point, is, becauſe I need it not. And, in handling the Right of a War, I am not willing to intermix Matters doubtful, with that which is out of Doubt: For as, in capital Cauſes, wherein but one Man's Life is in Queſtion, *in favorem Vitæ*, the Evidence ought to be clear, ſo much more in the Judgment of a War, which is capital to Thouſands. I ſuppoſe therefore the Worſt, that the offenſive War upon *Bohemia* hath been unjuſt, and then make the Caſe, which is no ſooner made than reſolved; if it be made, not enwrapped, but plainly and perſpicuouſly, it is this in theſe: An offenſive War is made, which is unjuſt to the Aggreſſor; the Proſecution and Race of the War carrieth the Defendant to aſſail and invade the ancient and indubitate Patrimony of the firſt Aggreſſor, which is now turned Defendant, Shall he ſit down, and not put himſelf in Defence, or, if he be diſpoſed, ſhall he not make a War for the Recovery? No Man is ſo poor of Judgment, as will affirm it. The Caſtle of *Cadmus* was taken, and the City of *Thebes* itſelf inveſted by *Phebidas*, the *Lacedemonian*, inſidiouſly and in Violation of League: The Proceſs of this Action drew on a Reſurpriſe of the Caſtle by the *Thebeans*, a Recovery of the Town, and a Current of the War, even unto the Walls of *Sparta*: I demand, Was the Defence of the City of *Sparta*, and the Expulſion of the *Thebeans*, out of the ancient *Laconian* Territories, unjuſt? The Starving of that Part of the Duchy of *Milan*, which lieth upon the River of *Adda*, by the *Venetians*, upon Contract with the *French*, was an ambitious and unjuſt Purchaſe. This Wheel, ſet on going, did pour a War upon the *Venetians*, with ſuch a Tempeſt, as *Padua* and *Trivigi* were taken from them, and all their Dominions upon the Continent of *Italy* abandoned, and they confined within the ſalt Waters: Will any Man ſay, that the memorable Recovery and Defence of *Padua*, when the Gentlemen of *Venice*, unuſed to the Wars, out of the Love of their Country, became brave and martial the firſt Day; and ſo

likewiſe the Redemption of *Trivigi*, and the reſt of their Dominions, was Matter of Scruple, whether juſt or no, becauſe it had Force from a Quarrel ill begun. The Wars of the Duke of *Urbine*, Nephew to Pope *Julius the Second*, when he made himſelf Head of the *Spaniſh* Mutineers, was as unjuſt as unjuſt might be, a Support of deſperate Rebels, and Invaſion of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, and what you will. The Race of this War fell upon the Loſs of *Urbine* itſelf, which was the Duke's undoubted Right, yet in this Caſe not penitentiary, though he had enjoined him never ſo ſtrait Penance to expiate his firſt Offence, and would have counſelled him to have given over the Purſuit of his Right for *Urbine*; which after he obtained proſperouſly, and hath tranſmitted to his Family, yet until this Day.

Nothing more unjuſt than the Invaſion of the *Spaniſh* Armada in Eighty-eight upon our Seas, for our Land was Holy Land to them, they might not touch it; Shall I ſay therefore, that the Defence of *Lisbon* or *Cales* afterwards was unjuſt? There be Thouſands of Examples, 'Utor in re non dubia exemplis non neceſſariis.' The Reaſons are plain, Wars are Vindict, Revenges Reparations; but Revenges are not infinite, but according to the Meaſure of the firſt Wrong or Damage. And therefore, when a voluntary offenſive War, by the Deſign or Fortune of the War, is turned into a neceſſary defenſive, the Scene of the Tragedy is changed, and it is a new Act to begin: For, though the particular Actions of Wars are complicate in Fact, yet they are ſeparate and diſtinct in Right, like to Croſs-ſuits in Civil Pleas, which are ſometimes both juſt; but this is ſo clear, as needeth not further to be inſiſted upon. And yet, if, in Things ſo clear, it were fit to ſpeak of more or leſs clear, in our preſent Cauſe, it is the more clear on our Part, becauſe the Poſſeſſion of *Bohemia* is ſettled with the Emperor; for, though it be true, that *Non datur compenſatio injuriarum*; yet were there ſomewhat more Colour to detain the *Palatinate*, as in the Nature of a Recovery in Value or Compenſation, if *Bohemia* had been loſt, or were ſtill the Stage of the War. Of this therefore I ſpeak no more. As for the Title of Proſcription or Forfeiture, wherein the Emperor, upon the Matter, hath been Judge and Party, and hath juſtified himſelf: God forbid, but that it ſhould well endure an Appeal to a War; for, certainly, the Court of Heaven, I take it, is as well a Chancery to ſave and debar Forfeitures, as a Court of common Law to decide Rights, and there would be Work enough in *Germany*, *Italy*, and other Parts, if Imperial Forfeitures ſhould go for good Titles.

Thus much for the firſt Ground of War with *Spain*, being in the Nature of a Plaint for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, omitting that here, which might be the Seed of a larger Diſcourſe, and is verified by a Number of Examples; which is, That whatſoever is gained by an abuſive Treaty, ought to be reſtored *in integrum*. As we ſee the daily Experience of this in Civil Pleas, for the Images of great Things are beſt ſeen contracted into ſmall Glaſſes; we ſee, I ſay, that all Pretorian Courts, if any of the Parties be entertained, or laid aſleep, under Pretence of an Arbitrement or Accord, and that the other Party, during that Time, doth cautelouſly get the Start and Advantage at Common Law, though it be to Judgment and Execution, yet the Pretorian Court will ſet back all Things *in ſtatu quo prius*, no Reſpect being had to ſuch Eviction, or Diſpoſſeſſion. *Laſtly*, Let there be no Miſtaking, as if, when I ſpeak of a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, I meant, that it muſt be *in linea recta* upon that Place; for look in *Jus Feciale*, and all Examples, and it will be found to be without Scruple, that, after a Legation *ad res repetendas*, and a Refuſal, and a Denunciation or Indiction of a War, the War is no more confined to the Place of the Quarrel, but is left at large, and to Choice (as to the particular conducing Deſigns) as Opportunities and Advantages ſhall invite.

To proceed therefore to the *ſecond* Ground of a War with *Spain*: We have ſet it down to be a juſt Fear of the Subverſion of our Civil Eſtate; ſo then the War is not for the *Palatinate* only, but for *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, our King, our Prince, our Nation, all that we have. Wherein two Things are to be proved; the one, That a juſt Fear, without an actual Invaſion or Offence, is a ſufficient Ground of a War, and in the Nature of a true Defenſive; the other, That we have, towards *Spain*, Cauſe of juſt Fear; I ſay *juſt* Fear; for, as the Civilians do well define, that the legal Fear is 'juſtus metus, qui cadit 'in conſtantem virum,' in private Caſes; ſo there

there is 'juſtus metus, qui cadit in conſtan-'tem Senatum in cauſa publica,' not out of Umbrages, light Jealouſneſs, Apprehenſions afar off, but out of clear Foreſight of imminent Danger.

Concerning the former Propoſition, it is good to hear what Time ſaith.

Thucydides, in his Inducement to his Story of the great War of *Peloponneſus*, ſets down in plain Terms, That the true Cauſe of that War was the over-growing Greatneſs of the *Athenians*, and the Fear that the *Lacedemonians* ſtood in thereby; and doth not doubt to call it 'a Neceſſity impoſed upon the *Lacedemoni-'ans* of a War;' which are the very Words of a mere Defenſive; adding, That the other Cauſes were but ſpecious and popular: 'Ve-'riſſimam quidem, ſed minime ſermone cele-'bratam arbitror extitiſſe belli cauſam, Athe-'nienſes magnos effectos, & Lacedæmo-'niis formidoloſos, neceſſitatem illis impoſu-'iſſe bellandi; quæ autem propalam fere-'bantur utrinque, cauſæ iſtæ fuerunt, &c.' *i. e.* The trueſt Cauſe of this War, though leaſt voiced, I conceive to have been this: That the *Athenians*, being grown great, to the Terror of the *Lacedemonians*, did impoſe upon them the Neceſſity of a War; but the Cauſes, that went Abroad in Speeches, were theſe, *&c.*

Sulpitius Galba, Conſul, when he perſuaded the *Romans* to a preventive War with the latter *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, in Regard of the great Preparations, which *Philip* had then on Foot, and his Deſigns to ruin ſome of the Confederates of the *Romans*, confidently ſaith, That they, who took that for an Offenſive War, underſtood not the State of the Queſtion: 'Ignorare videmini mihi, Quirites, non 'utrum bellum, an pacem habeatis vos con-'ſuli; neque enim liberum id vobis permittet 'Philippus, qui terra marique ingens bellum 'molitur; ſed utrum in Macedoniam legiones 'tranſportetis, an hoſtem in Italiam accipi-'atis:' *i. e.* You ſeem to me, you *Romans*, not to underſtand, that the Conſultation before you is not, Whether you ſhall have War or Peace; for *Philip* will take Order you ſhall be no Chuſers, who prepareth a mighty War both by Land and by Sea; but, Whether you ſhall tranſport the War into *Macedonia*, or receive it into *Italy*.

Antiochus, when he incited *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*, at that Time in League with the *Romans*, to join with him in War againſt them, ſetteth before him a juſt Fear of the overſpreading Greatneſs of the *Romans*, comparing it to a Fire, that continually took and ſpread from Kingdom to Kingdom: 'Venire 'Romanos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nul-'lum uſquam orbis terrarum, niſi Romanum 'imperium eſſet; Philippum & Nabin expug-'natos, ſe tertium peti, ut quiſque proximus ab 'oppreſſo ſit per omnes velut continens incen-'dium pervaſurum:' *i. e.* That the *Romans* came to pull down all Kingdoms, and to make the State of *Rome* an univerſal Monarchy; that *Philip* and *Nabis* were already ruinated, and now was his Turn to be aſſailed: So that, as every State lay next to the other, that was oppreſſed, ſo the Fire perpetually grazed. Wherein it is well to be noted, That, towards ambitious States, which are noted to aſpire to great Monarchies, and to ſeek upon all Occaſions to enlarge their Dominions, 'creſcunt 'argumenta juſti metus; *i. e.* All particular Fears do grow and multiply out of the Contemplation of the general Courſes and Practices of ſuch States; therefore, in Deliberations of War againſt the *Turk*, it hath been often with great Judgment maintained, That Chriſtian Princes and States have always a ſufficient Ground of invaſive War againſt the Enemy, not for the Cauſe of Religion, but upon a juſt Fear; foraſmuch as it is a fundamental Law, in the *Turkiſh* Empire, That they may, without any other Provocation, make War upon *Chriſtendom*, for the Propagation of their Law; ſo that there lieth upon the Chriſtians a perpetual Fear of a War hanging over their Heads from them; and therefore they may at all Times, as they think good, be upon the Prevention.

Demoſthenes expoſeth to Scorn Wars which are not preventive, comparing thoſe that make them to Country-fellows in a Fence-ſchool, that never ward till the Blow be paſt: 'Ut 'barbari pugiles dimicare ſolent, ita vos bel-'lum geritis cum Philippo; ex his enim is, qui 'ictus eſt, ictui ſemper inhæret; quod ſi eum 'alibi verberes illo manus transfert, ictum au-'tem propellere aut proſpicere neque ſcit, 'neque vult:' *i. e.* As Country-fellows uſe to do, when they play at Waiſters, ſuch a Kind of War do you, *Athenians*, make with *Philip*; for, with them, he that gets a Blow ſtraight falleth to ward, when the Blow is paſt; and, if you ſtrike him in another Place,

thither goes his Hand likewiſe; but to put by, or foreſee a Blow, they neither have the Skill, nor the Will.

Clinias the *Candian*, in *Plato*, ſpeaks deſperately and wildly, as if there were no ſuch Thing as Peace between Nations, but that every Nation expects but his Advantage to war upon another.

But yet, in that Exceſs of Speech, there is thus much, that may have a civil Conſtruction; namely, That every State ought to ſtand upon its Guard, and rather prevent, than be prevented. His Words are: 'Quam rem 'fere vocant pacem, nudum & inane nomen 'eſt; revera autem omnibus adverſus omnes 'civitates bellum ſempiternum perdurat:' *i. e.* That, which Men for the moſt Part call *Peace*, is but a naked and empty Name; but the Truth is, that there is ever between all States a ſecret War. I know well, this Speech is the Objection, and not the Deciſion, and that it is afterwards refuſed; but yet, as I ſaid before, it bears thus much of Truth, That, if that general Malignity and Prediſpoſition to War, which he untruly figureth to be in all Nations, be produced and extended to a juſt Fear of being oppreſſed, then it is no more a true Peace, but a Name of Peace.

As for the Opinion of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, it demands not ſo much towards a War, as a juſt Fear, but rather cometh near the Opinion of *Clinias*, as if there were ever amongſt Nations a Brooding of a War, and that there is no ſure League, but Impuiſſance to do Hurt. For he, in the Treaty of Peace with the *Lacedemonians*, ſpeaketh plain Language, telling them, There could be no true and ſecure Peace, except the *Lacedemonians* yeilded to thoſe Things, which being granted, it would be no longer in their Power to hurt the *Athenians*, though they would.

And, to ſay the Truth, if one mark it well, this was in all Memory the main Piece of Wiſdom in ſtrong and prudent Councils, to be in perpetual Watch, that the States about them ſhould neither by Approach, nor by Increaſe of Dominion, nor by Ruining Confederates, nor by Blocking of Trade, nor by any the like Means, have it in their Power to hurt or annoy the States, they ſerve; and, whenſoever any ſuch Cauſe did but appear, ſtraightway to buy it out with a War, and never to take up Peace at Credit, and upon Intereſt. It is ſo memorable, that it is yet freſh, as if it were done yeſterday, how that Triumvirate of Kings, *Henry the Eighth* of *England*, *Francis the Firſt* of *France*, and *Charles the Fifth*, Emperor, and King of *Spain*, were, in their Times, ſo provident, that ſcarce a Palm of Ground could be gotten by either of the three, but that the other two would be ſure to do their beſt to ſet the Balance of *Europe* upright again. And the like Diligence was uſed, in the Age before, by that League (wherewith *Guicciardini* beginneth his Story, and maketh it, as it were, the Calendar of the good Days of *Italy*) which was contracted between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Lorenzo* of *Medicis*, Potentate of *Florence*, and *Lodovico Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, deſigned chiefly againſt the growing Power of the *Venetians*, but yet ſo, that the Confederates had a perpetual Eye one upon another, that none of them ſhould overtop. To conclude therefore: Howſoever ſome Schoolmen (otherwiſe reverend Men, yet fitter to guide Penknives than Swords) ſeem preciſely to ſtand upon it, That every Offenſive War muſt be *ultio*, a Revenge, that preſuppoſeth a precedent Aſſault, or Injury; yet neither do they deſcend to this Point, which we now handled, of a juſt Fear, neither are they of Authority to judge this Queſtion againſt all the Precedents of Time; for, certainly, as long as Men are Men (the Sons of the Poets allude of *Prometheus*, not of *Epimetheus*) and, as long as Reaſon is Reaſon, a juſt Fear will be a juſt Cauſe of a preventive War; but eſpecially, if it be Part of the Cauſe, That there be a Nation, that is manifeſtly detected to aſpire to Monarchy and new Acquiſts, then other States aſſuredly cannot be juſtly accuſed for not ſtaying for the firſt Blow, or for not accepting *Polyphemus*'s Courteſy, to be the laſt that ſhall be eaten up.

Nay, I obſerve further, that, in that Paſſage of *Plato*, which I cited before, and even in the Tenet of that Perſon, that beareth the reſolving Part, and not the objecting, a juſt Fear is juſtified for a Cauſe of an invaſive War, though the ſame Fear proceed not from the Fault of the foreign State to be aſſailed; for it is there inſinuated, that, if a State, out of the Diſtemper of their own Body, do fear Sedition and inteſtine Troubles to break out amongſt themſelves, they may diſcharge their own ill Humours upon a foreign War for a Cure; and this Kind of Cure was tendered by *Jaſper Coligni*, Admiral of *France* to *Charles*

the

the Ninth, the *French* King, when, by a vive and forcible Perſuaſion, he moved him to make War upon *Flanders*, for the better Extinguiſhment of the Civil Wars of *France*; but neither was that Counſel proſperous, neither will I maintain that Propoſition; for I will never ſet Politicks againſt Ethicks, eſpecially, for that true Ethicks are but as a Handmaid to Divinity and Religion: Surely St. *Thomas*, who had the largeſt Heart of the School Divines, bendeth chiefly his Stile againſt depraved Paſſions, which reign in making Wars, out of St. *Auguſtine*, 'Nocendi cupiditas, ulciſcendi 'crudelitas, implacatus & implacabilis ani-'mus, feritas rebellandi, libido dominandi & 'ſi quæ ſunt ſimilia, hæc ſunt quæ in Bellis 'jure culpantur.' And the ſame St. *Thomas*, in his own Text, defining of the juſt Cauſes of the War, doth leave it upon very general Terms, 'Requiritur ad Bellum cauſa juſta, 'ut ſcilicet illi qui impugnantur propter ali-'quam culpam impugnationem mereantur;' for *impugnatio culpæ* is a far more general Word, than *ultio injuriæ*.

And thus much for the firſt Propoſition of the ſecond Ground, of a War with *Spain*, namely, That a juſt Fear is a juſt Cauſe of a War, and that a preventive War is a true defenſive. The ſecond, or minor Propoſition, was this, That this Kingdom hath Cauſe of a juſt Fear of Overthrow from *Spain*, wherein it is true, that Fears are ever ſeen in dimmer Lights, than Facts; and, on that other Side, Fears uſe many Times to be repreſented in ſuch an imaginary Faſhion, as they rather dazzle Men's Eyes, than open them; and, therefore, I will ſpeak in that Manner which the Subject requires, that is probably, and moderately, and briefly; neither will I deduce theſe Fears to the preſent Occurrents, but point only at general Grounds, leaving the reſt to more ſecret Councils.

It is nothing, that the Crown of *Spain* hath enlarged the Bounds thereof, within this laſt ſix-ſcore Years, much more than the *Ottomans*; I ſpeak not of Matches or Unions, but of Arms, Occupations, Invaſions. *Granado*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Portugal*, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, all theſe are actual Additions to that Crown, and in Poſſeſſion; they have a great Mind to *French Britain*, the lower Part of *Picardy* and *Piedmont*, but they have let fall their Bit; they have, at this Day, ſuch a hovering Poſſeſſion of the *Valtoline*, as an Hobby hath over a Lark, and the *Palatinate* is in their Talons; ſo nothing is more manifeſt, than that this Nation of *Spain* runs a Race ſtill of Empire, when all other States of *Chriſtendom* ſtand, in Effect, at a Stay.

Look then a little further into the Titles, whereby they have acquired, and do now hold theſe new Portions of their Crown, and you will find them of ſo many Varieties, and ſuch Natures, to ſpeak with due Reſpect, as may appear to be eaſily minted, and ſuch as can hardly, at any Time, be wanting; and, therefore, ſo many new Conqueſts and Purchaſes, ſo many Strokes of the Alarum-bell of Fear and Awaking to other Nations, and the Facility of the Titles, which, Hand over Head, have ſerved their Turn, do ring the Peal ſo much the ſharper, and the louder.

Shall we deſcend from their general Diſpoſition, to enlarge their Dominions; to their particular Diſpoſitions, and Eye of Appetite, which they have had towards us? They have now ſought twice to impatroniſe themſelves of this Kingdom of *England*, once by Marriage with Queen *Mary*, and, the ſecond Time, by Conqueſt, in 1588, when their Forces, by Sea and Land, were not inferior to thoſe they have now; and, at that Time, in 1588, the Counſel and Deſign of *Spain* was, by many Advertiſements, revealed, and laid open, to be, that they found the War, upon the *Low-Countries*, ſo churliſh and longſome, as they grew then to a Reſolution, That, as long as *England* ſtood in State to ſuccour thoſe Countries, they ſhould but conſume themſelves in an endleſs War; and, therefore, there was no other Way, but to aſſail and depreſs *England*, which was a Back of Steel to the *Flemings*; and who can warrant, I pray, that the ſame Counſel and Deſign will not return again? So that we are in a ſtrange Dilemma of Danger; for, if we ſuffer the *Flemings* to be ruined, (they are our Outwork, and we ſhall remain naked and diſmantled;) if we ſuccour them ſtrongly, as is fit, and ſet them upon their Feet, and do not withal weaken *Spain*, we hazard to change the Scene of the War, and to turn it upon *Ireland* or *England*, like unto Rheums and Defluxions, which, if you apply a ſtrong Repercuſſive to the Place affected, and do not take

take away the Cauſe of the Diſeaſe, will ſhift, and fall ſtraightways to another Joint or Place. They have alſo twice invaded *Ireland*, once under the Pope's Banner, when they were defeated by *Gray*, and after, in their own Name, when they were defeated by *Mountjoy*; ſo let this ſuffice for a Taſte of their Diſpoſition towards us. But it will be ſaid, this is an Almanack for the old Year; ſince 1588, all hath been well, *Spain* hath not aſſailed this Kingdom, howſoever, by two ſeveral Invaſions from us, mightily provoked. It is true, but then conſider, that, immediately after they were embroiled, for a great Time, in the Protection of the League of *France*, whereby they had their Hands full; after being brought extreme low, by their vaſt and continual Embracements, they were inforced to be quiet, that they might take Breath, and do Reparations upon their former Waſtes; but now, of late, Things ſeem to come on a-pace to their former Eſtate, nay, with far greater Diſadvantage to us; for now that they have almoſt continued, and, as it were, arched their Dominions from *Milan*, by the *Valtoline* and *Palatinate*, to the *Low-Countries*; we ſee how they thirſt and pant after the utter Ruin of thoſe States, having, in Contempt almoſt the *German* Nation, and doubting little Oppoſition, except it come from *England*; whereby, we muſt either ſuffer the *Dutch* to be ruined, to our own manifeſt Prejudice, or put it upon the Hazard I ſpoke of before, that *Spain* will caſt at the faireſt. Neither is the Point of internal Danger, which groweth upon us, to be forgotten; this, that the Party of the Papiſts in *England* are become more knotted, both in Dependence towards *Spain*, and amongſt themſelves, than they have been; wherein again comes to be remembered the Cauſe of 1588; for then alſo it appeared, by divers ſecret Letters, that the Deſign of *Spain* was, for ſome Years before the Invaſion attempted, to prepare a Party in this Kingdom, to adhere to the Foreign at his Coming; and they bragged, that they doubted not, but to abuſe and lay aſleep the Queen and Council of *England*, as to having any Fear of the Party of Papiſts here; for that they knew, they ſaid, the State would but caſt the Eye, and look about to ſee, whether there were any eminent Head of that Party, under whom it might unite itſelf; and, finding none worth the Thinking on, the State would reſt ſecure, and take no Apprehenſion; whereas they meant, they ſaid, to take Courſe to deal with the People, and, particularly, by Reconcilements and Confeſſions, and ſecret Promiſes, and cared not for any Head of Party; and this is the true Reaſon why, after that, the Seminaries began to bloſſom, and to make Miſſions into *England*, which was about the twenty-third of Queen *Eliſabeth*; at which Time, alſo, was the firſt Suſpicion of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion; then, and not before, grew the ſharp and ſevere Laws to be made againſt the Papiſts, and, therefore, the Papiſts may do well to change their Thanks; and whereas they thank *Spain* for their Favours, to thank them for their Perils and Miſeries, if they ſhould fall upon them, for that nothing ever made their Caſe ſo ill, as the Doubt of the Greatneſs of *Spain*; which adding Reaſon of State, and Matter of Conſcience and Religion, doth whet the Laws againſt them; and this Cauſe alſo ſeemeth, in ſome Sort, to return again at this Time, except the Clemency of his Majeſty and the State do ſuperabound. As for my Part, I wiſh it ſhould, and, that the Proceedings towards them may rather tend to Security, and Providence, and Point of State, than to Perſecution for Religion.

But to conclude, theſe Things, briefly touched, may ſerve as in a Subject conjectural, and future, for to repreſent, how juſt Cauſe of Fear this Kingdom may have towards *Spain*, omitting, as I ſaid before, all preſent and more ſecret Occurrents.

The third Ground of a War with *Spain* I have ſet down to be a juſt Fear of the Subverſion of our Church and Religion, which needeth little Speech; for, if this War be a defenſive, as I have proved it to be, no Man will doubt, that a defenſive War, againſt a Foreigner, for Religion is lawful; of an offenſive War there is no Diſpute; and yet, in that Inſtance of the War for the *Holy Land* and *Sepulchre*, I do wonder ſometimes, that the Schoolmen want Words to defend that, which St. *Bernard* wanted Words to commend; but I, that, in this little Extract of a Treatiſe, do omit Things neceſſary, am not to handle Things unneceſſary; no Man, I ſay, will doubt, but, if the Pope, or King of *Spain*, would demand of us to forſake our Religion,

ligion, upon Pain of a War, it were as unjuſt a Demand, as the *Perſians* made to the *Grecians*, of Land and Water, or the *Ammonites* to the *Iſraelites*, of their right Eyes; and we ſee all the Heathens did ſtile their defenſive War *pro aris & focis*, placing their Altars before their Hearths; ſo that it is in Vain of this to ſpeak further, only this is true, that the Fear of the Subverſion of our Religion from *Spain* is the more juſt, for that all other Catholick Princes and States content and contain themſelves, to maintain their Religion within their own Dominions, and meddle not with the Subjects of other States; whereas the Practice of *Spain* hath been, both in *Charles the Fifth*'s Time, in *Germany*, and, in the Time of the League, in *France*, by War, and now, with us, by Conditions of Treaties, to intermeddle with foreign States, and to declare themſelves Projectors-general of the Party of Catholicks through the World, as if the Crown of *Spain* had a Title of this, that they would plant the Pope's Law by Arms, as the *Ottomans* do the Law of *Mahomet*. Thus much concerning the firſt main Point of juſtifying the Quarrel, if the King ſhall enter into a War; for this that I have ſaid, and all that followeth to be ſaid, is but to ſhew what he may do. The ſecond main Part of that I have propounded to ſpeak of is the Balance of Forces between *Spain* and us; and this alſo tendeth to no more but what the King may do, for what he may do is of two Kinds, what he may do as juſt, and what he may do as poſſible; of the one I have already ſpoken, of the other I am now to ſpeak. I ſaid *Spain* was no ſuch Giant, and yet, if he were a Giant, it will be but as it was between *David* and *Goliah*, for God is on our Side. But to leave all Arguments that are ſupernatural, and to ſpeak in an human and politick Senſe, I am led to think that *Spain* is no Over-match for *England*, by that which leadeth all Men, that is, Experience and Reaſon; and with Experience I will begin, for there all Reaſon beginneth. Is it Fortune ſhall we think, that in all Actions of War, or Arms, great and ſmall, which have happened theſe many Years, ever ſince *Spain* and *England* have had any Thing to debate one with the other, the *Engliſh*, upon all Encounters, have perpetually come off with Honour, and with the better? It is not Fortune ſure, ſhe is not ſo conſtant: There is ſomewhat in the Nations and natural Courage of the People, or ſome ſuch Thing. I will make a brief Liſt of the Particulars themſelves, in an hiſtorical Truth, no Ways ſtretched nor made greater by Language. This were a fit Speech, you will ſay, for a General, in the Head of an Army, when they are going to Battle; yes, and it is no leſs fit Speech to be ſpoken in the Head of a Council upon a Deliberation of an Entrance into a War; neither ſpeak I this to diſparage the *Spaniſh* Nation, whom I take to be of the beſt Soldiers in *Europe*. But that ſorteth to our Honour, if we ſtill have had the better Hand. In the Year 1578, was that famous *Lammas-Day* which buried the Reputation of Don *John* of *Auſtria*, himſelf not ſurviving long after; Don *John*, being ſuperior in Forces, aſſiſted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, *Manſell*, and other the beſt Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, charged the Army of the States near *Rimenant*, bravely and furiouſly at the firſt, but, after a Fight maintained by the Space of a whole Day, was repulſed, and forced to a Retreat, with great Slaughter of his Men, and the Courſe of his farther Enterprizes, wholly arreſted; and this chiefly by the Proweſs and Virtue of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Troops, under the Conduct of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Robert Steward*, Colonels, which Troops came to the Army but the Day before, harraſſed with a long and wearyſome March. And, as it is left for a memorable Circumſtance in all Stories, the Soldiers, being more ſenſible of a little Heat of the Sun, than of any cold Fear of Treaty, caſt away their Armour and Garments from them, and fought in their Shirts; and, as it was generally conceived, had it not been that the Count of *Boſſe* was ſlack in charging the *Spaniards* upon their Retreat, this Fight had turned to an abſolute Defeat; but it was enough to chaſtiſe Don *John* for his inſidious Treaty of Peace, wherewith he had abuſed the States at his firſt Coming. And the Fortune of the Day, beſides the Teſtimony of all Stories, may be aſcribed to the Service of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*, by Compariſon of this Charge near *Rimenant*, where the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*, in great Numbers, came in Action, with the like Charge given by Don *John*, half a Year before at *Guylours*, where the Succeſs was contrary, there being at that Time in the Army but a Handful

of

of *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh*, and put in Diſaray by the Horſemen of their own Fellows.

The firſt Dart of War, which was thrown from *Spain* or *Rome* upon the Realm of *Ireland*, was in the Year 1580, for the Deſign of *Stuckley* blew over into *Africk*, and the Attempt of *Sanders* and *Fitz-Morris* had a Spice of Madneſs. In that Year *Ireland* was invaded by *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces, under the Pope's Banner and the Conduct of *St. Joſepho*, to the Number of ſeven-hundred, or better, which landed at *Smerwicke* in *Kerry*. A poor Number it was to conquer *Ireland* to the Pope's Uſe, for their Deſign was no leſs, but, withal, they brought Arms for five-thouſand Men above their own Company, intending to arm ſo many of the Rebels of *Ireland*; and their Purpoſe was to fortify in ſome ſtrong Place of the wild and deſolate Country, and that to neſtle till greater Succours came, they being haſtened upon this Enterpriſe upon a ſpecial Reaſon of State not proper to the Enterpriſe itſelf, which was by the Invaſion of *Ireland*, and the Noiſe thereof, to trouble the Council of *England*, and to make a certain Diverſion of certain Aids that were then preparing from hence for the *Low-Countries*. They choſe a Place where they erected a Fort, which they called the *Fort del Or*, and from thence they bolted like Beaſts of the Foreſt, ſometimes into the Woods and Faſtneſſes, and ſometimes back again to their Den. Soon after, Siege was laid to the Fort by the Lord *Gray*, then Deputy, with a ſmaller Number than thoſe were within the Fort, venturouſly indeed, but Haſte was made to attack them before the Rebels came in to them. After the Siege of four Days only, with two or three Sallies, with Loſs on that Part, they, that ſhould have made good the Fort for ſome Months, till new Succours came from *Spain*, or at leaſt from the Rebels of *Ireland*, yielded up themſelves without Conditions, at the End of thoſe four Days; and for that there were not in the *Engliſh* Army enough to keep every Man a Priſoner; and for that alſo the Deputy expected inſtantly to be aſſailed by the Rebels, and again there was no Barque to throw them into, and ſend them away by Sea, they were all put to the Sword, with which Queen *Eliſabeth* was afterwards much diſpleaſed.

In the Year 1582, was that memorable Retreat of *Ghent*, than the which there hath not been an Exploit of War more celebrated, for, in the true Judgment of Men of War, honourable Retreats are no Ways inferior to brave Charges, as having leſs of Fortune, more of Diſcipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the Number of three-hundred Horſe, and many thouſand Foot, *Engliſh*, commanded by Sir *John Norris*, charged upon an Advantage taken by the Prince of *Parma* coming upon them with ſeven thouſand Horſe; beſides that, the whole Army of the *Spaniards* was ready to march on. Nevertheleſs, Sir *John Norris* maintained a Retreat without Diſaray by the Space of ſome Miles, Part of the Way Champaign unto the City of *Ghent*, with leſs Loſs of Men than the Enemy: The Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange*, beholding this noble Action from the Walls of *Ghent*, as in a Theatre, with great Admiration.

In the Year 1585, followed the proſperous Expedition of *Drake* and *Carliſle* into the *Weſt-Indies*. In which I ſet aſide the Taking of *St. Jago* and *St. Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, as Surpriſes rather than Encounters. But that of *Carthagena*, where the *Spaniards* had Warning of our Coming, and had put themſelves in their full Strength, was one of the hotteſt Services and moſt dangerous Aſſaults hath been known, for the Acceſs to the Town was only by a Neck of Land between the Sea on the one Part, and the Harbour-water or Minor-ſea on the other, fortified cleaſ. over a ſtrong Rampart Barricado, ſo as upon the Aſcent of our Men they had both great Ordnance and ſmall Shot that thundered and ſhowered upon them from the Rampart in Front, and from the Gallies that lay at Sea in Flank; and yet they forced the Paſſage, and won the Town, being likewiſe very well manned. As for the Expedition of Sir *Francis Drake* in the Year 1587, for the Deſtroying of the *Spaniſh* Shipping and Proviſion upon their own Coaſt, as I cannot ſay that there intervened in that Enterpriſe any ſharp Fight or Encounter, ſo nevertheleſs it did ſtraightly diſcover, either that *Spain* is very weak at Home, or very ſlow to move, when they ſuffered a ſmall Fleet of *Engliſh* to make an hoſtile Invaſion or Incurſion upon their Havens and Roads from *Cadiz* to Cape *Sacre*, and thence to *Caſcous*, and to fire, ſink, and carry away at the leaſt ten-thouſand Ton of their greater Shipping, beſides fifty or ſixty of their ſmaller Veſſels, and that in the Sight

and under the Favour of their Forts, and almoſt under the Eye of their great Admiral, the beſt Commander of *Spain* by Sea, the Marquis *de Santa Cruce*, without ever being diſputed with by any Fight of Importance. I remember *Drake*, in the vaunting Stile of a Soldier, would call this Enterpriſe the Singeing of the King of *Spain*'s Beard. The Enterpriſe of 88, deſerveth to be ſtood upon a little more fully being a Miracle of Time. There arrived from *Spain*, in the Year 1588, the greateſt Navy that ever ſwam upon the Seas, for, tho' there have been far greater Fleets for Number, yet the Bulk and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Proviſions, never the like. The Deſign was not to make an Invaſion only, but an utter Conqueſt of this Kingdom. The Number of Veſſels were one-hundred-thirty, whereof Galleaſſes and Galleons ſeventy-two goodly Ships, like floating Towers or Caſtles, manned with thirty-thouſand Soldiers and Mariners. This Navy was the Preparation of five whole Years at the leaſt; it bare itſelf alſo upon Divine Aſſiſtance, for it received ſpecial Bleſſing from Pope *Sixtus*, and was aſſigned as an Apoſtolical Miſſion for the Reducement of this Kingdom to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*. And, in further Token of this holy Warfare, there were, amongſt the reſt of theſe Ships, twelve called by the Names of the twelve Apoſtles. But it was truly conceived that this Kingdom of *England* could never be overwhelmed, except the Land-Waters came in to the Sea-tides: Therefore, was there alſo in Readineſs in *Flanders* a mighty Army of Land-Forces, to the Number of fifty-thouſand veteran Soldiers, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Parma*, the beſt Commander, next the *French* King, the Fourth of his Time. Theſe were deſigned to join with Forces at Sea, there being prepared a Number of flat-bottom Boats, to tranſport the Land Forces, under the Wing and Protection of the great Navy, for they made no other Account, but that the Navy ſhould be abſolutely Maſter of the Seas. Againſt theſe Forces, there were prepared on our Part, to the Number of near one-hundred Ships, not of ſo great Bulk indeed, but of a more nimble Motion, and more ſerviceable, beſides a leſs Fleet of thirty Ships, for the Cuſtody of the narrow Seas. There were alſo in Readineſs at Land two Armies, beſides other Forces, to the Number of Ten-thouſand, diſperſed amongſt the Coaſt Towns, in the Southern Parts; the two Armies were appointed, one of them conſiſting of twenty-five-thouſand Horſe and Foot, for the Repulſing of the Enemy, at their Landing, and the other of thirty-five Thouſand, for Safeguard and Attendance about the Court, and the Queen's Perſon. There were alſo other dormant Muſters of Soldiers, throughout all Parts of the Realm, that were put in Readineſs, but not drawn together. The two Armies were aſſigned to the Leading of two Generals, noble Perſons; but both of them rather Courtiers, and aſſured to the State, than martial Men, yet loved and aſſiſted, with ſubordinate Commanders, of great Experience and Valour.

The Fortune of the War made this Enterpriſe, at firſt, a Play at Baſe: The *Spaniſh* Navy ſet forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, and was diſperſed and driven back by Weather: Our Navy ſet forth ſomewhat later out of *Plymouth*, and bare up towards the Coaſt of *Spain*, to have fought with the *Spaniſh* Navy; and partly upon Advertiſement, that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon ſome Doubt alſo, that they might paſs by towards the Coaſt of *England*, while we were ſeeking them afar off, returned likewiſe into *Plymouth*, about the Middle of *July*. At that Time, came more conſtant Advertiſement, though falſe, not only to the Lord Admiral, but to the Court, that the *Spaniards* could not poſſibly come forwards that Year; whereupon our Navy was upon the Point of diſbanding, and many of our Men gone a-ſhore. At that very Time, the *invincible Armada* (for ſo it was called, in a *Spaniſh* Oſtentation, throughout *Europe*) was diſcovered upon the Weſtern Coaſt: It was a Kind of Surpriſe, for that, as we ſaid, many of our Men were gone on Land, and our Ships ready to depart. Nevertheleſs, the Admiral, with ſuch Ships only, as as could ſuddenly be put in Readineſs, made forth towards them; inſomuch as, of one-hundred Ships, there came ſcarce thirty to Work. Howbeit, with them, and ſuch as came duly in, we ſet upon them, and gave them the Chace. But the *Spaniards*, for Want of Courage, which they called *Commiſſion*, declined the Fight, caſting themſelves continually into Roundels, the ſtrongeſt Ships walling in the reſt, and in that Manner, they made a flying March, towards *Calais*. Our Men, by the

Space of five or ſix Days, followed them cloſe, fought with them continually, made great Slaughter of their Men, took two of their great Ships, and gave divers others of their Ships their Deaths Wounds, whereof ſoon after they ſank, and periſhed, and in a Word, diſtreſſed them, almoſt in the Nature of a Defeat, we ourſelves, in the mean Time, receiving little or no Hurt. Near *Calais* the *Spaniards* anchored, expecting their Land Forces, which came not. It was afterwards alledged, that the Duke of *Parma* did artificially delay his Coming; but this was but an Invention, and Pretenſion, given out by the *Spaniards*, partly upon a *Spaniſh* Envy, againſt the Duke, being an *Italian*, and his Son a Competitor to *Portugal*, but chiefly to ſave the monſtrous Scorn and Diſreputation, which they and their Nation received by the Succeſs of that Enterpriſe; therefore, their Colours and Excuſes forſooth were, that their General by Sea had a limited Commiſſion, not to fight, until the Land Forces were come in to them, and that the Duke of *Parma* had particular Reaches, and Ends of his own, under Hand, to croſs the Deſign. But it was both a ſtrange Commiſſion, and a ſtrange Obedience to a Commiſſion, for Men, in the Midſt of their own Blood, and being ſo furiouſly aſſailed, to hold their Hands, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Neceſſity. And, as for the Duke of *Parma*, he was reaſonably well tempted to be true to that Enterpriſe, by no leſs Promiſes, than to be made Feudatory, or Beneficiary, King of *England*, under the Seignory in Chief of the Pope, and the Protection of the King of *Spain*. Beſides it appeared, that the Duke of *Parma* held his Place long after in the Favour and Truſt of the King of *Spain*, by the great Employments and Services that he performed in *France*. And again, it is manifeſt, that the Duke did his beſt to come down, and to put to Sea; the Truth was, that the *Spaniſh* Navy, upon theſe Proofs of Fight, which they had with the *Engliſh*, finding how much Hurt they received, and how little they did, by Reaſon of the Activity, and low Building of our Ships, and Skill of our Seamen, and being alſo commanded by a General of ſmall Courage and Experience, and having loſt, at the firſt, two of their braveſt Commanders at Sea, *Petro de Valdez* and *Michael de Oquenda*, durſt not put it to a Battle at Sea, but ſet up their Reſt wholly upon the Land Enterpriſe. On the other Side, the Tranſporting of the Land Forces failed, in the very Foundation, for, whereas the Council of *Spain* made full Account, that their Navy ſhould be Maſter of the Sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the Veſſels of Tranſportation, it fell out to the contrary, that the great Navy was diſtreſſed, and had enough to do to ſave itſelf, and again, that the *Hollanders* impounded their Land Forces, with a brave Fleet of thirty Sail, excellently well appointed; Things, I ſay, being in this Caſe, it came to paſs, that the Duke of *Parma* muſt have flown, if he would have come into *England*, for he could get neither Barque nor Mariner to put to Sea; yet, certain it is, that the Duke looked ſtill for the Coming back of the Armada, even at that Time, when they were wandering and making their Perambulation, upon the Northern Seas. But to return to the Armada, which we left anchored at *Calais*; from thence, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was wont prettily to ſay, they were ſuddenly driven away with Squibs, for it was no more but a Stratagem of Fireboats manleſs, and ſent upon them, by the Favour of the Wind, in the Night-time, that did put them in ſuch Terror, as they cut their Cables, and left their Anchors in the Sea. After they hovered many Days about *Graveling*, and there again were beaten in a great Fight, at which Time our ſecond Fleet, which kept the narrow Seas, was come in, and joined with our main Fleet. Thereupon the *Spaniards*, entering into further Terror, and finding alſo divers of their Ships every Day to ſink, loſt all Courage, and inſtead of Coming up into the *Thames* Mouth for *London*, as their Deſign was, fled on towards the North, to ſeek their Fortunes, being ſtill chaced by the *Engliſh* Navy at the Heels, until we were fain to give them over, for Want of Powder. The Breath of *Scotland* the *Spaniards* could not endure, neither durſt they, as Invaders, land in *Ireland*, but only ennobled ſome of the Coaſts thereof with Shipwrecks, and ſo going Northwards aloof, as long as they had any Doubts of being purſued, at laſt, when they were out of Reach, they turned and croſſed the Ocean to *Spain*, having loſt Fourſcore of their Ships, and the greater Part of their Men. And this was the End of that Sea Giant, the invincible Armada, which having not ſo much as fired a Cottage

tage of ours at Land, nor taken a Cockboat of ours at Sea, wandered through the Wilderneſs of the Northern Seas, and according to the Curſe in the Scripture, came out againſt us one Way, and fled before us ſeven Ways, ſerving only to make good the Judgment of an Aſtrologer, long before given, *Octogeſimus octavus mirabilis annus*; or rather indeed, to make good, even to the Aſtoniſhment of all Poſterity, the wonderful Judgments of God, poured down commonly upon vaſt and proud Aſpirings.

In the Year that followed, 1589, we gave the *Spaniards* no Breath, but turned Challengers and invaded the Main of *Spain*; in which Enterpriſe although we failed of our End, which was to ſettle Don *Antonio*, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, yet a Man ſhall hardly meet with an Action, that doth better reveal the great Secret of the Power of *Spain*, which well ſought into, will be found rather to conſiſt in a veteran Army, ſuch as, upon ſeveral Occaſions and Pretences, they have ever had on Foot in one Part of other of *Chriſtendom*, now by the Space almoſt of ſix-ſcore Years, than in the Strength of their ſeveral Dominions and Provinces; for what can be more ſtrange or more to the Diſvaluation of the Power of the *Spaniards*, upon the Continent, than that with an Army of eleven-thouſand *Engliſh* Land Soldiers, and a Fleet of twenty-ſix Ships of War, beſides ſome weak Veſſels for Tranſportation, we ſhould, with the Hour-glaſs of two Months, have won one Town of Importance by *Eſcalida*, battered and aſſaulted another, overthrown great Forces in the Field, and that, upon the Diſadvantage of a Bridge ſtrongly barricadoed, landed the Army in three ſeveral Places of his Kingdom, marched ſeven Days in the Heart of his Countries, lodged three Nights in the Suburbs of his principal City, beat his Forces into the Gates thereof, poſſeſſed two of his frontier Forts, and after all this came off with ſmall Loſs of Men, otherwiſe than by Sickneſs. And it was verily thought, that had it not been for four great Diſfavours of that Voyage, that is to ſay, in the Failing of ſundry Proviſions that were promiſed, eſpecially of Cannons for Battery, the vain Hopes of Don *Antonio*, concerning the People of his Country, to come in to his Aid, the Diſappointment of the Fleet, that was directed to come up the River of *Liſbon*, and *laſtly*, the Diſeaſes which ſpread in the Army, by Reaſon of the Heat of the Seaſon, and of the Soldiers Miſrule in Diet, the Enterpriſe had ſucceeded, and *Liſbon* had been carried. But howſoever it makes Proof to the World, that an Invaſion of a few *Engliſh* upon *Spain* may have juſt Hope of Victory, or at leaſt of a Paſs-port to depart ſafely.

In the Year 1591, was that memorable Fight of an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Revenge*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenfield*; memorable, I ſay, beyond Credit, and to the Height of ſome heroical Fable. And, though it was a Defeat, yet it exceeded a Victory, being like the Act of *Sampſon*, that killed more Men at his Death, than he had done in the Time of all his Life. This Ship, for the Space of fifteen Hours, ſat like a Stag amongſt Hounds at the Bay, and was ſieged and fought with, in Turn, by fifteen great Ships of *Spain*, Part of a Navy of fifty-five Ships in all, the reſt, like Abettors, looking on afar off. And, amongſt the fifteen Ships that fought, the great St. *Philip* was one, a Ship of fifteen-hundred Tons, Prince of the twelve Sea Apoſtles, which was right glad, when ſhe was ſhifted off from the *Revenge*. This brave Ship, the *Revenge*, being manned only with two-hundred Soldiers and Mariners, whereof eighty lay ſick; yet, nevertheleſs, after a Fight maintained, as was ſaid, of fifteen Hours, and two Ships of the Enemy ſunk by her Side, beſides many more torn and battered, and great Slaughter of Men, never came to be entered, but was taken by Compoſition; the Enemies themſelves having in Admiration the Virtue of the Commander, and the whole Tragedy of that Ship.

In the Year 1596, was the ſecond Invaſion that we made upon the main Territories of *Spain*, proſperouſly atchieved by that worthy and famous Earl, *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, in Conſort with the noble Earl of *Nottingham*, that now liveth, then Admiral. This Journey was with Lightning, for, in the Space of fourteen Hours, the King of *Spain*'s Navy was deſtroyed, and the Town of *Cadiz* taken: The Navy was no leſs than fifty-nine tall Ships, beſides twenty Gallies to attend them; the Ships were ſtraightways beaten, and put to Flight, with ſuch Terror, as the *Spaniards* were their own Executioners, and fired them all with their own Hands: The Gallies, by

the

the Benefit of the Shores and Shallows, got away; the Town was a fair, ſtrong, well-built, and rich City, famous in Antiquity, and now moſt ſpoken of for this Diſaſter: It was manned with four-thouſand Soldiers on Foot, and ſome four-hundred Horſe; it was ſacked and burnt, though great Clemency was uſed towards the Inhabitants: But that, which is no leſs ſtrange than the ſudden Victory, is the great Patience of the *Spaniards*, who, though we ſtaid upon the Place divers Days, yet never offered us any Play, nor never put us in Suit by any Action of Revenge, or Reparation of any Times after.

In the Year 1600, was the Battle of *Newport* in the *Low-Countries*, where the Armies of the Arch-duke, and the States, tried it out by a juſt Battle.

This was the only Battle that was fought in thoſe Countries theſe many Years, for Battles in the *French* Wars have been frequent, but in the Wars of *Flanders* rare, as the Nature of a Defenſive requireth. The Forces of both Armies were not much unequal, that of the States exceeded ſomewhat in Number, but that again was recompenſed in the Quality of the Soldiers; for thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Part were of the Flower of all their Forces. The Archduke was the Aſſailant, and the Preventer, and had the Fruit of his Diligence and Celerity, for he charged certain Companies of *Scotiſhmen*, to the Number of eight-hundred, ſent to make good a Paſſage, and thereby ſevered from the Body of the Army, and cut them all in Pieces; for they, like a brave Infantry, when they could make no honourable Retreat, and would take no diſhonourable Flight, made good the Place with their Lives. This Entrance of the Battle did whet the Courage of the *Spaniards*, though it dulled their Swords, ſo as they came proudly on, confidently to defeat the whole Army. The Encounter of the main Battle, which followed, was a juſt Encounter, not haſtening to a ſudden Rout, nor the Fortune of the Day reſting upon a few former Ranks, but fought out to the Proof by ſeveral Squadrons, and not without Variety of Succeſs, 'Stat pede 'pes denſuſque viro vir.' There fell out an Error in the Duke's Army, by the overhaſty Medley of ſome of their Men with the Enemies, which hindered the Playing of their great Ordnance. But the End was, that the *Spaniards* were utterly defeated, and five-thouſand of their Men, in the Fight and in the Execution, ſlain and taken, amongſt whom were many of the principal Perſons of their Army. The Honour of the Day was, both by the Enemy, and the *Dutch* themſelves, aſcribed much to the *Engliſh*; of whom Sir *Francis Vere*, in a private Commentary, which he wrote of that Service, leaveth teſtified, that, of fifteen-hundred in Number (for they were no more) eight-hundred were ſlain in the Field, and, which is almoſt incredible in a Day of Victory, of the reſt, two only came off unhurt. Amongſt the *Engliſh*, Sir *Francis Vere* himſelf had the principal Honour of the Service, unto whom the Prince of *Orange*, as is ſaid, did tranſmit the Direction of the Army for that Day; and, in the next Place, Sir *Horace Vere*, his Brother, that now liveth, who was the Principal in the active Part. The Service alſo of Sir *Edward Cecil*, Sir *John Ogle*, and divers other brave Gentlemen was eminent.

In the Year 1601, followed the Battle of *Kinſale* in *Ireland*. By this *Spaniſh* Invaſion of *Ireland*, which was in *September* that Year, a Man may gueſs how long Time *Spaniards* will live in *Iriſh* Ground, which is a Matter of a Quarter of a Year, or four Months, at the moſt; for they had all the Advantages in the World, and no Man would have thought, conſidering the ſmall Forces employed againſt them, that they could have been driven out ſo ſoon: They had obtained, without Reſiſtance, in the End of *September*, the Town of *Kinſale*, a ſmall Gariſon of one-hundred and fifty *Engliſh*, leaving the Town upon the *Spaniards* Approach, and the Townſmen receiving the Foreigners as Friends. The Number of *Spaniards*, that put themſelves into *Kinſale*, was two-thouſand Men, Soldiers of old Bands, under the Command of Don *John de Aquila*, a Man of good Valour. The Town was ſtrong of itſelf, neither wanted there any Induſtry to fortify it on all Parts, and make it tenable, according to the Skill and Diſcipline of *Spaniſh* Fortification. At that Time the Rebels were proud, being encouraged upon former Succeſſes; for, though the then Deputy, the Lord *Mountjoy*, and Sir *George Carew*, Preſident of *Munſter*, had performed divers good Services to their Prejudice, yet the Defeat they had given to the *Engliſh*,

Engliſh, at the *Black-water*, not long before, and the Treaty, too much to their Honour, with the Earl of *Eſſex*, was yet freſh in their Memory. The Deputy loſt no Time, but made Haſte to recover the Town, before new Succours came, and ſat down before it in *October*, and laid Siege to it by the Space of three Winter-months, or more, during which Time, ſome Sallies were made by the *Spaniards*, but they were beaten in with Loſs. In *January* came freſh Succours from *Spain*, to the Number of two-thouſand more, under the Conduct of *Alonzo D' Ocampo*; upon the Comforts of theſe Succours, *Tyrone* and *Oneale* drew up their Forces together, to the Number of ſeven-thouſand, beſides the *Spaniſh* Regiments, and took the Field, reſolved to reſcue the Town, and to give the *Engliſh* Battle.

So here was the Caſe, an Army of *Engliſh*, of ſome ſix-thouſand, waſted and tired with a long Winter's Siege, inraged in the Midſt, between an Army of a greater Number than themſelves, freſh, and in Vigour, on the one Side, and a Town, ſtrong in Fortification, and ſtrong in Men, on the other Side; but what was the Event? This in few Words: That, after the *Iriſh* and *Spaniſh* Forces had come on, and ſhewed themſelves in ſome Bravery, they were content to give the *Engliſh* the Honour, as to charge them firſt; and, when it came to the Charge, there appeared no other Difference between the Valour of the *Iriſh* Rebels, and the *Spaniards*, but that the one ran away before they were charged, and the other ſtraight after; and again, the *Spaniards*, that were in the Town, had ſo good Memory of their Loſſes, in their former Sallies, as the Confidence of an Army, which came for their Deliverance, could not draw them forth again: To conclude, there ſucceeded an abſolute Victory, for the *Engliſh*, with the Slaughter of above two-thouſand of the Enemy, the Taking of nine Enſigns, whereof ſix *Spaniſh*, the Taking of the *Spaniſh* General, *D' Ocampo*, Priſoner, and this with the Loſs of ſo few of the *Engliſh*, as is ſcarce credible, being (as hath been rather confidently, than credibly reported) but one Man, the Cornet of Sir *Richard Greame*, though not a few hurt: There followed, immediately after the Defeat, a preſent Yielding up of the Town by Compoſition; and not only ſo, but an Avoiding, by expreſs Article of Treaty accorded, of all other *Spaniſh* Forces throughout all *Ireland*, from the Places and Neſts where they had ſettled themſelves in greater Strength, as in Regard of the natural Situation of the Places, than that was of *Kinſale*, which were *Caſtle-haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Beer-haven*. Indeed they went away with Sound of Trumpet, for they did nothing but publiſh and trumpet all the Reproaches, they could deviſe againſt the *Iriſh* Land and Nation; inſomuch as *D' Aquila* ſaid, in open Treaty, That, when the Devil upon the Mount did ſhew Chriſt all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and the Glory of them, he did not doubt, but the Devil left out *Ireland*, and kept it for himſelf.

I ceaſe here, omitting not a few other Proofs of the *Engliſh* Valour and Fortune, in theſe latter Times; as at the Suburbs of *Paris*, at the *Raneliñe*, at *Drus* in *Britain*, at *Oſtend*, and divers others; partly, becauſe ſome of them have not been proper Encounters between the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh*, and partly, becauſe others of them have not been of that Greatneſs, as to have ſorted in Company with the Particulars formerly recited. It is true, that, among all the late Adventures, the Voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins*, into the *Weſt-Indies*, was unfortunate, but yet, in ſuch Sort, as it doth not break, or interrupt our Preſcription, to have had the Better of the *Spaniards* upon all Fights; for the Diſaſter of that Journey was cauſed chiefly by Sickneſs, as well might appear by the Deaths of both the Generals, Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, of the ſame Sickneſs amongſt the reſt. The Land-enterpriſe of *Panama* was an ill-meaſured and immature Counſel, for it was grounded upon a falſe Account, that the Paſſages, towards *Panama*, were no better fortified, than *Drake* had formerly left them; but yet it ſorted not to any Fight of Importance, but to a Retreat, after the *Engliſh* had proved the Strength of their firſt Fort, and had Notice of the two other Forts beyond, by which they were to have marched. It is true, that, in the Return of the *Engliſh* Fleet, they were ſet upon by *Avellandea*, Admiral of twenty great *Spaniſh* Ships, our Fleet being but Fourteen, full of ſick Men, deprived of their two Generals by Sea, and having no Pretence,

but to journey Homewards; and yet the *Spaniards* did but ſalute them about the Cape *de las Corientes*, with ſome ſmall Offer of Fight, and came off with Loſs: Although it was ſuch a new Thing, for the *Spaniards* to receive ſo little Hurt, upon Dealing with the *Engliſh*, as *Avellandea* made great Brags of it, for no greater Matter, than the Waiting upon the *Engliſh* afar off, from Cape *de las Corientes* to Cape *Antonio*, which, nevertheleſs, in the Language of a Soldier, and of a *Spaniard*, he called a *Chace*.

But, before I proceed further, it is good to meet with an Objection, which, if it be not removed, the Concluſion of Experience, from the Time paſt to the Time preſent, will not be found and perfect; for it will be ſaid, that, in the former Times, whereof we have ſpoken, *Spain* was not ſo mighty, as now it is; *England*, on the other Side, was more aforehand in all Matters of Power; therefore, let us compare, with Indifferency, theſe Diſparities of Times, and we ſhall plainly perceive, that they make for the Advantage of *England* at this preſent Time. And, becauſe we will leſs wander in Generalities, we will fix the Compariſons to preciſe Times, comparing the States of *Spain* or *England*, in the Year 1588, with this preſent Year that now runneth. In handling this Point, I will not meddle with any perſonal Compariſons of the Princes, Counſellors, and Commanders, by Sea or Land, that were then, or are now in both Kingdoms, *Spain* and *England*, but only reſt upon real Points, for the true Balancing of the State of the Forces and Affairs of both Times; and yet theſe perſonal Compariſons I omit not, but that I could evidently ſhew, that, even in theſe perſonal Reſpects, the Balance ſways on our Side, but becauſe I would ſay nothing, that may favour of the Spirit of Flattery, or Cenſure of the preſent Government.

Firſt, Therefore, it is certain, that *Spain* hath not now a Foot of Ground, in quiet Poſſeſſion, more than it had in 1588. As for the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*, it is a Maxim in State, That all Countries of new Acqueſt, till they be ſettled, are Matters rather of Burthen, than of Strength. On the other Side, *England* hath *Scotland* united, and *Ireland* reduced to Obedience, and planted, which are mighty Augmentations.

Secondly, In 1588, the Kingdom of *France*, able to counterpoiſe *Spain* itſelf, much more in Conjunction, was torn with the Party of the League which gave Law to their King, and depended upon *Spain*. Now *France* is united under a valiant young King, generally obeyed, if he will himſelf King of *Navarre*, as well as of *France*, and one that is no Ways taken Priſoner, though he be tied in a double Chain of Alliance with *Spain*.

Thirdly, In 1588, there ſat, in the See of *Rome*, a fiery thundering Friar, that would ſet all at Six and Seven, or at Six and Five, if you allude to his Name. And, though he would have after turned his Teeth upon *Spain*, yet he was taken Order with before it came to that. Now there is aſcended to the Papacy a Perſonage, that came in by a chaſte Election, no Ways obliged to the Party of the *Spaniard*; a Man bred in Ambaſſages and Affairs of State, that hath much of the Prince, and nothing of the Friar; and one, that though he love the Chair of the Papacy well, yet he loveth the Carpet above the Chair that is in *Italy*, and the Liberties thereof well likewiſe.

Fourthly, in 88 the King of *Denmark* was a Stranger to *England*, and rather inclined to *Spain*; now the King is incorporated to the Blood of *England*, and engaged in the Quarrel of the *Palatinate*. Then alſo *Venice*, *Savoy*, and the Princes and States of *Germany*, had but a dull Fear of the Greatneſs of *Spain*, upon a general Apprehenſion only, of the ſpreading and ambitious Deſigns of that Nation; now, that Fear is ſharpened and pointed by the *Spaniards* late Enterpriſes in the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*, which come nearer them.

Fifthly, and *Laſtly*, the *Dutch* (which are the *Spaniards* perpetual Duelliſts) have now, at this Preſent, five Ships to one, and the like Proportion in Treaſure and Wealth, to that they had in 88; neither is it poſſible (whatſoever is given out) that the Coffers of *Spain* ſhould now be fuller than they were in 88, for, at that Time, *Spain* had no other Wars ſave thoſe of the *Low Countries*, which was grown into an ordinary; now they have had, coupled with it, the extraordinary of the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*; and ſo I conclude my Anſwer to the Objection raiſed, touching the Difference of Times, not entering into more ſecret Paſſages of State, but keeping the Character

racter of Stile whereof *Seneca* ſpeaketh, *Plus ſignificat quam loquitur.*

Here I could paſs over from Matter of Experience, were it not that I held it neceſſary to diſcover a wonderful erroneous Obſervation that walketh about, and is commonly received contrary to all the true Accounts of Time and Experience: It is, that the *Spaniard*, where he once getteth in, will ſeldom or never be got out again; but, Nothing is leſs true than this: Not long ſince they got Footing at *Breſt*, and ſome other Parts in *French Britany*, and after quitted them; they had *Calais*, *Ardes*, and *Amiens*, and rendered them, or were beaten out; they had ſince *Verſailles*, and fairly left it; they had the other Day the *Valtoline*, and now have put it in Depoſit; what they will do with *Ormus*, which the *Perſian* hath taken from them, we ſhall ſee; ſo that, to ſpeak truly of latter Times, they have rather poached and offered at a Number of Enterpriſes, than maintained any conſtantly, quite contrary to that idle Tradition.

In more ancient Times, leaving their Purchaſes in *Africk*, which they, after their great Emperor *Charles* had claſped *Germany* almoſt in his Fiſt, he was forced in the End to go from *Ickſparg*, and, as if it had been in a Maſk by Torch-light, to quit every Foot in *Germany* round, that he had gotten, which I doubt not will be the hereditary Iſſue of this late Purchaſe of the *Palatinate*; and ſo I conclude the Ground that I have to think that *Spain* will be no Over-match to *Great Britain*, if his Majeſty ſhall enter into a War out of Experience, and the Records of Time.

For Grounds of Reaſon, they are many; I will extract the principal, and open them briefly, and, as it were, in the Bud. For Situation, I paſs it over, though it be no ſmall Point; *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and our good Confederates, the United Provinces, lie all in a Plump together, not acceſſible but by Sea, or at leaſt, by Paſſing of great Rivers, which are natural Fortifications; as for the Dominions of *Spain*, they are ſo ſcattered, as it yieldeth great Choice of the Aſcents of the War, and promiſeth ſlow Succours unto ſuch Parts as ſhall be attempted.

There be three main Parts of military Puiſſance, *viz.* Men, Women, and Confederates. For Men, there are to be conſidered Valour and Number; of Valour, I ſpeak not; take it from the Witneſſes that have been produced before; yet the old Obſervation is untrue, That the *Spaniards* Valour lieth in the Eye of the Looker on, but the *Engliſh* Valour lieth about the Soldier's Heart; a Valour of Glory, and a Valour of natural Courage, are two Things; but let that paſs, and let us ſpeak of Number. *Spain* is a Nation thin ſown of People, partly by Reaſon of the Sterility of the Soil, and partly, becauſe their Natives are exhauſted by ſo many Employments, in ſuch vaſt Territories as they poſſeſs, ſo that it hath been counted a Kind of Miracle to ſee ten or twelve Thouſand native *Spaniards* in an Army; and it is certain (as we have touched it a little before in Paſſage) that the Secret of the Power of *Spain* conſiſteth in a veteran Army, compounded of miſcellany Forces of all Nations, which, for many Years, they have had on Foot upon one Occaſion or other; and, if there ſhould happen the Misfortune of a Battle, it would be a long Work to draw on Supplies. They tell a Tale of a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador that was brought to ſee the Treaſure of St. *Mark*, at *Venice*, and ſtill he looked down to the Ground; and, being aſked why he looked down, ſaid, He was looking to ſee whether their Treaſure had any Root, ſo that, if it were ſpent, it would grow again, as his Maſter's had. But, howſoever it be of their Treaſure, certainly their Forces have ſcarce any Root, or at leaſt ſuch a Root, as buddeth forth poorly and ſlowly. It is true they have the *Walloons*, who are tall Soldiers, but that is but a Spot of Ground; but, on the other Side, there is not in the World again ſuch a Spring and Seminary of brave military People, as in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the United Provinces; ſo as, if Wars ſhould mow them down never ſo faſt, yet they may be ſuddenly ſupplied and come up again.

For Money, no Doubt, it is the principal Part of the Greatneſs of *Spain*, for by that they maintain their veteran Army, and *Spain* is the only State of *Europe*, that is a Money-grower; but, in this Part, of all others, is the moſt to be conſidered the tickliſh and brittle State of the Greatneſs of *Spain*. Their Greatneſs conſiſteth in their Treaſure, their Treaſure in their *Indies*, and their *Indies*, if it be well weighed, are indeed but an Acceſſion to ſuch as are Maſters by Sea, ſo as this Axle-tree, whereupon their Greatneſs turneth, is ſoon cut in two, by any that ſhall be ſtronger than they by Sea: Herein, therefore, I refer me

to the Opinion of all Men, Enemies, or whomſoever, whether that the Maritime Forces of *Great-Britain*, and the United Provinces, be not able to beat the *Spaniards* at Sea; for, if that be ſo, the Links of that Chain, whereby they hold their Greatneſs, are diſſolved. Now if it be ſaid, that, admit the Caſe of *Spain* to be ſuch as we have made it, yet we ought to deſcend into our own Caſe, which we ſhall find, perhaps, not to be in a State, for Treaſure, to enter into a War with *Spain*; to which I anſwer, I know no ſuch Thing, the Mint beateth well, and the Pulſes of the People's Heart beat well: But there is another Point that taketh away quite this Objection; for, whereas Wars are generally a Cauſe of Poverty or Conſumption, on the contrary Part, the ſpecial Nature of this War with *Spain*, if it be made by Sea, is like to be a lucrative and a reſtorative War; ſo that if we go roundly on at the firſt, the War in Continuance will find itſelf, and therefore you muſt make a great Difference between *Hercules's* Labours, and *Jaſon's* Voyage by Sea for the *Golden Fleece*.

For the Confederates, I will not take upon me the Knowledge how the Princes, States, and Councils in *Europe*, at this Day, ſtand affected towards *Spain*, for that trencheth into the ſecret Occurrents of the preſent Time, wherewith, in all this Treatiſe, I have forborne to meddle, but to ſpeak of that which lieth open and in View: I ſee much Matter of Quarrel and Jealouſy, but little of Amity and Truſt towards *Spain*, almoſt from all other States: I ſee *France* is in Competition with them for three noble Portions of their Monarchy, *Navarre*, *Naples*, and *Milan*, and now freſhly in Difference with them about the *Valtoline*. I ſee once in thirty or forty Years cometh a Pope, that caſteth his Eye upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, to recover it to the Church, as it was in the Minds of *Julius the Second*, *Paul the Fourth*, and *Titus the Fifth*. As for the great Body of *Germany*, I ſee they have greater Reaſon to confederate themſelves with the Kings of *France* and *Great-Britain*, or *Denmark*, for the Liberty of the *German* Nation, and for the Expulſion of the *Spaniſh* and foreign Forces, than they had in the Years 1552 and 1553; at which Time they contracted a League with *Henry the Second*, the *French* King, upon the ſame Articles, againſt *Charles the Fifth*, who had impatroniſed himſelf of a great Part of *Germany*, through Diſcord of the *German* Princes, which himſelf had ſown and fomented; which League at that Time did the Deed, and drove out all the *Spaniards* out of that Part of *Germany*, and reintegrated that Nation in their ancient Liberty and Honour. For the *Weſt-Indies*, though *Spain* hath had yet not much actual Diſturbance there, except it have been from *England*, yet, nevertheleſs, I ſee all Princes lay a Kind of Claim unto them, accounting the Title of *Spain* but as a Monopoly of thoſe large Countries, wherein they have, in great Parts, but an imaginary Poſſeſſion; for *Africk* upon the Weſt, the *Moors* of *Valencia* expulſed, and their Allies, do yet hang as a Cloud or Storm over *Spain*; *Gabor*, on the Eaſt, is like an anniverſary Wind that riſeth every Year once upon the Part of *Auſtria*; and *Perſia* hath entered into Hoſtility with *Spain*, and given them the firſt Blow by Taking of *Ormus*. It is within every Man's Obſervation alſo, that *Venice* doth think their State almoſt unfixed, if the *Spaniards* hold the *Valtoline*; that *Savoy* hath learned by freſh Experience, that Alliance with *Spain* is no Security againſt the Ambition of *Spain*; and that *Bavaria* hath likewiſe been taught, that Merits and Service do oblige the *Spaniards* but from Day to Day; neither do I ſay for all this, but that *Spain* may rectify much of this ill Blood, by their particular and cunning Negociations; but yet there is in the Body, and may break out no Man knows when, into ill Accidents; but, at leaſt, it ſheweth plainly that which ſerveth for our Purpoſe, that *Spain* is much deſtitute of aſſured and confident Confederates. And here I will conclude this Part, with a Speech of a Counſellor of State; he ſaid to his Maſter, the King of *Spain* that now is, upon Occaſion: *Sir, I will tell your Majeſty thus much for your Comfort, your Majeſty hath but two Enemies, whereof the one is all the World, and the other is your own Miniſters.* And thus I end the ſecond main Part I propounded to ſpeak of, which was, the Balancing of the Forces between the King's Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, if Wars muſt follow.

The

The ASSEMBLY-MAN.

Written in the Year 1647.

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤ. Χαρακτ. ιγ'. περὶ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑΣ.

Διεγείρειν τὺς μαχομένυς, καὶ ἧς ὐ γινώσκει ἀτραπῦ ἠγήσασθαι· καὶ ὀμνύναι μέλλων, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὺς περιεστηκότας, ὅτι τὸ πρότερον πολλάκις ὀμώμοκα, i. e.

He seditiously stirs up Men to fight: He will teach others the Way whereof himself is most ignorant; and persuades Men to take an Oath, because himself had sworn it before.

London, Printed for *Richard Marriott*, and are to be Sold at his Shop under St. *Dunstan*'s Church in *Fleetstreet*, 1662-3. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

Reader,

THIS Pamphlet was torn from me, by those who say, they cannot rob, because all is theirs. They found it where it slept many Years forgotten; but they awakened it, and made false Transcripts. They Excised what they liked not; so mangled and reformed, that it was no Character of an Assembler, *but of themselves. A Copy of that Reformling had crept to the Press. I seized and stopped it, unwilling to father other Men's Sins. Here therefore you have it, as it was first scribbled, without Addition of a Syllable; I wish I durst say here is nothing lopped off; but Men and Manners are changed, at least they say so. If yet this Trifle seem born with Teeth, you know whose Hands were Knuckle-deep in the Blood of that renowned Chancellor of* Oxon, *Archbishop* Laud, *though, when they cut up that great Martyr, his two greatest Crimes were the two greatest Glories* Great-Britain *can boast of,* St. Paul's Church, *and the* Oxford *Library. Where you find no Coherence, remember this Paper hath suffered* Decimation: *Better Times have made it worse, and that is no Fault of*

J. B.

AN *Assembler* is Part of the State's Chattels, not Priest, nor Burgess, but a Participle that sharks upon both. He was chosen, as Sir *Nathaniel*, because he knew least of all his Profession, not by the Votes of a whole Diocese, but by one whole Parliament-man. He has sat four Years towards a new Religion, but, in the Interim, left none at all; as his Masters, the Commons, had a long Debate, Whether Candles, or no Candles, but all the mean While sat still in the Dark; and therefore, when the Moon quits her old Light, and has acquired no new, Astronomers say she is in her Synode. Shew me such a Picture of *Judas*, as the Assembler, a griping, false, reforming

Brother

Brother; who rails at Waste spent upon the Anointed; persecutes most those Hands which ordained him; brings in Men with Swords and Staves; and all for Money from the honourable Scribes and Pharisees. One Touch more (a Line tied to his Name-sake, *Elder-tree*) had made him *Judas* Root and Branch. This Assembly at first was a full Century, which should be reckoned, as the Scholiast's Hecatomb, by their Feet, not Heads; or count them by Scores; for, in Things without Heads, Sixscore go to an Hundred. They would be a new *Septuagint*; the old translated Scripture out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, these turn it to four Shillings a Day; and all these Assemblers were begot in one Day, as *Hercules*'s fifty Bastards all in one Night. Their first List was sprinkled with some Names of Honour (Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, &c.) but these were Divines too worthy to mix with such scandalous Ministers, and would not assemble without the Royal Call. Nay, the first List had one Archbishop, one Bishop, and an Half; for Bishop *Brownrigg* was then but Elect; but now their Assembly, as Philosophers think the World, consists of Atoms, petty small Levites, whose Parts are not perceptible; and yet these inferior Postern Teachers have intoxicated *England* (for a Man sometimes grows drunk by a Clyster.) When they all meet, they shew Beasts in *Africa*, by promiscuous Coupling, ingender Monsters. Mr. *Selden* visits them, as *Persians* use, to see wild Asses fight; when the Commons have tired him with their new Law, these Brethren refresh him with their mad Gospel: They lately were gravelled betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Jericho*; they knew not the Distance betwixt those two Places; one cried twenty Miles, another ten; it was concluded seven, for this Reason, That Fish was brought from *Jericho* to *Jerusalem*-market: Mr. *Selden* smiled, and said, Perhaps, the Fish was Salt-fish; and so stopped their Mouths. Earl *Philip* goes thither to hear them spend; when he heard them toss their *National*, *Provincial*, *Classical*, *Congregational*, he swore damnably, That a Pack of good Dogs made better Musick: His Allusion was proper, since the Elder's Maid had a four-legged Husband. To speak Truth, this Assembly is the two Houses Attiring-room, where the Lords and Commons put on their Vizards and Masks of Religion: And their Honours have so sifted the Church, that at last they have found the Bran of the Clergy; yet such poor Church-menders must reform and shuffle, though they find Church-government may a thousand Ways be changed for the worse, but not one Way for the better. They have lately published Annotations on the Bible, where their first Note, on the Word *Create*, is a Libel against Kings, for Creating of Honours. Their Annotation on *Jacob*'s two Kids is, That two Kids are too much for one Man's Supper; but he had, say they, but one Kid, and the other made Sauce. They observe, upon *Herod*, what a Tyrant he was, to kill Infants under two Years old, without giving them a legal Trial, that they might speak for themselves. Commonly they follow the *Geneva* Margin, as those Seamen, who understood not the Compass, crept along the Shore; but, I hear, they threaten a second Edition, and, in the Interim, thrust forth a paltry Catechism, which expounds nine Commandments, and eleven Articles of the Creed. Of late they are much in Love with Chronograms, because, if possible, they are duller than Anagrams. O how they have torn the poor Bishops Names, to pick out the Number Six-hundred sixty-six! little dreaming, that a whole Baker's Dozen of their own Assembly have that beastly Number in each of their Names, and that as exactly, as their Solemn League and Covenant consists of six-hundred sixty-six Words. But, though the Assembler's Brains are Lead, his Countenance is Brass; for he damned such as held two Benefices, while himself has four or five, besides his Concubine-lecture. He is not against Pluralities, but Dualities; he says, it is unlawful to have two of his own, though four of other Men's; and observes how the *Hebrew* Word for *Life* has no singular Number. Yet it is some Relief to a sequestered Person to see two Assemblers snarl for his Tithes; for, of all Kinds of Beasts, none can match an Assembler, but an Assembler. He never enters a Church by the Door, but clambers up through a Window of Sequestration, or steals in, through Vaults and Cellars, by clandestine Contracts with an expecting Patron. He is most sure no Law can hurt him, for all Laws died in *England*, the Year before the Assembler was born. The best Way to hold him is, as our King *Richard* bound the King of *Cyprus*, in silver Chains. He loves to discourse of the *new Jerusalem*, because her

Streets

Streets are of fine Gold, and yet could like *London* as well, were *Cheapside* paved with the Philosopher's Stone; nay, he would say his Prayers with Beads, if he might have a Set made all of Diamonds: This, this is it which tempts him to such mad Articles against the loyal Clergy, whom he dresses as he would have them appear, just as the Ballad of Dr. *Faustus* brings forth the Devil in a Friar's Weed. He accused one Minister for saying the Blessed Virgin was the *Mother of God* (Θεοτόκος, as the Ancients call her.) Another he charged for a common Drunkard, who, all the Country knows, has drunk nothing but Water these six-and-twenty Years. But the Assembler himself can drink Widows Tears, though their Husbands are not dead. Sure, if *Paracelsus*'s Doctrine were true, That to eat Creatures alive will perpetuate Man's Life, the Assembler were immortal; for he swallows quick Men, Wives, and Children, and devours Lives as well as Livings, as if he were born in that Pagan Province, where none might marry, till he had killed twelve Christians. This makes him kneel to Lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, as *Indians* to the Devil; for he saw *Oliver* first threw——, then ——, and can, with a Wink, do as much for ——; like *Milo*, in the *Olympicks*, who, by Practising on a Calf, grew strong enough for a Bull, and could with Ease give a Lift to an Ass. The Great *Turk* was sending his Ambassador to congratulate the Assembly's Proceedings against the Christians; he ordered them Thanks for Licensing his Alcoran to be printed in *English*; but, hearing Ottoman *Cromwell* had talked of Marching to the Walls of *Constantinople*, that Ambassy was stopped. The only Difference betwixt the Assembler and a *Turk* is, that one plants Religion by the Power of the Sword, and the other by the Power of the Scimeter: Nay, the greatest Strife in their whole Conventicle is, Who shall do worst; for they all intend to make the Church but a Sepulchre, having not only plundered, but anatomised all the true Clergy; whose Torment is heightened in being destroyed by such dull Instruments, as the Prophet *Isaiah* was sawn to Pieces with a wooden Saw. The Assembler wonders that the King and his Friends live still in Hope; he thinks them all St. *Clemens*'s Case, drowned with an Anchor tied about his Neck. He has now got Power to visit the Universities; where these blinking Visitors look on eminent Scholars (as the blind Man, who saw Men like Trees) as Timber growing within the Root-and-Branch Ordinance. The Assembler has now left Scholars so poor, that they have scarce Rags, wherewith to make Paper. A Man would think, the two Houses intend to transport the Universities, since they load Asses with College-revenues: For, though these Assemblers made themselves Heads, they are rather the Hands of Colleges, for they all are Takers, and take all. And yet they are such creeping Tyrants, that Scholars are expelled the two Universities, as the old *Thracians*, forced from their Country by Rats and Mice; so that Learning now is so much advanced, as *Arrowsmith*'s Glass-eye sees more than his natural. They never admit a good Scholar to a Benefice; for the Assembly's Balance is the Lake of *Sodom*, where Iron swims, and Feathers sink. Their Divinity-disputations are with Women, or Laymen; and it is only on one Question, *Episcopacy*, where the Assembler talks all that he and his Friends can say; though his best Medium, to prove Presbyters more ancient than Bishops, is, That Scribes, Pharisees, Priests, and Elders were before the Apostles; yet, if a Scholar, or good Argument come, he flies them, as much as if they were his Text. This made him curse Dr. *Steward*, Dr. *Laney*, and Dr. *Hammond*; and, had he not had more Brass in his Face, than in his Kitchen, he had hanged himself at *Uxbridge*, and ended with that Treaty; for he has nought of Logick, but her clutched Fist, and rails at Philosophy as Beggars do at Gentlemen. He has very bad Luck, when he deals in Philology, as one of them (and that no mean Man) who, in his Preface to the Reader, says, That St. *Paul* had read *Eustathius* upon *Homer*; though the Apostle died a thousand Years before *Eustathius* was born. The Assembler's Diet is strangely different; for he dines wretchedly on dry Bread at *Westminster*, four Assemblers for thirteen Pence; but this sharpens and whets him for Supper, where he feeds *gratis* with his City-landlord, to whom he brings a huge Stomach, and News; for which crammed Capons cram him. He screws into Families, where there is some rich Daughter, or Heir; but whoever takes him into their Bosom, will die like *Cleopatra*. When it rains, he is coached (a *Classis* of them together) rolling his Eyes, to mark who beholds him. His shortest

Things

Things are his Hair and his Cloke; his Hair is cut to the Figure of Three; two high Cliffs run up his Temples, whoſe Cape of ſhorn Hair ſhoots down his Forehead, with Creeks indented, where his Ears ride at Anchor. Had this falſe Prophet been carried with *Habakkuk*, the Angel had caught faſt Hold of his Ears, and led him, as he leads his Auditory. His Eyes are Part of his Tithe at *Eaſter*, which he boils at each Sermon; he has two Mouths, his Noſe is one, for he ſpeaks through both; his Hands are not in his Gloves, but his Gloves in his Hands; for betwixt Sweatings, that is, Sermons, he handles little elſe, except his dear Mammon: His Gown, I mean his Cloke, reaches but his Pockets: When he rides in that Manner, with a Hood on his Shoulders, and a Hat above both, Is he not then his own Man of Sin with the triple Crown? You would ſwear ſome honeſt Carpenter dreſſed him, and made him the Tunnel of a Country-chimney: His Doublet and Hoſe are of dark Blue, a Grain deeper than pure *Coventry*; but of late he is in Black, ſince the loyal Clergy were perſecuted into Colours: His two longeſt Things are his Nails and his Prayer; but the cleaneſt Thing about him is his Pulpit-cuſhion, for he ſtill beats the Duſt out of it. To do him Right, commonly he wears a Pair of good Lungs, whereby he turns the Church into a Belfry; for his Clapper makes ſuch a Din, that you cannot hear the Cymbal for the Tinkling. If his Pulpit be large, he walks his Round, and ſpeaks as from a Gariſon; his own Neck is paliſadoed with Ruff: When he firſt enters his Prayer before Sermon, he winks and gaſps, and gaſps and winks, as if he prepared to preach in another World: He ſeems in a Slumber, then in a Dream; then rumbles a While; at laſt he ſounds forth, and then throws ſo much Dirt and Nonſenſe towards Heaven, as he durſt not offer to a Member of Parliament. Now, becauſe Scripture bids him not curſe the King in his Thought, he does it in his Pulpit, by Word of Mouth; though Heaven ſtrike him dumb in the very Act, as it did *Hill* at *Cambridge*, who, while he prayed, 'Depoſe him, O Lord, who would de-'poſe us,' was made the dumb Devil. This, one would think, ſhould gargle his foul Mouth; for his only Hope, why God ſhould hear him againſt the King, is, The Devil himſelf, that great Aſſembler, was heard againſt *Job*. His whole Prayer is ſuch an irrational Bleating, that, without a Metaphor, it is the *Calves of his Lips*; and commonly it is larded with fine new Words, as, *Savingable*, *Muchly*, *Chriſt-Jeſuſneſs*, &c. and yet he has the Face to preach againſt Prayer in an unknown Tongue. Sometimes he is foundered, and then there is ſuch hideous Coughing! but that is very ſeldom, for he can glibly run over Nonſenſe, as an empty Cart trundles down a Hill. When the King girt round the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtwythiell*, an Aſſembler complained, That God had drawn his People into the Wilderneſs; and told him, he was bound in Honour to feed them; for, 'Lord, ſaid he, ſince 'thou giveſt them no Meat, we pray thee, O 'Lord, to give them no Stomachs.' He tore the Liturgy, becauſe, forſooth, it ſhackled his Spirit, he would be a Devil without a Circle; and now, if he ſee the Book of *Common-Prayer*, the Fire ſees it next, as ſure as the Biſhops were burnt who compiled it. Yet he has Mercy on *Hopkins* and *Sternhold*, becauſe their Meetres are ſung without Authority (no Statute, Canon, or Injunction at all) only, like himſelf, firſt crept into private Houſes, and then into Churches. Mr. *Rous* moved thoſe Meetres might be ſequeſtered, and his own Rhimes to enjoy the Sequeſtration; but was refuſed, becauſe *John Hopkins* was as ancient as *John Calvin*; beſides, when *Rous* ſtood forth for his Trial, *Robin Wiſdom* was found the better Poet. It is true, they have a Directory, but it is good for nothing, but *Adoniram*, who ſold the Original for four-hundred Pounds, and the Book muſt ſerve both *England* and *Scotland*, as the Directory Needle points North and South. The Aſſembler's only Ingenuity is, that he prays for an extempore Spirit, ſince his Conſcience tells him, he has no Learning. His Prayer thus ended, he then looks round, to obſerve the Sex of his Congregation, and, accordingly, turns the Apoſtle's Men, Fathers, and Brethren, into Dear Brethren and Siſters. For his uſual Auditory is, moſt Part, Female; and as many Siſters flock to him, as, at *Paris*, on St. *Margaret*'s Day, when all come to Church, that are, or hope to be with Child that Year. He divides his Text, as he did the Kingdom, makes one Part fight againſt another; or, as *Burges* divides the Dean of *Paul*'s Houſe, not into Parts, but Tenements, that is, ſo as it will yield moſt Money. And properly they are Tenements; for each Part

muſt

must be dwelt upon, though himself comes near it but once a Quarter, and so his Text is rather let out, than divided. Yet sometimes, to shew his Skill in *Keckerman*, he butchers a Text, cuts it, just as the *Levite* did his Concubine, into many dead Parts, breaking the Sense and Words all to Pieces, and then they are not divided, but shattered, like the Splinters of Don *Quixot*'s Lance. If his Text be to the Occasion, his first Dish is Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver, yet he tells not the People what Pictures those were. His Sermon and Prayer grin at each other, the one is Presbyterian, the other Independent; for he preaches up the Classes, yet prays for the Army. Let his Doctrine and Reason be what they will, his Use is still to save his Benefice, and augment his Lecture. He talks much of Truth, but abhors Peace, lest it strip him as naked as Truth; and therefore hates a Personal Treaty, unless with a Sister. He has a rare simpering Way of Expression; he calls a married Couple, Saints that enjoy the Mystery, and a Man drunk, is a Brother full of the Creature; yet, at Wedding-sermons, he is very familiar, and, like that Picture in the Church at *Leyden*, shews *Adam* and *Eve* without Fig-leaves. At Funerals, he gives infallible Signs, that the Party is gone to Heaven; but his chief Mark, of a Child of God, is to be good to God's Ministers. And hence it is, he calls his Preachment, *Manna*, fitted not to his Hearers Necessity, but their Palate, for it is to feed himself, not them. If he chance to tire, he refreshes himself with the People's Hum, as a Collar of Bells chears up a Packhorse. It is no Wonder he will preach, but that any will hear him, and his constant Auditors do but shew the Length of their Ears; for he is such an Ἀβελτεροκόκκυξ, that, to hear him, makes good Scholars sick, but, to read him, is Death. Yet, though you heard him three Hours, he will ask a Fourth, as the Beggar at *Delph* craves your Charity, because he eats four Pounds of Bread at a Meal. It was from his Alarum, the Watch-makers learned their infinite Screw. His Glass and Text are equally handled, that is, once an Hour; nay, sometimes, he sallies, and never returns, and then we should leave him to the Company of *Lorimers*, for he must be held with Bit and Bridle. Who ever once has been at his Church, can never doubt the History of *Balaam*. If he have got any new Tale or Expression, it is easier to make Stones speak, than him to hold his Peace. He hates a Church, where there is an Eccho, for it robs him of his dear Repetition, and confounds the Auditory as well as he. But, of all Mortals, I admire the short-hand Men, who have the Patience to write from his Mouth; had they the Art to shorten it into Sense, they might write his whole Sermon on the Back of their Nail; for his Invention consists in finding a Way to speak nothing upon any Thing; and, were he in the Grand Seignior's Power, he would lodge himself with his Mutes; for nothing, and nothing to Purpose, are all one. I wonder in Conscience, he can preach against Sleeping at his Opium-sermons. He preaches, indeed, both in Season, and out of Season; for he rails at Popery, when the Land is almost lost in Presbytery, and would cry *Fire, Fire*, in *Noah*'s Flood. Yet all this he so acts with his Hands, that, in this Sense too, his Preaching is a Handicraft. Nor can we complain, that Plays are put down, while he can preach, save only his Sermons have worse Sense, and less Truth. But he blew down the Stage, and preached up the Scaffold; and, very wisely, lest Men should track him, and find where he pilfers all his best Similies (the only Thing wherein he is commendable, St. *Paul* himself having culled Sentences from *Meander*'s *Thais*, though it was his worst, that is, unchast Comedy.) Sometimes, the Assembler will venture at the Original, and then, with the Translator of Don *Quixot*, he mistakes Sobs and Sighs for Eggs and Collops. But commonly, for Want of *Greek* and *Latin*, he learns *Hebrew*, and straight is illuminated, that is, mad; his Brain is broke by a Brickbat, cast from the Tower of *Babel*; and yet this empty windy Teacher has lectured a War quite round the Kingdom: He has found a Circulation of Blood for Destruction (as famous *Harvey* for Preservation) of Mankind. It was easy to foresee a great Mortality, when Ravens were heard in all Corporations; for, as Multitude of Frogs presage a Pestilence, so croaking Lecturers foretold an Assembly. Men come to Church, as the great *Alexander* went to Sacrifice, led by Crows. You have seen a small Elder-tree grow in Chinks and Clefts of Church-walls; it seems rather a Weed, than a Tree, which, lend it Growth,

makes a Rent in the Wall, and throws down the Church. Is not this the Aſſembler? Grown from Schiſms, which himſelf begot, and, if permitted, will make the Church but a Floor, or Church-yard: Yet, for all this, he will be called Chriſt's Miniſter and Saint, as the Rebels, againſt King *John*, were the Army of God. Sure, when they meet, they cannot but ſmile; for the dulleſt amongſt them needs muſt know, that they all cheat the People; ſuch groſs low Impoſtors, that we die the Death of the Emperor *Claudius*, poiſoned by Muſhrooms. The old Hereticks had Skill and Learning, ſome Excuſe for a ſeduced Church; thoſe were Scholars, but theſe are Aſſemblers, whoſe very Brains, as *Manichæus's* Skin, are ſtuffed with Chaff; for they ſtudy little, and preach much, ever ſick of a Diabetes; nor do they read, but weed Authors, picking up cheap and refuſe Notes, that, with *Caligula*, they gather Cockle-ſhells, and, with *Domitian*, retire into their Study to catch Flies. At Faſts and Thankſgivings, the Aſſembler is the State's Trumpet, for then he doth not preach, but is blown, proclaims News very loud, the Trumpet and his Forehead being both of one Metal; and yet, good Man, he ſtill prays for Boldneſs; he hackneies out his Voice, like a Crier, and is a Kind of ſpiritual Adjutant, receives Orders, and ſpreads them. In Earneſt, the States cannot want this Tool, for, without him, the Saints would ſcarce aſſemble; and, if the Zealots chance to fly out, they are charmed Home by his ſounding Braſs. There is not, on Earth, a baſer Sycophant; for he ever is chewing ſome Vote or Ordinance, and tells the People how ſavoury it is; like him, who licked up the Emperor's Spittle, and ſwore it was ſweet. Would the two Houſes give him Cathedral Lands, he would prove Lords and Commons to be *Jure Divino*; but, ſhould they offer him the ſelf-denying Ordinance, he would juſtify the Devil, and curſe them to their Faces; his Brother Kirk-man did it in *Scotland*. It is pleaſant to obſerve, how finely they play into each other's Hands; *Marſhall* procures Thanks to be given to *Sedgwick*, for his great Pains; *Sedgwick* obtains as much for *Marſhall*, and ſo they all pimp for one another; but yet, to their great Comfort be it ſpoken, their whole ſeven Years Sermons, at *Weſtminſter*, are now to be ſold in *Fetter-lane* and *Pye-corner*. Before a Battle, the Aſſembler ever ſpeaks to the Soldiers, and the Holding up of his Hands muſt be as neceſſary as *Moſes's* againſt the *Amalekites*; for he pricks them on, tells them, That God loves none but the Valiant; but, when Bullets fly, himſelf runs firſt, and then cries, All the Sons of *Adam* are Cowards! Were there any Metempſychoſis, his Soul would want a Lodging; no ſingle Beaſt could fit him, being wiſe as a Sheep, and innocent as a Wolf; his ſole Comfort is, he cannot out-ſin *Hugh Peters*; ſure as Satan hath poſſeſſed the Aſſembler, ſo *Hugh Peters* hath poſſeſſed Satan, and is the Devil's Devil; he, alone, would fill a whole Herd of *Gadarenes*; he hath ſucked Blood ever ſince he lay in the Butcher's Sheets, and now, like his Sultan, has a Shambles in his Countenance, ſo crimſon and torrid, you may there read, how St. *Laurence* died, and think the three Children were delivered from his Face. This is St. *Hugh*, who will level the Aſſembler, or the Devil's an Aſs. Yoke theſe Brethren, and they two couple like a Sadduce and a Phariſee, or a *Turk* and a *Perſian*, both *Mahometans*. But the Aſſembler's deepeſt, higheſt Abomination, is his ſolemn League and Covenant; whereby he ſtrives to damn, or beggar the whole Kingdom, outdoing the Devil, who only perſuades, but the Aſſembler forces to Perjury or Starving. And this, whoever lives to obſerve it, will, one Day, ſink both him and his Faction; for he, and his Oath, are ſo much one, that, were he half-hanged and let down again, his firſt Word would be, *Covenant! Covenant!*

But I forget, a Character ſhould be brief, though tedious Length be his beſt Character; therefore I will give you, what he denies the ſequeſtered Clergy, but a fifth Part; for weigh him ſingle, and he has the Pride of three Tyrants, the Forehead of ſix Jailers, and the Fraud of twelve Brokers; or take him in the Bunch, and their whole Aſſembly is a Club of Hypocrites, where ſix Dozen of Schiſmaticks ſpend two Hours, for four Shillings a-piece.

Aphoriſms

Aphoriſms relating to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, humbly ſubmitted to the moſt Noble Aſſembly of Lords and Commons at the great Convention at *Weſtminſter*. *London*, printed for *Joſeph Watts*, at the *Angel* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

I. THAT Ireland *is Part of the Dominions of* England, *and a Kingdom ſubordinate to it.*——This appears not only by the Appeals that are made from the *Chancery* there, to the Houſe of Lords here, and by Writ of Error from the *King's Bench* there, to the *King's Bench* here; but alſo by the Patents which often paſs under the Great Seal of *England*, for Lands, Honours, and Offices in *Ireland*, and by the Obligation which an *Engliſh* Act of Parliament lays on *Ireland*, when it is particularly named.

II. That *the Crown of* England *hath good Title to* Ireland.—Not only by Deſcent from *Eva*, Daughter of *Dermond Mac Morough*, King of *Leinſter*, whoſe Anceſtors were Monarchs of *Ireland*; but alſo by lawful Conqueſt in a juſt War, and by the repeated Oaths and voluntary Submiſſions of the *Iriſh* Potentates and Gentry in all Ages, and by ſeveral Statutes of Recognition, and Acts of Parliament in that Kingdom, and by above five-hundred Years Preſcription.

III. That *whoever hath the Crown of* England, *is*, ipſo facto, *Sovereign of* Ireland; *and to levy War, againſt ſuch Perſon, is Treaſon.*—— This is the natural Reſult of the firſt Aſſertion; and beſides what may be collected from the Statute of 11 *Hen.* vii. of paying Obedience to the King for the Time being; it was ſo at Common Law, and cannot be otherwiſe in Reaſon; for there is that Correlation between Protection and Allegiance, that they muſt ſtand and fall together, and there is no Difference in this Caſe, between *Ireland* and the Iſle of *Wight*, or any other Part of the Dominions of the Crown of *England*.

IV. That *the Lords and Commons of* England *have always been zealouſly concerned for, and liberally contributed to the Preſervation of* Ireland.—This appears by the many Subſidies and other Aids, they have in all Ages given towards the Support of that Kingdom; for *Ireland* was always a Charge to *England*, until the Act of Settlement was made: It coſt this Kingdom near three-hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum* for ſome Years in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign; and the Rebellion, in 1641, drained *England* of ſome Millions of Money, and of many Thouſands of Men, and yet all this was well ſpent, becauſe,

V. *Without the Subjection of* Ireland, England *cannot flouriſh, and, perhaps, not ſubſiſt.*—— For every Harbour in *Munſter* would be more prejudicial to the Trade of *England*, than either *Sallee* or *Algiers* ever was, that Iſland being ſo ſituate, that *England* cannot trade with *Spain*, the *Levant*, *Africa*, the *Eaſt-Indies* or the *Weſt*, without Sailing almoſt in View of the old Head of *Kinſale*, ſo that *England* muſt traffick at vaſt Diſadvantage, Hazard, and Charge, in armed and double-manned Veſſels, or with great Convoys. Add to this, that *Ireland* would be always in cloſe League with the Enemies of *England*, and yearly ſupply a vaſt Number of able Bodies to annoy it.

VI. That Ireland *was never in ſo much Danger as it is now*;——For the Confederacy was never ſo general before, the *Iriſh* never had ſuch Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, they never had the City of *Dublin*, they never had the whole Kingdom in their Poſſeſſion, or under their Power; and, which is more than all the reſt, they never had the Colour or Pretence of Authority before this Time.

VII. That *the Proteſtants there, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, muſt neceſſarily be ruined.*—For the *Iriſh*, having no Money, cannot ſupport their vaſt Army, without free Quarter on the *Engliſh*. Add to this, the Decay and full Stop of Trade, and the many other inſupportable Difficulties

ficulties they labour under, and their Ruin will appear inevitable without preſent Relief.

VIII. That *no People in the World are in ſo miſerable a Condition as the Proteſtants of* Ireland.——For they are not only inſulted over by their own Servants, and in a certain Way of Beggary, but are alſo in continual Fear, and under imminent Danger of being maſſacred.

IX. That *the* Engliſh *Government hath been eaſy and favourable to the* Iriſh.——And this evidently appears by one ſlight Inſtance, *viz.* That the Grand Jury, and the whole County of *Cork*, had more Trouble and Charge to get rid of two *Iriſh* Attornies in the Sheriff's Court, and at laſt could not effect it, than the *Iriſh* have had to turn out moſt of the Civil and Military Proteſtant Officers in that Kingdom, though ſome of them had good Patents for their Places; and it is beyond Diſpute, that, for many Years paſt, the *Iriſh* never wanted ſuch Friends at *Whitehall*, as made their Affairs run glib in all Courts of Judicature, and elſewhere.

X. That, *nevertheleſs, many of the* Iriſh, *and ſome degenerate* Engliſh, *would rather live under any Government than that of* England.——And this happens partly from the Difference of Humours, Manners, and Cuſtoms between them and us, and partly, becauſe they look upon the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland*, and the ſubſequent Confiſcations to be injurious, and think a Foreigner would reſtore them; but chiefly this Averſion is to be attributed to the Difference in Religion, they conceiving us to be obſtinate incorrigible Hereticks, and therefore they have often invited the Pope, *French*, and *Spaniard*, to accept of the Government of that Kingdom.

XI. That *ten thouſand* Engliſh, *well furniſhed and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the* Iriſh *in that Kingdom.*——The firſt Aſſertion is true, and the ſecond is rational; for, allowing the *Iriſh* Gentry to be brave enough, yet the Commoners have not Courage or Skill equal to the *Engliſh*, or near it; nor can the *Iriſh* keep more than ten or twelve-thouſand Men together any long Time, for Want of Forage and other Neceſſaries.

XII. *However, leſs than fifteen, or perhaps twenty-thouſand Men, ought not now to attempt* Ireland; —— becauſe it will be neceſſary to make Deſcents in ſeveral Places; and, when Gariſons, and other neceſſary Detachments, are deducted, there will remain above ten or Twelve thouſand for the Field.

XIII. *If theſe Twenty thouſand were divided into three Bodies, in all Probability there would be none, or very weak and ſhort Reſiſtance.*—— For if Four-thouſand landed in *Ulſter*, Six-thouſand in *Munſter*, and Ten thouſand in the Heart of the Kingdom, the *Iriſh* would be diſtracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither Officers nor Soldiers capable to make three diſtinct Armies; Experience will manifeſt, that, in that Caſe, finding themſelves attacked on all Sides, *Tyrconnel* would retire to *Athlone*, and thence to *Galway*, and, in the firſt Ship he could get, ſhift for himſelf as well as he could.

XIV. *However, reaſonable Conditions ſhould not be denied them, if they will ſubmit quietly.*—For, beſides that it may prevent much Miſchief, and ſave the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, it is unchriſtian to force them to Deſperation; they ſhould have Indemnity for what is paſt, and a Connivance at the private Exerciſe of their Religion, by a competent Number of Prieſts, for the future: This Offer juſtifies our Moderation, and, if refuſed, leaves them without Excuſe.

XV. *Whatever Conditions are offered them, will be rejected or poſtponed, unleſs backed with a ſufficient Force.*——For they are in Hopes of Aid from *France*, and have very little Foreſight of what is future; it is not unuſual amongſt them, to defy one Day what they tremble at the next: It has been always a principal Maxim in their Politicks, to procraſtinate and delay their Submiſſion, in Hopes of imaginary Succours, until they plunged themſelves ſometimes into a Sea of Miſery, and it looks as if their Deſtiny inclines that Way now.

XVI. *That the* Iriſh *Eſtates are ſufficient to defray the Charge of reducing them to their Duty.*—For of ten Millions of Plantation-acres of Land, which there are in *Ireland*, the *Iriſh* have a fourth Part, which, to be purchaſed, is worth three Millions of Pounds.

XVII. That *the Proteſtants are already damnified to that Value, and in three Months more will ſuffer as much again.*——For, beſides the Interruption in Trade and Buſineſs, bad Debts, and the particular Wrongs and Injuries done them, the Loſſes of thoſe that were forced to fly to *England* and elſewhere, the very Land is one third Part leſſened in the yearly Value;

and

and the two Thirds remaining are not worth ſo many Years Purchaſe by a third Part, as they were *Anno* 1684. For Example, Three-hundred *per Annum*, at twelve Years Purchaſe, being three Thouſand ſix-hundred Pounds, is now but two hundred Pounds, at eight Years Purchaſe, which is one-thouſand ſix hundred Pounds.

XVIII. *The Proteſtants of* Ireland *had been eternally ruined, if it were not for the glorious Atchievements of the Prince of* Orange.——For, if they are in ſo ill Condition at this Day, In what Caſe would they have been, if *France* had Leiſure and Means to aſſiſt the *Iriſh*, and *England* (in a Civil War) not able to relieve the Proteſtants there?

XIX. *The Policy and true Scheme of Government was totally overturned in* Ireland.——For where Reaſon and the Intereſt of *England* required, That the *Engliſh* Colony ſhould be protected by an *Engliſh* Army; and whereas a Proteſtant Parliament in *Ireland* had raiſed a great Revenue to the Crown, moſtly paid by Proteſtants, in order to maintain a Proteſtant Army, on the quite contrary, that Army was diſbanded, with Circumſtances as bad as the Fact, and Papiſts introduced to guard us againſt themſelves; and *Iriſh* brought to gariſon within thoſe Walls, that were purpoſely built to keep them out.

XX. *The Law was likewiſe ſubverted.*——For the Force and Energy of the Law being reſolved into Trials by Jury: When the Judge, Sheriff, Jury, Witneſs and Party were all of a-piece, and that in a Country where Perjury is ſo frequent, that *Iriſh Evidence* is become, proverbially ſcandalous, What could an *Engliſh* Proteſtant expect, but that many notorious Murders ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, many forged Deeds ſhould be trumped up, and many Hundreds of *Engliſh* indicted, drawn in Queſtion, and proſecuted, without ſo much as a Probability, or Colour of Truth?

XXI. *Theſe Injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our Religion and Nation deſtroyed there by Law.*——For they diſſolved all Corporations, on forged or frivolous Pretences, and in ſo precipitate a Manner, that they did not give competent Time to draw, much leſs to review the Pleadings. They projected to call the eldeſt Sons of Popiſh Noblemen by Writ, and ſo made themſelves ſure of both Houſes of an *Iriſh* Parliament.

XXII. That *the diſbanded Proteſtant Officers deſerve, and are fit to be employed in the Recovery of* Ireland.——They deſerve it, and all the Countenance that can be ſhewn them, becauſe they have ſuffered much (and few People conſider how much) merely for their Religion and Country. And they are fit, becauſe they are acquainted with the Country, the Climate, and the Inhabitants, and are, beyond Objection, zealous in this Cauſe.

XXIII. That *the Prince wants neither Courage, Conduct, Reputation, or Zeal.*——His Attempt in *England* manifeſted his Courage, his Succeſs demonſtrated his Conduct, and confirmed his Reputation; and, for the reſt, the ſame Motives, that induced him to come hither, are ſtill in Being, and will prevail to advance his victorious Arms to *Ireland*.

XXIV. *There is Nothing wanting but a ſettled legal Authority and Money.*——For, though Neceſſity juſtifies *pro hac vice*, yet our Law knows no Authority but what is Regal; without that there can be no Parliament, nor indeed no Obligation to Obedience (or at moſt but temporary) And as for Money, though it is impoſſible to make a general Tax ſeaſonably for the Relief of *Ireland*, yet, perhaps, a good Vote of eſpouſing the *Iriſh* Concern may give Credit to raiſe a Fund, for a Service ſo neceſſary and beneficial to *England*.

XXV. *The Army will be in more Danger of Famine than Sword.*——For, beſides that the Enemy will deſtroy and burn all he can, there is not in the Country Proviſion enough for both Armies, and therefore great Magazines muſt be erected at *Cheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Milford*, &c. how much Money ſoever it may coſt.

XXVI. *All private Undertakings, in this Matter of* Ireland, *are vain.*——For no one Body is able to do much, and Confederacies and Partnerſhips are lame and uncertain, becauſe the Failure of any one ſpoils all. Nor did any private Undertaker of publick Affairs ever ſucceed in *Ireland*; witneſs Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Project in the *Ardes*, and *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*'s in *Clandeboy* and the *Fewy*.

XXVII. *That whoever takes Commiſſion here, to raiſe Men in* Ireland, *does that Country a great deal of Wrong.*——For either he takes ſome poor diſpirited People, or ſuch Farmers, Labourers, or Tradeſmen, as would be more uſeful in their Vocation; or he takes others, that would, of their own Accord, and without Pay in the Militia,

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Militia, or otherwiſe, fight for their Lives, Families, and Eſtates; every Way he robs the Country of People, and hinders thoſe that elſe would be raiſed here, and go from hence; and he makes the Government depend on a broken Reed, for it is impoſſible any Men ſhould be raiſed and accoutred there Time enough to do Service, and fit to do it.

Laſtly, *Though the* Iriſh *ſhould ſubmit, yet* Ireland *will need a conſiderable* Engliſh *Army.*— For that Kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be Danger of ſome *French* Attempt. But, beſides all this, he knows little of *Ireland*, who thinks that the *Iriſh* Army (when diſbanded) will ever be brought to work for their Living. On the contrary, many of them will turn Tories; ſo that, if there be not a good Army in the Kingdom, it will be as unſafe and troubleſome as in Time of War.

A true and moſt exact Relation of the Taking of the goodly Ship, called, The *Saint Eſprit*, belonging unto the *French* King; which was built in *Holland*, and furniſhed with fifty-four Pieces of great Ordnance; was ſurpriſed on the twenty-eighth Day of *September*, by Sir *Sackville Trevor*, Knight, and ſince brought over, by him, unto *Harwich* in *Eſſex*. Likewiſe, the Proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Grace, in the Iſle of *Ree*; the Killing of the baſe Brother of the *French* King, at the new Fort before *Rochelle*, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and alſo the appointed Place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet threatened from Foreign Parts to raiſe the Siege at the Iſle of *Ree*: With many other Particulars. Publiſhed by Authority. *London*: Printed by *A. M.* for *Thomas Walkley*; and are to be ſold at his Shop, at the Sign of the *Eagle* and *Child*, in *Britain*'s *Burſe*. 1627. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

THE *French* reſolving to build ſome Ships, for the Strengthening of their Navy, and wanting Materials and Ship-wrights in the Kingdom, they determined to build them in *Holland*, at *Amſterdam*, and *Enchuyſen*; a Thing which the States of the United Provinces could not deny them, it being at their proper Coſt, in Reſpect of thoſe Obligements which bind them to that Nation.

The Notice whereof, together with their ſuppoſed Time of Launching, being advertiſed into *England*, his Majeſty, to cruſh this Crocodile in the Shell, and to prevent the Storm of the Danger before it fell, ſent out Sir *Sackville Trevor*, after his Return from the River of *Elve*, where he made the *Hamburghers* come to Reaſon, and ſearched their Ships in Deſpight of all Oppoſition.

He had with him in this laſt Expedition a Fleet of eight Sail, whereof four were of the King's Navy Royal, the reſt were Merchants.

His Commiſſion injoined him to ply up and down, upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, and to take all *French* Ships which he could meet withal.

He obſerving carefully theſe Orders, uſed all poſſible Speed, and on *Friday* the Twenty-eighth

eighth of *September*, he arrived at the *Texel*, a great Road in *North-Holland*, about Eight of the Clock at Night, with all his Fleet in Safety.

The Names of his Ships were theſe:

The King's good Ship, called the *Aſſurance*, carrying thirty-eight Pieces of braſs Ordnance, wherein Sir *Sackville* himſelf went as Admiral.

The King's good Ship, called the *Adventure*, carrying twenty-ſix braſs Pieces, wherein Captain *George Allen* commanded as Vice-Admiral.

The good Ship, called the *Ambroſe*, carrying eighteen Pieces of iron Ordnance, wherein Capt. *John Petre*, the Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, commanded.

The King's good Ship, called the St. *Mary* of *Roan*, carrying ſixteen great Pieces, beſides Murderers, the Captain whereof was Capt. *Thomas Bardeſey*.

Capt. *Cheyney*'s Ship, called the *May Flower* of *London*.

Capt. *Hook*'s Ship, called the *Lion* of *Ipſwich*.

Capt. *Morgan*'s Ship, called the *Jacob*.

Capt. *Needham*, a Pinnace belonging to the King, called the *Maria*, carrying ſix Pieces of braſs Ordnance.

Theſe four latter Ships were of no great Burthen, but were well manned, and of quick Steerage, and carried in all, beſides the Murderers, which they had upon their Upper Decks, twenty Pieces of braſs and iron Ordnance.

Sir *Sackville Trevor* got a *Dutch* Pilot upon the Coaſt, who being demanded concerning the Ships that lay in the *Texel*, told him, that beſides ſixteen *Hollandiſh* Men of War, and divers other Veſſels of good Burthen, there lay one goodly *French* Ship, called the *St. Eſprit*, which was of the Burthen of eight-hundred Tons, the upper Works whereof were richly gilt with double Angel Gold, in the Inſide and Outſide of her, in thoſe Places which were fitteſt to expreſs Pomp and Statelineſs, as alſo the very Port-holes were curiouſly carved with Lions Heads gaping that were richly double gilt.

The Pilot, after he had been fully queſtioned by Sir *Sackville Trevor* concerning all Particulars, which might tend to the Service, told him, that if he would give him Gold, he would bring him to the Side of her; whereupon Sir *Sackville* gave him a double *Portugue* in Gold, valuing four Pounds, *Sterling*.

We coming near unto their *French* Ship, preſently ſhe ſent out her long Boat, being manned with *French* and *Dutch* to hale us, and to ſee what we were: But our Admiral commanding the Men to come Aboard us, we ſurpriſed the Long-boat, and pinioned the Men, and put them in the Hold.

Afterwards the *Eſprit*, diſcovering us to be Enemies, began to fight, and diſcharged, but without any Effects of Hurt, three great Shot, and one-hundred ſmall Shot. Then Sir *Sackville Trevor*, being willing to take Occaſion by the Foretop, and to ſlack no Time for Fear of loſing Advantage, came up cloſe to her, and gave her a whole Broad-ſide; ſo likewiſe did our Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral, and the St. *Mary*, where Capt. *Thomas Bardeſey* commanded; which Shot was diſcharged with that quick Motion, and working Advantage, that their main Maſt and Bow-ſprit being pierced through, they cried out for Quarter, which for good Conſiderations was granted them; ſo that by Ten of the Clock at Night, which was two Hours after our Coming into the *Texel*, we became Maſters of this great and warlike Ship.

Before we came up cloſe to her, but after they had diſcovered us to be Enemies, thoſe of the *St. Eſprit* made a Train in a Cheſt filled with Gunpowder, and other combuſtible Materials, to blow up the Ship, and our Men that ſhould enter it. But this Reſolution was again altered, becauſe their long Boat being taken by our Admiral, they ſaw no other Means of eſcape, but only by ſubmitting themſelves unto our Mercy.

That Night we diſpoſed of her Men ſeverally in our Ships, being one-hundred *French*, and fifty *Dutch*. We gave all fair Quarter to the *Dutch*, but the *French* were kept Priſoners until the Day before we came out of the *Texel*, and then they were all ſet on Land in *North-Holland*.

After we had taken this Ship, there came unto us Captain *Dapper*, in the *True Love* of *Ipſwich*, and Capt. *Wall*, in the *Suſan* of *Alborough*, on the *Sunday* following, whom we welcomed after the Manner of the Sea.

There

There was another goodly *French* Ship, which was newly come over *Wearing Flats*; diſtant eight Miles from the *Texel*, who receiving Intelligence of our Strength, and of what we had done, got Hoys, Lighters, and other ſmall Veſſels of Tranſportation; in which having lighted herſelf of her Ordnance, ſhe got over the Flats to *Enchuyſen*, before our Men could come up to her.

We came up with eight Sail of Ships to take her, but loſing our Labour, by Means that ſhe was ſafely harboured in *Enchuyſen*, we returned back again unto our Admiral, who expected our Coming in the *Texel* Road.

Some of the States of the neighbour Towns came a-board us, and demanded peremptorily, by Virtue of what Commiſſion we came to fetch that Ship out of their Road. Our Admiral told them, that he had Commiſſion to take all *French* Ships which he could meet withal, and he was aſſured that this was a *French* Ship, and therefore he adventured to take her, without any further Commiſſion.

Capt. *George Allen*, our Vice-Admiral, and ſome others of this Fleet, ſtay upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, for the Intercepting of this, and other *French* Ships; the reſt under the Conduct of Sir *Sackville Trevor* brought Home the ſurpriſed Ship to *Harwich*.

This goodly Ship taken on the Twenty-eighth of *September*, as is aforeſaid, had forty-two Pieces of Ordnance mounted, twelve Pieces unmounted in her Hold, two-hundred and ſix Armours, one-hundred and fifty Muſquets, and ſixty Barrels of Gun-powder.

The Specification of her Ordnance, and other Particulars, follows:

Item, Upon her lower Tier, twenty whole Culverings of Braſs of full Size, being in Height five Inches and a Quarter.

In her Steerage, two demy Culverings of Braſs, in Height four Inches, one Quarter, and better.

Item, Two Drakes upon the half Deck, being Braſs, of Sacker Bore.

24 Braſs.

Item, Upon her upper Tier twelve Dema-Culverings of Iron, in Height four Inches and a Quarter.

Item, Four Sackers of Iron, upon the half Deck.

18 Iron.

Sum total mounted is 42.

Item, It is reported, there are in Hold twelve Pieces of Iron, all whole Culverings; we took the Height of two, being five Inches, the reſt we could not come to.

The Length of the Ship, by the Keel, is one-hundred and five Feet.

The Breadth, by her Beam, is thirty-five Feet.

From the Kilchin to the Deck in Depth twelve Feet.

Item, Two-hundred and ſix Armours.

Item, One-hundred and fifty Muſquets.

Item, Sixty Barrels of Gun-powder.

Concerning the Proceedings of our Army and Navy in the Iſland of *Ree*, commonly called St. *Martin's*, there hath happened no memorable Accident, as far as we can underſtand, ſince the *Wedneſday* Se'nnight after Sir *John Burrows* was ſlain, upon the Night of which Day, our Men ſurpriſed many Boats, as they were paſſing to the Fort with Victuals; the Particulars of which Exploit were related in our laſt Journal; but concerning the Occurrences happening in the Main, we have received their Advertiſements, by Letters out of *France*, on *Wedneſday* laſt, being the Third of *October*.

That the *French* King, being fully bent to follow his Deſigns againſt *Rochel*, and to pluck out that Thorn, which, as the Cardinal intimated unto him, had ſo long ſtuck in the Sides of his Sovereignty, continues the Building of his new Fort, on Purpoſe to debar the Townſmen from all Ingreſs and Egreſs by Water. He follows this Work with great Charge and greater Labour, as well knowing how important the Finiſhing thereof will be for his farther Ends and Intentions. He hath cauſed twelve whole Cannons to be mounted before the Breaſt of this Fort, with which his Cannoniers make divers random Shot into the Town, but with more Terror than Danger. Some Ships of our Fleet, riding not far from the Fort, have beſtowed divers Shot upon the *French*, though without Point-blank Diſtance. One of which fell ſo fortunately for us, and ſo unfortunately for them, that it killed a baſe Son of that great *Henry the Fourth*, which he had by a Siſter of the Duke of *Orleance*. The ſame Shot did likewiſe kill another Duke, of whoſe Name we are not as yet certain. And the Wind of that Bullet ſtruck down the Monſieur,

ſieur, the legitimate Brother of the *French* King, as he was conferring with the other two.

It is further confirmed, that two principal Men of the *French* Nobility were ſlain by the late Ambuſh of the *Rochellers*. Which two Noblemen, with divers other brave Chevaliers, were drawn within Danger by a Stale made by twenty common Soldiers, in the Habit of Gentlemen; who ſallied forth of the Town of *Rochel*.

The *Rochellers* are very careful to furniſh our Fleet and Army, with all neceſſary Proviſions, which their Store or Procuration can afford; and theſe they tranſport in twenty long Boats, which in Token of the Service that they owe unto the King of *England*, carry red Croſſes for the Device of their Colours. Divers *Engliſh*, who have been either ſick or wounded, are in the Town, amongſt whom is that honourable Knight, Sir *Charles Rich*, who is cured of his Wound, but hath not as yet recovered the perfect Uſe of his Arm. His Preſence is much deſired of my Lord Duke, and is expected in the Army every Day.

His Excellency, to avoid the Extortion of Victuallers, who like the Milt in Man's Body grow fat by the Leanneſs of others, hath out of his noble Diſpoſition, publiſhed a Proclamation for the Price of Bread, Wine, and other Neceſſaries, according to the Rates of which Proclamation, the Iſlanders and others from the Continent do bring in Victuals.

There is a confident Report in all thoſe Parts of *France*, that there are appointed forty Ships of War to come from *Spain*, and twenty from *Dunkirk*, who are to join with the *French* Fleet for the Succours of the Iſland, and the Beating off of the *Engliſh*. The Rendezvous of all theſe Ships was appointed at *Blawet*, a famous Port-Town in *Brittany*, on the Tenth of this preſent Month.

News from *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, or *Oxford Mancheſtered*, by *Michael Oldſworth* and his Lord, who ſwore he was Chancellor of *Oxford*. And proved it in a Speech made to the new Viſitors, in their New Convocation, *April* 11, 1648. As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath. Printed at *Montgomery*, 1648. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Mr. *Viſitors*,

I Am glad to ſee this Day, I hope it will never end; for I am your Chancellor: Some ſay I am not your Chancellor, but Dam me, they lye, for my Brother was ſo before me, and none but Raſcals would rob me of my Birth-right. They think Marquis of *Hertford* is Chancellor of *Oxford*, becauſe, forſooth, the Univerſity choſe him; S'Death, I ſit here by Ordinance of Parliament, and judge ye, Gentlemen, whether he or I look like a Chancellor: I'll prove he is a Party, for he himſelf is a Scholar, he has *Greek* and *Latin*; but all the World knows I can ſcarce write or read; Dam me, this Writing and Reading hath cauſed all this Blood.

Some ſay, I love not the Univerſity, but, I ſay, they lye; I love her, I count her my Mother, for I had four Sons there. You know what a Coil I had e're I could get hither; *Selden* did ſo vex us with his Law and his Reaſons, we could get nothing paſs; you ſaw I was fain to ſwear him down, and Mr. *Rous*, *Gurdon*, *Mildmay*, *Wentworth*, *Prideaux*, *Scot*, and other Friends, voted bravely, elſe *Selden* had carried it. S'Death, that Fellow is but Burgeſs for *Oxford*, and I am Chancellor, and yet he would have the Parliament hear his Law and Reaſons againſt their own Chancellor. I thank God, and I thank you; I thank God I am come at laſt, and I thank you for giving me a gilded Bible; you could not give me a better Book, Dam me I think ſo; I love the

Bible, though I ſeldom uſe it; I ſay I love it, and a Man's Affection is the beſt Member about him; I can love it, though I cannot read it, as you Dr. *Wilkinſon* love Preaching, tho' you never preach: What? Cannot a Man be a Doctor of Divinity but he muſt preach? I hope you'll confeſs I have gotten you good Places; if I had not ſtuck to you, how could you have thrown out *Bayly*, *Sheldon*, *Fell*, *Potter*, *Oliver*, *Hammond*, *Morley*, and the reſt? And then to what End had you been Viſitors, if you got not their Places? You know *Hammond* is my own Godſon, and they ſay he is a Scholar; S'Death, I love you, What care I for deep Scholars? Mr. *Cheynell*, I thank you, you have been kind to me, you have broke your Brains again for me, and I have given you another Head, for I made you Head of *St. John*'s, and for your Sake have thruſt out *Bayly*, his Wife, and nine pretty Children. Maſter *Reynolds*, I feared you would have left us, for you pretended to take no Man's Place from him, but, I thank God, you are of another Mind, for you have both a Man's Place and a Woman's Place, you have all that belonged to *Fell*, his Wife, and all his Children. Mr. *Wilkinſon*, you love me, and I am glad of it, for, they ſay, you hate your Enemies to the Bottomleſs-pit; I have given you my own Chaplain's Prebend, and Dam me, while he ſerved me, he was an excellent Scholar. Mr. *Corbet*, I love you too, I have made you Orator of the Univerſity; it was my Godſon *Hammond*'s Place, I hope none will blame me for diſplacing my own Godſon, you are now my Godſon, for you are Orator; I hope you'll ſpeak for me, I cannot ſpeak for myſelf; you have a Tongue now, though you want Eyes; What cannot a Man be a Viſitor, though without Eyes? Mr. *Langley*, I love you alſo, I have made you Doctor of Divinity; Malignants ſay, it is impoſſible to make you a Doctor, but, hang them, they lye, for you were created Doctor, and nothing can create but God and a Chancellor; nay, I have made you Head of *Pembroke* College, I cannot make you Governor, for a Rogue, they call him *Poyer*, is Governor of *Pembroke*, and, Dam me, I think the King will make *Poyer* to be Earl of *Pembroke*. Maſter *Harris*, you are an old Man, I have made you Head of *Trinity* College, I love an old Head; Dr. *Kettle* was an old Head before, but he loved us not, I love an old Head new made. Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, I know you love me, for you are Judge of the Prerogative Court; the Parliament gave it you, you are a good Man, and that's a good Place; they ſay you have no Civil Law, What is that to the Purpoſe? You have an Ordinance of Parliament; a Man may be a Civilian by an Ordinance of Parliament, elſe why the Devil have we ſat ſeven Years? My Father ſaid, That a Parliament could do any Thing but make a Man a Woman, and a Woman a Man. Mr. *Rogers*, you look as if you loved me, and I have made you Doctor; they call you *Aaron*, I hate them for it, for I hate *Aaron*, he was a Prieſt, and I would have all Prieſts and Jeſuits hanged. Mr. *Corniſh*, I love you, though your Wife plays Tricks with you; they ſay ſhe gads Abroad, becauſe you are a ſickly weak Man, but I have given you Dr. *Walf*'s Place, for the weakeſt goes to the Wall; you muſt give me Leave to clinch, for thoſe that have no Wit muſt be content with Clinches. Mr. *Palmer*, I have made you Head of *All-Souls*, and have turned out *Sheldon*; I hope you love me, for you are a Phyſician, and never any Phyſician was Head of *All-Souls*; they ſay their Statutes do keep you out, hang their Statutes, I'll keep you in; you are a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a Member of Parliament may be Head of any Houſe: What? Muſt the Parliament be tied to Oaths and Statutes? I have, for your Sake, clapped *Sheldon* in Priſon, Was it not high Time? Dam me, he hath more Brains than all we together, you ſaw To-day what Tricks he put upon me: I could not ſpeak to him but he made it Nonſenſe, ſo as I was forced to cry him Mercy four ſeveral Times; but I have *Sheldon'd* him by the Heels, and he deſerves it; S'Death, Is he not Clerk of the Cloſet? I love no Clerks of the Cloſet, I am not one myſelf, Dam me if I be: There is a young Rogue, one *Palmer*, I hope, Mr. *Palmer*, he is not your Name-ſake, this little Knave looked at me as if he cared not Two-pence for me; but I have *Sheldon'd* him too; and I'll juſtify it, for he is at leaſt twelve Years old, and the Parliament hath impriſoned one at nine Years old, I mean *Inchiquin*'s Son, a Plague upon him, for now *Inchiquin* is turned *Inchiking*. Gentlemen, love one another, for there's Twenty-thouſand do hate you, they ſay you are all either Dunces, Knaves, or Madmen; S'Death, they will ſay ſo of me, if they durſt.

But

But do you ſerve God, and love your Chancellor, you have all the good Places the Univerſity can yield; you deſired us to make you Viſitors, and you have made yourſelves Heads of Colleges; I love you all, Dam me I do. I command you, Regiſter, to write it down that I love them all; your Name is *French*, and my Name may be *French*, for I cannot ſpell *Engliſh*. God bleſs you all, and God bleſs me, and do as I do, for I fear God, and obey the Parliament; I will live and die with you, and God confound me, if I leave the Town theſe two Days.

Copia vera
Michael Oldſworth.

The Parable of the three Jackdaws, *&c.* Printed in the Year 1696. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

THERE was a Time when the feathered Commonwealth fell into great Diſorder, about Chuſing a Succeſſor to the Eagle, whoſe advanced Years portended the Fall of his Scepter; and the Diſputes, which happened amongſt the ſeveral Pretenders, did mightily perplex the Kingdom of Birds, who were in Doubt, whether the Eagle had any genuine Offspring. The Magpies, who had an inveterate Malice againſt the Black-birds, and Nightingales, becauſe they were better liked than themſelves, on the Account of their harmonious Notes, and innocent Nature, improved the Opportunity, to make Intereſt with the Jackdaws and Cuckows, to ſettle the Succeſſion on a noted Bird, which was reckoned Brother to the Eagle, becauſe hatched in the ſame Neſt; but a mortal Enemy to the Nightingales, and Black-birds, and accuſed of a Confederacy with the Storks and Kites, to betray the winged Nation to the Birds of Prey. The Magpies were frequently told of this, and Remonſtrances were entered againſt their Proceedings, as deſtructive to the whole Volatile Empire; but they turned the deaf Ear to every Thing, that was ſaid to them; for being uſed to feed upon Carrion, they delighted in Slaughter. In Proceſs of Time, the Eagle died, and his Brother, the Friend to the Magpies, ſucceeded: As ſoon as he mounted the Throne, the Magpies chattered for Joy, the Jackdaws cawed, and the Cuckows made Proteſtations of Loyalty, in their uſual Notes; but he was ſcarcely ſeated on the Throne, when the Region of the Air was filled with Birds of Prey; the Screech-owls began to quarrel with the Jackdaws, and the Cormorants pretended a Right to the Neſts of the Magpies. In the mean Time, though they could not agree amongſt themſelves, yet all of them united againſt the Nightingales and Black-birds, who, by this Means, were forced to retire to the ſolitary Groves, where they chirped and warbled out their own Misfortunes. The Affairs of the winged Empire being in this Poſture, a generous Falcon, as he was called by ſome, or the true Offspring of the Eagle, as reckoned by others, being moved with Compaſſion, towards the injured Birds, attempted their Relief; but the Magpies and Jackdaws, with their Adherents, the Cuckows, were ſo much incenſed againſt the generous Falcon, becauſe of his favourable Inclinations to the Nightingales and Black-birds, that they ſummoned together their Friends, the Rooks, and joining with the Storks and Kites, oppreſſed the poor Falcon, with his ſmall Retinue; and having barbarouſly deſtroyed them, the Eagle's Brother looked upon his Throne, as ſurer than ever; and the Magpies, Jackdaws, and Cuckows, concluding that they had inſured his Favour, by this new Merit, preſſed on to deſtroy the Black-birds, and Nightingales. But all of a ſudden, when they they thought themſelves ſecure, the Night-owls and Cormorants, with the Storks and Kites, their Adherents, having been a long Time diſpoſſeſſed of their Neſts, by the Magpies and Jackdaws, and their Followers, the Rooks and Cuckows, reſolved to come to a Trial of Skill with them, upon which the Magpies came to have ſome Remorſe for their barbarous Treatment of the innocent Black-birds; and, abating ſomething

of the uſual Harſhneſs of their Note, began to call, 'Mag, Mag, poor Mag, a Cup of Sack 'for poor fainting Mag;' and the Jackdaws cawed to the Black-birds, in a milder Note than before, bewailed their former Severity, and invited the Nightingales and Black-birds, to join with them, againſt the Kites, Cormorants, and Screech-owls. The Eagle's Brother, being afraid of the Conſequences of ſuch an Union, came alſo to a Parley with the Black-birds and Nightingales, and offered them fair Quarter, provided they would concur towards the Procuring of an authentick Act, at the general Dyet of the winged Empire, to ſecure his Followers in the Poſſeſſion of their Neſts, for all Time coming; the amazed Black-birds, being ſurpriſed with this mighty Change, and having been wretchedly torn by the Talons of both Parties, knew not whom to truſt; but the Eagle's Brother being poſſeſſed of the Throne, Decency obliged them to make civil Replies; but ſome of the Bats, which frequented the Company of the Black-birds, engaged too far with the Cormorant Intereſt, and by this Time both Parties owned the Poſſeſſor of the Throne, for a true Eagle: Having gained his Point ſo far, he reſolved to puſh on his Fortune, and being provoked with the Behaviour of the Magpies, he deſigned to put their Pretenſions of Loyalty to the Touch-ſtone, and commanded them to publiſh his Imperial Edict, giving Liberty to all the Subjects of the airy Regions, to warble out the Praiſes of their great Creator, in ſuch Notes as Nature had furniſhed them with; it being highly unreaſonable to ſay, that the Canary-bird was no Bird, becauſe ſhe could not croak like the Raven, or that the Nightingale was no Subject of the winged Empire, becauſe ſhe could not chatter like the Magpy.

The Magpies and Jackdaws were thunder-ſtruck, at the Hearing of this unlooked-for Command, and moſt of them did ſullenly refuſe it; yet ſome of the Magpies and the Swallows, which neſtled about the Altars, thought fit to comply; but the Metropolitan Magpy, and Six of the reſt, did poſitively refuſe to obey the Eagle, who did thereupon commit them to his Imperial Priſon. Then nothing was to be heard, but, 'Alas poor Mag, 'a Cup of Sack for Mag; and on the other Hand, the Cormorants and Kites cried, 'A 'Rope for Mag, Mag, Mag, a Halter for Mag;' And the Black-birds and Nightingales, though they were ſomething concerned at the Misfortune of the Magpies, yet could not but ſay, that Mag was ſerved according to her Deſerts; but the Jackdaws and Cuckows, with their Allies, the Rooks, did ſo much diſturb the Eagle's Quiet, with their Cawing and Croaking, that he releaſed the Magpies, but purſued his Deſign, of eſtabliſhing a Tyranny in the Regions of the Air; and, in Order to accompliſh his Deſign, did enter into a Confederacy with the Vulture, reſolved to diſinherit the generous ſhe Eagle, of his own Race, and to impoſe a counterfeit he Eagle upon the Nation of Birds; which did ſo much provoke the feathered Commonwealth, that they agreed, with the Aſſiſtance of a genuine Eagle, of the true imperial Neſt, who had the generous ſhe Eagle, abovementioned, to his Mate, to curb the tyrannical Eagle, and prevent his Impoſing an Oſtrich inſtead of an Eagle upon the winged Empire. Many of the Magpies and Jackdaws, with all the Black-birds and Nightingales, joined in the Invitation to the young Eagle, who taking his Flight from beyond Sea, did happily alight, in the Imperial Grove; and being joined with a promiſcuous Flock of Black-birds, Jackdaws, Nightingales, and ſome Rooks, put the Kites, Cormorants, and old Eagle to Flight; who, after he had roofted a While, in his Imperial Neſt, abandoned the ſame, and fled beyond Sea, with the Oſtrich his Mate, and the counterfeit Eagle, her ſuppoſed Son, to the Vulture's Grove.

The Eagle having thus taken his Flight, the Magpies began to relent, and to wiſh that Things had not come to that Extremity; for the Jackdaws and they became now apprehenſive, that they were in as much Danger of loſing their Neſts, by the Black-birds and Nightingales, as they had formerly been by the Kites and Cormorants, becauſe the young Eagle, who came from beyond Sea, was judged to have a mighty Kindneſs for the Black-birds and Nightingales, and his Mate, the generous ſhe Eagle, had no Averſion to them; and thus it came to paſs, that the Metropolitical Magpy, who had been the Ringleader of thoſe who oppoſed the old Eagle, and invited the young one to his Neſt, began to grow ſullen, and his Example infecting the reſt of the Mags, the Faction was divided amongſt themſelves; ſo that ſome of the Magpies and Jack-

daws,

daws; were for acknowledging the young Eagle as Sovereign of the Birds, and others, chattering ſtill upon the abdicated Theme of Paſſive Obedience, alledged that the old Eagle had Injury done him, and did all that they could to obſtruct the Progreſs of the young Eagle's Affairs; and, having, by the Intereſt of the Magpies, who owned his Title, got an Influence on his Councils, they adviſed him to diſband the Black-birds and Nightingales, who had flocked to him at his firſt Coming over, and to govern his Affairs, by the Advice of the Magpies and Jackdaws; and, by this Method, they got his Court and his Camp filled with Rooks, who did ſtill retain a very great Kindneſs for the old Eagle, and their ancient Cronies, the Cormorants and Kites, and did them kindly Offices, as Opportunity offered.

In the mean Time, the Nightingales and Black-birds of the Eagle's ancient Grove, had been ſo terribly infeſted by the Magpies, Jackdaws, and Rooks, and ſo miſchievouſly torn by the Talons of the Kites and Cormorants, their Allies, that they looked upon the Magpies as Harpies; and, in a general Dyet of the Birds, held for that Grove, voted, that the Magpies, and their Underlings, the Jackdaws, were the great and inſupportable Grievance of the winged Empire, and, with one Conſent, diſlodged them of their Neſts; ſo that the Mags and Jacks hopped away, in great Numbers, to the neighbouring Grove, chattered nothing, but Paſſive Obedience, and Non-Reſiſtance, and the Injury done to the old Eagle, which ſtrengthened the Faction of the Southern Magpies, and made the young Eagle very uneaſy in his Neſt; whence it came to paſs, that the Magpy-faction procured a Rebellion in the Northern Grove, under the Conduct of a miſchievous Rook, who, being joined by a Rabble of the Jackdaws, Kites, Cormorants, and Solan Geeſe, gave the young Eagle's Followers, in that Grove, a conſiderable Check; but, the miſchievous Rook being pecked to Death in the Scuffle, the Rebellion was appeaſed there; but the Northern Jackdaws and Solan Geeſe, with the abdicated Harpies, filled the Southern Grove with their querulous Notes, that nothing was to be heard, but, Alas! poor Mag, Mag, Mag, is put out of her Neſt in the North, and muſt expect the ſame Treatment in the South, except the old Eagle be recalled. Whereupon that tyrannous Bird, conceiving good Hopes of his Affairs, did, by the Aſſiſtance of the Vulture, who lent him ſome Bands of Storks, Kites, and Rooks, take his Flight to St. *Patrick*'s Grove, where, being joined by ſome Cormorants, and the native Woodcocks, he quickly overſpread the whole Grove, excepting ſome ſmall Part of it, where a Colony of their Northern Birds had fixed their Neſts, who made ſuch a ſtout Reſiſtance againſt the Tyrant Eagle, and his Birds of Prey, that the Fame thereof ecchoed through the Regions of the Air; but the Southern Magpies and Jackdaws, being influenced by the Northern Harpies, and Solan Geeſe, obſtructed the Relief of the Black-birds of St. *Patrick*'s Grove ſo long, that they were well nigh undone, and the firſt Relief they had ſent them, being under the Conduct of a villainous Rook, he was little leſs noiſome to the Black-birds, than the Kites and Cormorants; ſo that the young Eagle was obliged to fly thither in Perſon, and, not long after his Arrival, he gave the Tyrant Eagle, and his Followers, ſuch a terrible Overthrow, by a purling Brook, that the old one fled from St. *Patrick*'s Grove, and betook himſelf again to the Vulture's Quarters, whilſt the Colonies of the Northern Black-birds and Nightingales did, with inimitable Courage, ſubdue the Woodcocks, and the young Eagle's Followers diſlodged the Vultures and Cormorants from their Neſts, ſo that, in a little Time, St. *Patrick*'s Grove was intirely recovered.

The Vulture, by whoſe Counſels the abdicated Eagle had, all along, governed himſelf, perceiving that he was now quite driven from his Neſt, reſolved to attack the *Flemiſh* Coppice, which had formerly been the Reſidence of the young Eagle; which obliged the generous Bird to repair beyond Sea, for the Defence of his ancient Friends; but, though he acted Wonders, yet his Counſels were betrayed by the Friends of the Mags and the Daws, and, his Troops being chiefly commanded by Rooks, the Birds of his Retinue met with ſeveral Diſaſters, and, at the ſame Time, the Kites, and Cormorants, and ſeditious Mags, did all, that they could, to diſturb the Repoſe of the generous the Eagle his Mate, whom they would fain have deſtroyed in his Abſence; but the faithful Magpies, and moderate Jackdaws, with the Black-birds and Nightingales, did unite ſo cordially for her Defence, that their Deſigns were diſappointed.

appointed. Thus was the generous young Eagle perplexed by Vultures, Storks, and Cormorants Abroad, and treacherous Magpies, Jackdaws, and Rooks at Home, and chiefly, becauſe they were apprehenſive of being outed by the Black-birds; who, whatever Privileges they had acquired in the North, they ſaid, they muſt content themſelves to build Neſts, in the Eves of Houſes, in the South, where the Churches were the proper Habitation of the Magpies and Jackdaws. Nor would they ſuffer the Nightingales and the Falcons, to have any Command in the winged Army, that being the Property of the Kites and Rooks, becauſe they did annually ſwear Allegiance to the Magpies and Jackdaws, at the Altars, which the Falcons and Nightingales would never do.

In the mean Time, the generous the Eagle died, which did ſo much grieve her faithful Mate, that the Kingdom of Birds had well nigh loſt both their Sovereigns at once: However, he generouſly plucked up his Courage, and, conſidering that he was born for Empire, did ſcorn to be conquered by Paſſion; and, therefore, reſolved, that as he had defeated the Maws and the Gulls, belonging to the Vulture by Sea, he would have a Trial of Valour with him by Land, notwithſtanding his Alliance with the overgrown Raven of the Eaſt; ſo that, taking another Flight into the Continent, he diſlodged the Vulture from one of his chief Neſts, who, thereupon, became ſo much afraid of the young Eagle's Talons, that he durſt not adventure on a fair War with him any more, but reſolved to ſuborn ſome Night-Owls, Buzzards, Kites, Cormorants, and Cuckows, to aſſaſſinate the generous Eagle in the Dark; which he had attempted ſeveral Times before, but laid the Deſign ſo craftily now, that he was ſure it could not miſcarry. And, this taking Effect, he deſigned to have deſtroyed the Black-birds and Nightingales, with the faithful Magpies, and moderate Jackdaws, and all the other loyal Birds in St. *George's*, St. *Andrew's*, and St. *Patrick's* Groves, and to have poſſeſſed them for ever, with Vultures, Kites, Storks, Ravens, Rooks, Cormorants, and Magpies, and Jackdaws of his own Stamp. However, this Conſpiracy being happily diſcovered by the Parrots, many of the Owls, Buzzards, and Cormorants, who were employed to aſſaſſinate the young Eagle, were taken, and ſome of them ſuffered Death, according to the Laws of the feathered Kingdom; three Cormorants firſt, and, a little after, a Cuckow, who being drawn in by the treacherous Magpies and Jackdaws, three of the latter attended them to the Place of their Exit; and, cawing to them in the old Note of Paſſive Obedience, deluded the poor Cuckows, and telling them, that, by Vertue of the Authority which they had acquired, by a long Poſſeſſion of the Steeples, where no Black-bird had any Right to come, they were conſtituted lawful Prieſts of the winged Empire, and, therefore, abſolved them from the falſe Imputation of Guilt, for Endeavouring to cut the young Eagle's Throat, for he was none of the Birds of *Jupiter's* Neſt; and, tho' the Beetle had unluckily broke all the old Eagle's Eggs, which were procreated betwixt him and the *Italian* Oſtrich, yet there was a Time coming, when they would find a ſafe Repoſitory, if not in *Jove's*, yet in St. *Peter's* Lap, and oblige the pretended Eagle, who was no other than a *Geneva* Bird, hatched among the Shells, which one of the *Roman* Emperors gathered together, as a Mark of Triumph, on the *Dutch* Coaſt, to retire to the Banks of Lake *Leman*; in the Faith of which, the two ſilly Cuckows did chearfully ſwallow their Hempſeed, and crying, *Cuckow*, *Cuckow*, the Jackdaws anſwered, *Caw*, *Caw*, *Caw*, and then the Cuckows were choaked; at which the loyal Birds were ſo much incenſed, that they have ſhut up two of the Jackdaws in a Cage, and are hunting after the other, which is fled; ſo that, in a little Time, we may hap to ſee theſe Jackdaws follow the Fate of the Cuckows, while all the winged Empire, from the Imperial Eagle to the Wren, are aſſociated to defend the generous young Eagle, as a true Bird of the Imperial Neſt, againſt the Vulture of the Weſt, the overgrown Raven of the Eaſt, the traiterous Magpies, Jackdaws, Storks, Kites, Rooks, Ravens, and Cormorants, and the Larks, Nightingales, and Black-birds, do daily, with their harmonious Notes, celebrate *Jupiter's* Praiſes, for Preſerving his beloved Eagle.

Two Speeches ſpoken by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and *John Pym*, Eſq; as a Reply to his Majeſty's Anſwer to the City of *London*'s Petition, ſent from his Majeſty. By Capt. *Hearne*, and read at the Common-hall, on *Friday* the Thirteenth of *January*, 1642. Alſo, a true Narration of the Paſſages of that Day.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that theſe Speeches be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

H. Elſing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, printed for *John Norman*, for the Good of the Commonwealth, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

A Speech, delivered by the Earl of Mancheſter.

MY Lord-Mayor and Gentlemen, you of the City of *London*, this Aſſembly can never be looked upon by any Members of both Houſes of Parliament, but there muſt be ſome Offering of Gratitude made to you, both of Thanks and Acknowledgment, for your former large-hearted Expreſſions both of Affection and Care for the Preſervation both of the Parliament and Kingdom. The Occaſion, why my Lords and theſe Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons are come hither, is this: They have read an Anſwer to an humble Petition of the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council and Citizens of *London* to his Majeſty; in which Anſwer they find many wounding Aſperſions caſt upon Perſons of very eminent Authority in your City, and upon others of very great Fidelity and Truſt among you; this Anſwer they do find, as it is printed, to agree with that, which the Gentleman from his Majeſty hath here read; and they, owning themſelves equally intereſted (in all Things that concern you) with you, have commanded this Gentleman to make ſome Obſervations, by Way of Vindication, both of the Proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament, and of the Proceedings of the City, with this Aſſurance, That they will never deſert you, but will ſtand by you, with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Preſervation of the City in general, and thoſe Perſons in particular, who have been faithful, and deſerved well, both of the Parliament and Kingdom; and they will purſue all Means, both with their Lives and Fortunes, that may be for the Preſervation of this City, and for the Procuring of Safety, Happineſs, and Peace to the whole Kingdom.

The Speech of this noble Lord being entertained with loud Expreſſions of Joy and Thankfulneſs by the Commons, and after ſome Time of Silence being made, Mr. *Pym*, that worthy Member of the Houſe of Commons, and Patriot of his Country, gave the Senſe of both Houſes, upon the ſeveral Paſſages of his Majeſty's Anſwer, expreſſing it as follows:

A Speech,

A Speech, delivered by John Pym, *Eſq;*

MY Lord-Mayor, and you worthy Citizens of this noble and famous City of *London*, I am commanded by the Lords and Commons to let you know, that, in this Anſwer, which hath been publiſhed to you, they do obſerve many Things of great Aſperſion upon the Proceedings of Parliament, very ſcandalous and injurious to many particular Members of this City; whereupon they think, that it becomes them, both in Tenderneſs of their own Honour, and in Reſpect to you, to take away all thoſe Aſperſions, and to let you know the Truth of their Proceedings, which have been full of Honour and Juſtice, as they ſtand in Relation to their own Duty, and full of Humility and Obedience towards his Majeſty, and of Care for the common Good, and ſo ſhall ever be. And they have commanded me to let you know the true Anſwer to moſt of thoſe Things that are imputed either to the Parliament, or to the City, by obſerving ſome Particulars of this Book which hath been read to you, and to let you know the Proceedings in their own native Condition, clear from thoſe Miſrepreſentations, which make them appear in a Quality much different from the Truth; which before I enter into, I am to declare, as the Senſe of both Houſes, That your Petition was ſo full of Loyalty, Humility, and Obedience, that you might well have expected an Anſwer of another Kind.

The firſt Obſervation I am to make you is this: That it is ſaid here, 'That his Ma'jeſty was inforced by Tumults to leave the 'Parliament, and to go from *Whitehall*, and to 'withdraw himſelf into thoſe Courſes, which 'now he hath taken.'

I anſwer thereunto, I am commanded to tell you, That there was no Occaſion given, by any Tumults riſing out of this City, or the Suburbs, which might juſtly cauſe his Majeſty's Departure; and you may very well remember, that, after his violent Coming to the Commons Houſe of Parliament in that unuſual and unheard-of Manner, which was the Beginning of theſe unhappy Differences, the very next Day his Majeſty came into the City without any Guard; that he was preſent at the Common-council, dined at the Sheriff's, and returned back again, with manifold Evidences of Fidelity on the Part of the City, and without any ſuch Expreſſions, as were unbeſeeming the Majeſty of a King, or the Duty of Subjects; that he reſided divers Days at *Whitehall*, and afterwards at *Hampton-court*, *Windſor*, and Places adjoining, with ſmall Forces about him, and yet never any Attempt was made, which might give him any Apprehenſion of Fear: By all which it is manifeſt, that this is an unjuſt Aſperſion caſt upon this City, That any tumultuous Carriage of your's was the Occaſion of his Majeſty's Leaving the Parliament, and Withdrawing himſelf to remoter Parts.

It is affirmed, 'That the Government of 'your City hath been managed by a few de'ſperate Perſons, and that they do exerciſe an 'arbitrary Power.' In Anſwer to which, the two Houſes of Parliament give you this Teſtimony, That you have, in moſt of the great Occaſions concerning the Government of the City, followed their Direction; and that Direction, which they have given, and you have executed, they muſt and will maintain to be ſuch, as ſtands with their Honour in giving it, and your Truſt and Fidelity in the Performance of it.

It is objected, in the third Place, 'That 'Contributions have been publickly made for 'the Maintenance of that Army, which did 'join Battle with the King, and did, by all 'the Means that Treaſon and Malice could 'ſuggeſt, endeavour to take away his Life, 'and deſtroy his Iſſue.' To this I am commanded to ſay, That the Deſign of bringing up the *Engliſh* Armies, the Gathering together of the Cavaliers about *Whitehall*, the violent Coming to the Houſe of Commons, the King's Going into the North, and Raiſing Armies there, are clear Evidences, that Violence was firſt intended, and divers Practices were made againſt the Parliament, before they took any Courſe, or made any Preparation to take up Arms for their Defence. For the Danger of his Majeſty's Perſon, they were ſorry for it, and did, by divers humble Petitions, labour to prevent it; and, as touching the Royal Iſſue, they have ſufficiently declared to the World their good Affections towards them, by the Care, they have taken, both for the Safety and Maintenance of thoſe who are left here.

It

It is further expreſſed, in this Anſwer, ‘ That the King demands the Lord-Mayor, ‘ Mr. Alderman *Fowke*, Col. *Ven*, and Col. ‘ *Manwaring* to be delivered up, as guilty of ‘ Schiſm and High-Treaſon.’ Concerning which, I am commanded to tell you, as the Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament, That this Demand is againſt the Privilege of Parliament (two of them being Members of the Commons Houſe) and moſt diſhonourable to the City, That the Lord-Mayor of *London* ſhould be ſubjected to the Violence of every baſe Fellow, be aſſaulted, ſeized on, without due Proceſs or Warrant, which the Law doth afford every private Man; and that you ſhould be commanded to deliver up your chief Magiſtrates, and ſuch eminent Members of the City to the King's Pleaſure, only becauſe they have done their Duty, in adhering to the Parliament for the Defence of the Kingdom; and that it is againſt the Rules of Juſtice, that any Men ſhould be impriſoned upon ſuch a general Charge, when no Particulars are proved againſt them; and this you are to take Notice of, as the Anſwer to thoſe Scandals, and to that Diſgrace upon my Lord-Mayor and the other Members of the City.

And I am further to tell you, That there is little Cauſe for his Majeſty to make this Demand, conſidering that he himſelf doth, by Force, keep away many accuſed in Parliament, as my Lord *Digby*, and many more impeached of High-Treaſon, beſides divers other great Delinquents, that ſtand charged there for heinous Crimes; all which, by Force, are kept from the due Proceedings and legal Trial in Parliament.

It is alledged, in this Anſwer, ‘ That my ‘ Lord-Mayor, and thoſe other Perſons named, ‘ are Countenancers of Browniſts, and Ana- ‘ baptiſts, and all Manner of Sectaries.’ To this I am commanded to ſay, That hereof there is no Proof; it doth not appear, that they give any ſuch Countenance to Sectaries of any Kind whatſoever; and, if it did, his Majeſty hath little Reaſon to object it, while, notwithſtanding his Profeſſion, he hath often made [redacted] will maintain the Proteſtant Reformed Religion, he doth in the mean Time raiſe an Army of Papiſts, who, by the Principles of their Religion, are bound, if Power be put into their Hands, to deſtroy and utterly to root out the Proteſtants, together with the Truth which they profeſs.

It is affirmed, ‘ That Men's Perſons have ‘ been impriſoned, and their Houſes plundered, ‘ becauſe they will not rebel againſt his Ma- ‘ jeſty.’ To this I am commanded to declare, that no Men's Houſes have been plundered by any Direction of the Parliament, but that they have been very careful to reſtrain all ſuch violent Courſes, ſo far as they were able; and that they have never committed any Man, but ſuch as, by due Information, they conceived to be ſeditious Perſons, and like to trouble the Peace of the State.

It is objected further; ‘ That the Property ‘ of the Subject is deſtroyed by Taking away ‘ the twentieth Part, by an Arbitrary Power.’ To this they ſay, That that Ordinance doth not require a twentieth Part, but doth limit the Aſſeſſors, that they ſhall not go beyond a twentieth Part, and that this is done by a Power derived from both Houſes of Parliament; the Lords, who have an hereditary Intereſt in making Laws in this Kingdom, and the Commons who are elected and choſen to repreſent the whole Body of the Commonalty, and truſted for the Good of the People, whenever they ſee Cauſe to charge the Kingdom: And they ſay further, That the ſame Law that did enable the two Houſes of Parliament to raiſe Forces to maintain and defend the Safety of Religion, and of the Kingdom, doth likewiſe enable them to require Contributions, whereby theſe Forces may be maintained; or elſe it was a vain Power to raiſe Forces, if they had not a Power likewiſe to maintain them in that Service for which they were raiſed.

And to this Point I am commanded to add this further Anſwer, that there was little Reaſon for this to be objected, on his Majeſty's Behalf, when it is well known that, from the Subjects, which are within the Power of his Army, his Majeſty doth take the full yearly Value of their Lands, and in ſome Caſes more; that not only particular Houſes, but whole Towns have been plundered by Command and Deſign; and that by Proclamations Men are declared to forfeit all their Eſtates, becauſe they will not obey arbitrary Commands; and this is commonly practiſed by his Majeſty, and on his Part, and therefore, there was little Reaſon to charge the Parliament with ſo neceſſary and moderate a Contribution as the twentieth Part.

It is declared, 'That the King expects to 'be kept from Tumults and Affronts.' Upon which, I am commanded to obſerve, that his Majeſty's Expreſſions, in his Anſwer, tend to the making of a Diviſion in this City, and to the Raiſing of a Party, which may make ſome Diſturbance in that orderly Government, which is now eſtabliſhed; both which will certainly prove equally deſtructive to him and both Houſes of Parliament, and more prejudical to his quiet Abode here, than any Thing that hath ever been acted by the Houſes of Parliament, or the preſent Governors of the City.

They obſerve further, that in this Anſwer, 'His Majeſty doth profeſs, that he will ſeize 'upon the Eſtates of thoſe that ſhall contri-'bute any Thing towards the Maintenance 'of the Parliament's Army, and will put them 'out of his Protection, and by his Miniſters 'in Foreign States, will take ſuch Courſe, that 'they may be proceeded againſt as Enemies; 'that is, deſtroyed and ſpoiled.' To which the Lords and Commons do declare, That this is an Exceſs of Rigour and Injuſtice beyond all Example, that particular Men ſhould loſe their private Eſtates, here without Law, or judicial Proceeding: And that our Prince, who owes Protection to the Kingdom, as well as to particular Perſons, ſhould ſuffer the Wealth thereof to be robbed and ſpoiled by Foreign States; upon due Conſideration whereof, they hope his Majeſty will be induced, by better Counſel to forbear the Execution, than that, by which he hath been perſuaded to publiſh ſuch a Reſolution.

Beſides theſe Obſervations, out of the Anſwer, I am to obſerve one out of a Narrative that was received from the Common-council, that the King did declare, that he would ſend ſome Meſſengers here, to obſerve your Carriage in the City, and what was done amongſt you; the Parliament have juſt Cauſe to doubt, that theſe will be Meſſengers of Sedition and Trouble, and therefore deſire you to obſerve them and find them out, and that they may know, who they are.

I am for a Concluſion to commend to your Conſiderations, that you ſee by the Proceedings to which the King is drawn by the ill Council now about him, that Religion, the whole Kingdom, this glorious City, and the Parliament, are all in great Danger, and that this Danger cannot be kept off in all Likelihood, but by the Army, that is now a Foot; and that the Lords and Commons are ſo far from being frighted by any Thing, that is in this Anſwer, that they have for themſelves, and the Members of both Houſes, declared a further Contribution towards the Maintenance of this Army, and cannot but hope and deſire, that you, that have ſhewed ſo much good Affection in the former Neceſſities of the State, will be ſenſible of your own, and of the Condition of the whole Kingdom, and add to that, which you have already done, ſome further Contribution, whereby this Army may be maintained for all your Safeties.

At the End of every Period of this Speech, the Applauſe was ſo great, that he was fain to reſt, till Silence was again made, and at laſt, the Company ready to be diſſolved, after ſome Pauſe and Conſultation with the Committees of Lords and Commons, then preſent, and by their Direction, Silence being made, he cloſed all with the Words following:

'Worthy Citizens, you have underſtood 'the Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament, con-'cerning my Lord-Mayor here, and thoſe 'worthy Members of your City, that are de-'manded; you have heard the Parliament de-'clare, that they will protect them in that 'which they have done by Direction of both 'Houſes, and they expect, that you ſhould ex-'preſs it yourſelves likewiſe, that if any Vio-'lence be offered to them, you will ſecure 'and defend them with your uttermoſt Force; 'and you ſhall always find, that this Protec-'tion of the Parliament ſhall not only extend 'to theſe, but to all others that have done 'any Thing by their Command.'

Which Words were no ſooner uttered, but the Citizens, with one joint Harmony of Minds and Voices, gave ſuch an Acclamation, as would have drowned all the former, if they had been then breathing, which after a long Continuance, reſolved itſelf into more articulate and diſtinct Voice, 'We will live and 'die with them, We will live and die with 'them,' and the like.

So that in the Managing of this Day's Work, God was ſo pleaſed to manifeſt himſelf, that the Well-affected went away not ſtrengthened only,

only, but rejoicing; but the Malignants, as they have been called, ſome convinced, others ſilenced, many aſhamed; it fully appearing how little Power they had to anſwer their Deſires of doing Miſchief; whilſt inſtead of dividing the City, they were exceedingly united; inſtead of a Diſſipation, Thouſands were unexpectedly brought, as it were, into an unthought of Aſſociation, to live and die in the Defence of thoſe zealous and honourable Aſſertors of the Peace and Liberties: All which we may ſum up in that Triumph of the Man of God. 'In the Thing wherein they dealt 'proudly, God was above them.'

The Negotiations of *Thomas Wolſey*, the great Cardinal of *England*, containing his Life and Death, *viz.*

I. The Original of his Promotion.
II. The Continuance in his Magnificence.
III. His Fall, Death, and Burial.

Compoſed by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman-Uſher. *London*, Printed by *William Sheers*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred twenty-ſix Pages.

IT ſeemeth no Wiſdom to credit every light Tale, blazed Abroad in the Mouths of Vulgars, for we daily hear, how, with their blaſphemous Trump, they ſpread Abroad innumerable Lyes, without either Shame or Honeſty, which, prima facie, *ſhew forth a Viſage of Truth, as though it were an abſolute Verity, though indeed nothing leſs; and, amongſt the better Sort, thoſe Babblings are of no Validity.*

I have read the Allegations of divers worthy Authors againſt ſuch falſe Rumours and Opinions of the common People, who delight in nothing more, than to hear ſtrange Things, and to ſee new Alterations of Authority, rejoicing ſometimes in ſuch Novelties, which afterwards do produce Repentance. Thus, may all Men of Underſtanding conceive the Madneſs of the rude Multitude, and not give too much Credence to every ſudden Rumour, until the Truth be perfectly known, by the Report of ſome approved and credible Perſons, that commonly have the beſt Intelligence.

I have heard, and alſo ſeen ſet forth in divers printed Books, ſome untrue Imaginations, after the Death of divers Perſons, who in their Lives were in great Eſtimation, invented rather to bring their honeſt Names in Queſtion than otherwiſe.

Now, foraſmuch as I intend to write here ſome ſpecial Proceedings of Cardinal Wolſey, *the [illegible] Archbiſhop, his Aſcending unto Honour and great Promotion, his Continuance in [illegible]nding [illegible] ſudden Falling from the ſame: A great Part thereof ſhall be of mine own Knowledge, and ſome Part from credible Perſons Informations.*

This Cardinal was my Lord and Maſter, whom, in his Life-time, I ſerved, and ſo remained with him in his Fall continually, during the Time of all his Troubles, both in the South and North Parts, until he died. In all which Time, I punctually obſerved all his Demeanors, as alſo in his great Triumph and glorious Eſtate.

And, ſince his Departure, I have heard divers ſurmiſed and imagined Tales concerning his Proceedings and Dealings, which I myſelf have certainly known to be moſt untrue, unto which I could have ſufficiently anſwered according to Truth: But conceiving it to be much better to be ſilent, than to reply againſt their Untruths, whereby I might, perhaps, have rather kindled a great Flame of Diſpleaſure, than have quenched one Spark of their untrue Reports; therefore I did refer the Truth thereof to the Almighty, who knows the Truth of all Things.

Nevertheleſs, whatſoever any Man hath conceived of him in his Life, or ſince his Death; thus much, I dare ſay, without Offence to any, that, in my Judgment, I never ſaw this Realm in better Obedience, and Quiet, than it was in the Time of his Authority, nor Juſtice better adminiſtered, without Partiality, as I could juſtly prove, if I ſhould not be taxed with too much Affection.

I will therefore here deſiſt to ſpeak any further, by the Way of Apology, and proceed. Now to ſpeak of his Original, and Aſcending through Fortune's Favour to high Dignity, and Abundance of Wealth.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

WHO pleaſeth to read this Hiſtory adviſedly, may well perceive the Mutability of Honour, the tottering State of earthly Dignity, the Deceit of flattering Friends, and the Inſtability of Princes Favours.

This great Cardinal having Experience of all this, witneſs his Fleeting from Honour, the Loſs of Friends, Riches and Dignities, being forgotten of his Prince, whilſt Fortune ſmiled, having Satiety of all theſe; and ſhe, bending her Brow, deprived him of all terreſtrial Joys, who, by twenty Years Study and Pains, had obtained ſo great Wealth and Dignity, and, in leſs than one Year, loſt all.

And thus was his Honour laid in the Duſt.

CHAP. I.

Of the Cardinal, his Original, and who he was.

TRUTH it is, Cardinal *Wolſey* was an honeſt poor Man's Son in the Town of *Ipſwich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, and there born, who being but a Child was very apt to learn; wherefore, by Means of his Parents, and other his good Friends, he was maintained at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where, in a ſhort Time, he proſpered ſo well, that, in a ſmall Time, as he told me with his own Mouth, he was made Batchelor of Arts, when he was but fifteen Years of Age, and was moſt commonly called the Boy Batchelor. Thus, proſpering in Learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*; after that, he was made Maſter of *Magdalen* School, at which Time were the Lord Marquis of *Dorſet*'s Sons there at School, committing unto him as well their Education as their Inſtructions and Learning.

It pleaſed this Lord Marquis, againſt *Chriſtmas*, to ſend as well for the Schoolmaſter as for the Scholars Home to his Houſe, for their Recreation in that pleaſant and honourable Foreſt. They being a While there, the Lord Marquis their Father perceiving them to be well improved in Learning for the Time: He was ſo well contented, that he, having a Benefice in his Gift, being at the preſent void, gave the School-maſter the ſame, in regard of his Diligence. After *Chriſtmas*, at his Departure to the Univerſity, he having the Preſentation thereof, repaired to the Ordinary for his Inſtitution; and, being then furniſhed with all his Inſtruments, at the Ordinary's Hands, for his Preferment, made Haſte, without

out any further Delay, to his Benefice, to take Poſſeſſion thereof. Now you ſhall underſtand, that the School-maſter had not been long there, but one Sir *James Pawlet*, Knt. dwelling in the Country thereabouts, took an Occaſion of Diſpleaſure againſt him, but upon what Ground I know not: Inſomuch, that Sir *James* was ſo bold as to ſet the School-maſter by the Heels during his Diſpleaſure, which Affront was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven: For, when the School-maſter mounted ſo high as to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, he was not forgetful of his old Diſpleaſure moſt cruelly miniſtered unto him by Sir *James*, but ſent for him, and after a very ſharp Reproof enjoined him not to depart out of *London*, without Licence firſt obtained; ſo that he continued in the *Middle Temple* the Space of five or ſix Years, and afterwards lay in the *Gatehouſe* next the Stairs, which he reedified, and ſumptuouſly beautified the ſame all over on the Outſide, with the Cardinal's Arms, his Hat, his Cogniſance and Badges, with other Devices, in ſo glorious a Manner, as he thought thereby to have appeaſed his old Diſpleaſure.

This may be a good Precedent for Men in Authority, which work their own Wills without Wit, to remember that Greatneſs may decay. And thoſe, whom they do puniſh more of Humour than Juſtice, may afterwards be advanced to great Honour, as this Cardinal was, and they abaſed as low as this Sir *James* was, which ſeek Revenge. Who would have thought, when Sir *James Paulet* puniſhed this poor School-maſter, that ever he ſhould have mounted to ſo great Dignity as to be Chancellor of *England*, conſidering his mean Parentage and Friends? Theſe be the wonderful Works of God's Providence. And I would wiſh, that all Men in Authority would fear God, in all Ages, in the Time of their Triumph and Greatneſs, conſidering that Advancement and Authority are not permanent, but many Times ſlide and vaniſh ſuddenly away, as Princes Pleaſures alter and change, or, as all living Creatures muſt, of Neceſſity, pay the Debt due to Nature, which no earthly Creature can reſiſt.

Shortly after, it chanced the ſaid Lord Marquis died, after whoſe Deceaſe, the School-maſter thinking himſelf but a weak beneficed Man, and that he had left his Fellowſhip in the College; for, as I underſtand, if a Fellow of that Houſe be once promoted to a Benefice, he ſhall, by the Rules of the ſame Houſe, be diſmiſſed of his Fellowſhip; and now, being alſo deſtitute of his ſingular good Lord, as well as of his Fellowſhip, which was moſt of his Relief, thought long to be provided of ſome other Help, to defend him from all ſuch Storms as he might meet with. In his Travel thereabouts, he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient Knight, who had a great Place in *Calais*, under King *Henry the Seventh*. This Knight he ſerved, and behaved himſelf ſo diſcreetly, that he obtained the ſpecial Favour of his ſaid Maſter; inſomuch that, for his Wit and Gravity, he committed all the Care and Charge of his ſaid Office to his ſaid Chaplain. And, as I underſtand, his Office was the Treaſurerſhip of *Calais*, who, in Regard of his great Age, ſhortly after was diſcharged of his ſaid Office, and ſo returned into *England*, intending to live a more private Life; but, through his inſtant Labour and good Favour, his Chaplain was preferred to be the King's Chaplain. And, when he had once caſt Anchor in the Port of Promotion, how he then beſtirred himſelf, I ſhall now declare.

He having, then, juſt Occaſion to be daily in Sight of the King in his Cloſet, not ſpending the reſt of the Day in Idleneſs, would attend thoſe Men, whom he thought to bear moſt Rule in the Council, and were moſt in Favour with the King; which, at that Time, was Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Privy-ſeal; and alſo Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Knight, a very ſage and wiſe Counſellor, being Maſter of the Wards and Conſtable of the *Tower*.

Theſe ancient and grave Counſellors, in Proceſs of Time, perceiving this Chaplain to be a Man of a very acute Wit, thought him a meet Inſtrument to be employed in greater Affairs.

Not long after, it happened that the King had an urgent Occaſion, to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Maximilian* the Emperor, who lay, at that Preſent, in the *Low-Countries*, at *Flanders*, and not far from *Calais*.

Now the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, whom the King moſt eſteemed, as the chiefeſt of his Council, one Day, adviſing and debating with themſelves upon this Ambaſſage;

baſſage; and, by this Time, they ſaw they had a convenient Occaſion to prefer the King's Chaplain, whoſe excellent Eloquence, and Learning, they highly commended unto the King's Highneſs; who giving Ear unto them, and being a Prince of an excellent Judgment and Modeſty, he commanded them to bring his Chaplain, whom they ſo commended, before his Grace; and being come, his Majeſty, to prove his Ability, entered into Diſcourſe with him, concerning Matters of State, whereby, the King had ſo well informed himſelf, that he found him to be a Man of a ſharp Wit, and of ſuch excellent Parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in Truſt with Matters of greater Conſequence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Cardinal's ſpeedy Diſpatch in his firſt Ambaſſage to the Emperor Maximilian.

THE King, being now reſolved to employ him in this Ambaſſage, commanded him, thereupon, to prepare himſelf for his Journey; and, for his Diſpatch, wiſhed him to repair to his Grace, and his Council, of whom he ſhould receive his Commiſſion and Inſtruction. By Means whereof, he had then a fit Occaſion to repair, from Time to Time, into the King's Preſence, who had, thereby, daily Experience of his ſingular Wiſdom, and ſound Judgment. Thus having his Diſpatch, he took his Leave of the King at *Richmond*, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, where he launcheth forth in a *Graveſend* Barge, with a proſperous Wind and Tide; and his happy Speed was ſuch, that he arrived at *Graveſend* in little more than three Hours, where he tarried no longer, than the Poſt-horſes were provided; and he travelled ſo ſpeedily, that he came to *Dover* the next Morning, where the Paſſengers were under Sail to paſs to *Calais*; ſo that, long before Noon, he arrived there, and having Poſt-horſes prepared, departed from thence, without tarrying, making ſuch haſty Speed, that he was, that Night, with the Emperor; who, underſtanding of the Arrival of the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador, would, in no Wiſe, delay Time, but ſent for him incontinently; for his Affection to the King of *England* was ſuch, that he was glad of any Opportunity to do him a Courteſy.

The Ambaſſador declares the Sum of his Ambaſſy unto the Emperor, of whom he craved ſpeedy Expedition, which was granted him; ſo that, the next Day, he was clearly diſpatched, and all the King's Requeſts fully accompliſhed and granted. At which Time, he made no further Stay, but took Poſt-horſes that Night, and rode, without Intermiſſion, to *Calais*, being conducted thither by divers Nobles, appointed by the Emperor; and, at the Opening of the Gates of *Calais*, he came thither, where the Paſſengers were ready to return for *England*, inſomuch that he arrived at *Dover*, between Ten and Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon.

And, having Poſt-horſes in Readineſs, he came to the Court at *Richmond* that ſame Night; where, taking his Repoſe until Morning, he preſented himſelf unto his Majeſty, at his firſt Coming out of his Bed-chamber to his Cloſet, to Maſs, whom, when he ſaw, he checked, for that he was not on his Journey.

Sir, quoth he, if it may pleaſe your Highneſs, I have already been with the Emperor, and diſpatched your Affairs, I truſt to your Grace's Contentation; and, thereupon, preſented the King with his Letters of Credence from the Emperor. The King, wondering at his ſpeedy Return, he being ſo well furniſhed with all his Proceedings, for the Preſent, diſſembled his Admiration and Imagination in that Matter, and demanding of him, whether he encountered with his Purſuivant, which he ſent unto him with Letters, imagining him to be ſcarce out of *London*, which concerned very material Paſſages, which were omitted in their Conſultation, which the King earneſtly deſired ſhould have been diſpatched in his Ambaſſage.

Yes, forſooth, quoth he, I met with him Yeſterday, by the Way; and, though I had no Knowledge thereof, yet, notwithſtanding, I have been ſo bold, upon my own Diſcretion, perceiving the Matter to be very neceſſary in that Behalf, that I diſpatched the ſame: And, foraſmuch

foraſmuch as I have been ſo bold to exceed my Commiſſion, I moſt humbly crave your Royal Remiſſion and Pardon.

The King, inwardly rejoicing, replied, We do not only pardon you, but give you our Princely Thanks, both for your good Exploit, and happy Expedition; and diſmiſſed him for that Preſent, and bade him return to him again after Dinner, for a further Relation of his Ambaſſage, and ſo the King went to Maſs.

It is not to be doubted, but this Ambaſſador had, all this While, viſited his great Friends, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, to whom he had declared the Effect of his Ambaſſage; and, alſo, his Majeſty's Commendations of him did not a little rejoice the worthy Counſellors, foraſmuch as he was of their Preferment; and, ſhortly after, the King gave him, for his diligent Service, the Deanery of *Lincoln*, which was, in thoſe Days, one of the greateſt Promotions, that he gave, under the Degree of a Biſhop; and he grew more and more in Eſtimation and Authority, and was, afterwards, promoted to be Almoner.

Now, not long after, when Death, that favoureth no Eſtates, nor King, nor Emperor, had taken away the wiſe King *Henry the Seventh* out of this preſent Life, it was a Wonder to ſee, what Practices and Devices were then uſed about the young Prince, *Henry the Eighth*; the great Proviſion, that was then made, for the Funeral of the one, and for the Coronation of the other, by the now Queen *Catharine*, and Mother, after the Queen's Highneſs that now is, whoſe virtuous Life *Jeſu* long preſerve.

After the Solemnizations, and coſtly Triumphs, our natural, young, courageous, luſty Prince, and Sovereign, Lord King *Henry the Eighth*, entering into his Flower, and luſty Youth, took upon him the Royal Scepter, and Imperial Diadem of this fertile Nation, the Twenty-ſecond of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1509, which, at that Time, flouriſhed with all Abundance of Riches, wherewith the King was moſt ineſtimably furniſhed, called then the *Golden World*.

Now, ſhortly after, the Almoner, ſeeing he had a plain Path-way to Promotion, behaved himſelf ſo politickly, that he was made one of the King's Privy-council, and increaſed in Favour daily; to whom he gave a Houſe, at *Bridewell*, near *Fleet-ſtreet*, where he kept his Houſe for his Family, and ſo he daily attended upon the King, being in ſpecial Favour.

His Sentences in the *Star-chamber* were ever ſo pithy and witty, that, upon all Occaſions, they aſſigned him, for the fluent Eloquence of his Tongue, to be the Expoſitor to the King in all their Proceedings; in whom the King received ſo great Content, that he called him ſtill nearer to his Perſon; and the rather, becauſe he was moſt ready to advance the King's own Will and Pleaſure, having no Reſpect to the Caſe.

Now the King being young, and much given to his Pleaſure, his old Counſellors adviſed him to have Recourſe, ſometimes, to the Council, about his weighty Affairs; but the Almoner, on the Contrary, perſuaded him to mind his Pleaſure, and he would take his Care and Charge upon himſelf, if his Majeſty would countenance him with his Authority, which the King liked well; and thus none was, like to the Almoner, in Favour with the King.

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's *Invading* France, *in his own Perſon, with the Cardinal's Aſſiſtance.*

THUS the Almoner continuing in high Favour, at laſt, many Preſents, Gifts, and Rewards came in ſo plentifully, that, I dare ſay, he wanted nothing, for he had all Things in Abundance, that might either pleaſe his Fancy, or inrich his Coffers, for the Times ſo favourably ſmiled upon him, but, to what End, you ſhall hereafter hear. Therefore, let all Men, to whom Fortune extendeth her Favour and Grace, take Heed, they truſt not her ſubtle and fair Promiſes, for, under Colour thereof, ſhe carrieth an envious

vious Gall; for, when ſhe ſeeth her Servant in higheſt Authority, ſhe turneth her Favour, and pleaſant Countenance, into Frowns.

This Almoner climbed up Fortune's Wheel, ſo that no Man was in Eſtimation with the King, but only he, for his witty Qualities and Wiſdom.

He had an eſpecial Gift of natural Eloquence, and a filed Tongue to pronounce the ſame; ſo that he was able, therewith, to perſuade and allure all Men to his Purpoſes, in the Time of his Continuance in Fortune's Favour.

In the fifth Year of the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, it chanced, that the Realms of *England* and *France* were at Variance, but upon what Ground, or Occaſion, I know not; inſomuch that the King was fully reſolved, in his own Perſon, to invade *France* with a puiſſant Army: It was, therefore, thought very neceſſary, that his Royal Enterpriſes ſhould be ſpeedily provided, and furniſhed, in every Degree, in Things apt and convenient for the ſame: For Expedition thereof, the King thought no Man's Wit ſo meet for Policy, and painful Travel, as the Almoner, to whom he committed his whole Affiance and Truſt therein; and he being nothing ſcrupulous, in any Thing that the King would command, although it ſeemed very difficult, took upon him the whole Charge of the Buſineſs, and proceeded ſo therein, that he brought all Things to good Effect, in direct Order, for all Manner of Victuals and Proviſions, convenient for ſo noble a Voyage and Army.

All Things being thus prepared, by him, in Order, the King, not intending to neglect, or delay any Time, but, with noble and valiant Courage, to advance his Royal Enterpriſe, paſſed the Seas between *Dover* and *Calais*, where he proſperouſly arrived: And, after he had there made his Arrival, and landed all his Proviſion, and Ammunition, and ſat in Conſultation about his weighty Affairs, marched forth, in good Order of Battle, till he came to the ſtrong Town of *Turwine*, to the which he laid ſtrong Siege, and made a ſharp Aſſault, ſo that, in ſhort Space, it was yielded unto him; unto which Place, the Emperor *Maximilian* reſorted to him with a great Army, like a mighty Prince, taking of the King Wages.

Thus, after the King had taken this ſtrong Town, and taken Poſſeſſion thereof, and ſet all Things in good Order, for the Defence and Preſervation thereof, to his Majeſty's Uſe, then he retired from thence, and marched towards *Tournay*, and there laid Siege in like Manner; to which he gave ſo fierce Aſſault, that the Enemies were conſtrained to render the Town to his Majeſty. At which Time, the King gave unto the Almoner the Biſhoprick of the ſame See, towards his Pains and Diligence ſuſtained in that Journey. And when he had eſtabliſhed all Things, according to his princely Mind and Pleaſure, and furniſhed the ſame with Men, and Captains of War, for the Safeguard of the Town, he prepared for his Return to *England*.

But now you ſhall underſtand, by the Way, that, whilſt the King was abſent with a great Power in *France*, the *Scotiſh* King invaded *England*, againſt whom the Queen ſent a great Army, the Earl of *Surrey* being General, where he overthrew the *Scots* at *Blamſton*, called *Hoddenfield*, where the King of *Scots* was ſlain, with divers of his Nobility, and eighteen-thouſand Men, and they took all his Ammunition for War.

By this Time, the King returned into *England*, and took with him divers noble Perſonages of *France*, being Priſoners; as the Duke of *Longuido*, Viſcount *Clermont*, with divers others, that were taken in a Skirmiſh.

And, thus, God gave him Victory at Home, and Victory Abroad, being in the fifth Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1513.

CHAP. IV.

The King's Promoting his Almoner, being made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of England.

THE King being returned into *England*, the See of *Lincoln* became void by the Death of Dr. *Smith*, late Biſhop there; which Biſhoprick the King gave to the Almoner Elect of *Tournay*, who was not negligent to take Poſſeſſion thereof, but made all Speed for his

his Conſecration, the Solemniſation thereof being ended, he found a Way to get into his Hands all his Predeceſſor's Goods, whereof I have ſeen divers Parts that furniſhed his Houſe.

It was not long after, but Dr. *Bambrige*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died at *Roban* in *France*, being there the King's Ambaſſador; unto which See the King preſented the laſt new Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſo that he had three Biſhopricks in his Hands at one Time, all in one Year given him. Then prepared he again for his Tranſlation from the See of *Lincoln*, to that of *York*, as he did before to his Inſtallation.

After which Solemniſation done, and being then Archbiſhop, and *Primas Angliæ*, thought himſelf ſufficient to compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his Croſſes in the Courts, and every other Place, as well in the Precinct and Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other Place; and, foraſmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a Superiority over *York*, as well as over any other Biſhoprick within *England*, and, for that Cauſe, claimeth an Acknowledgment, as in ancient Obedience of *York*, to abate Advancement of his Croſſes, to the Croſſes of *Canterbury*.

Notwithſtanding, *York* not deſiſting to bear the ſame, although *Canterbury* gave *York* a Check for the ſame, and told him, it was Preſumption, by Reaſon whereof, there ingendered ſome Grudge between them: But, ſhortly after, he obtained to be made Cardinal and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom the Pope ſent the Cardinal's Cap, and certain Bulls, for his Authority in that Behalf, whereupon he was inſtalled at *Weſtminſter* in great Triumph, which was executed by all Biſhops with their Mitres, Caps, and other Ornaments; and, after all this, he was made Chancellor of *England*, and *Canterbury*, who was the Chancellor, was diſmiſſed.

Now, he being in the Chancellorſhip, and endowed with the Promotions of Archbiſhop and Cardinal *de Latere*, thought himſelf ſo fully furniſhed, that he was now able to ſurmount *Canterbury* in all Juriſdictions; and, in all Eccleſiaſtical Powers, to convocate *Canterbury*, and all other Biſhops, and ſpiritual Perſons, to aſſemble at his Convocations, where he would aſſign to take upon him the Convention of all Miniſters, and others within their Juriſdictions, and viſited all the ſpiritual Houſes in their Dioceſs, and all Manner of ſpiritual Miniſters, as Commiſſioners, Scribes, Apparitors, and all other neceſſary Officers to furniſh his Courts; and did convene, by Convention, whom he pleaſed through this Realm and Dominion, and all other Perſons, to the Glory of his Dignity. Then he had two great Croſſes of Silver, whereof one was of his Archbiſhoprick, and the other of his Legateſhip, borne before him whereſoever he rode, or went by two of the talleſt Prieſts that he could get in this Realm.

And, to the Increaſe of his Gain, he had in his Hand the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and St. *Albans*, in Commendam; alſo when Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, died, he did ſurrender *Durham* to the King, and took himſelf to *Wincheſter*. He had alſo, as it were in Farm, the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, for the Incumbents of them were Strangers. He had alſo, attending upon him, Men of great Poſſeſſions, and the talleſt Yeomen, for his Guard, in the Realm.

CHAP. V.

Of the Orders and Offices of his Houſe and Chapel.

AND firſt, for his Houſe, you ſhall underſtand, that he had in his Hall three Boards, kept with three ſeveral Officers, that is to ſay, a Steward, that was always a Prieſt; a Treaſurer, that was ever a Knight; and a Comptroller, that was an Eſquire; alſo a Confeſſor, a Doctor, three Marſhals, three Uſhers in the Hall, beſides two Almoners and Grooms.

Then had he in the Hall-kitchen two Clerks, a Clerk-Comptroller, and a Surveyor over the Dreſſer, with a Clerk in the Spicery, which kept continually a Meſs together in the Hall; alſo, he had in the Kitchen two Cooks, Labourers, and Children, twelve Perſons; four Men of the Scullery, two Yeomen of the Paſtry, with two other Paſte-layers under the Yeomen.

Then had he in his Kitchen a Maſter-Cook,

who went daily in Velvet or Sattin, with a Gold Chain; beſides two other Cooks, and ſix Labourers in the ſame Room.

In the Larder, one Yeoman and a Groom; in the Scullery, one Yeoman and two Grooms; in the Buttery, two Yeomen and two Grooms; in the Ewry, ſo many; in the Cellar, three Yeomen and three Pages; in the Chandery, two Yeomen; in the Wayfary, two Yeomen; in the Wardrobe of Beds, the Maſter of the Wardrobe, and twenty Perſons beſides; in the Laundry, a Yeoman, Groom, and thirteen Pages, two Yeomen-Purveyors, and a Groom-Purveyor; in the Bakehouſe, two Yeomen and Grooms; in the Wood-yard, one Yeoman and a Groom; in the Barn, one Yeoman; Porters at the Gate, two Yeomen and two Grooms; a Yeoman in his Barge, and a Maſter of his Horſe; a Clerk of the Stables, and a Yeoman of the ſame; a Farrier, and a Yeoman of the Stirrup; a Maltlour and ſixteen Grooms, every one of them keeping four Geldings.

Now will I declare unto you the Officers of his Chapel, and Singing-men of the ſame. Firſt, he had there a Dean, a great Divine, and a Man of excellent Learning; and a Sub-Dean, a Repeater of the Choir, a Goſpeller, an Epiſtler of the Singing-Prieſts, and a Maſter of the Children: In the Veſtry, a Yeoman, and two Grooms, beſides other Retainers that came thither at principal Feaſts.

And, for the Furniture of his Chapel, it paſſeth my weak Capacity to declare the Number of the coſtly Ornaments, and rich Jewels that were occupied in the ſame; for I have ſeen, in Proceſſion about the Hall, forty-four rich Copes of one Settle worn, beſides the rich Candleſticks, and other neceſſary Ornaments to the Furniture of the ſame.

Now you ſhall underſtand, that he had two Croſs-Bearers, and two Pillar-Bearers in his great Chamber; and in his Privy Chamber, all theſe Perſons, the chief Chamberlain, a Vice-Chamberlain, a Gentleman-Uſher, beſides one of his Privy-Chamber; he had alſo twelve Waiters, and ſix Gentlemen Waiters; alſo he had nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two or three Men to wait upon him, except the Earl of *Derby*, who had five Men.

Then he had Gentlemen Cup-Bearers, and Carvers; and of the Sewers, both of the Great Chamber, and of the Privy Chamber, forty Perſons; ſix Yeomen Uſhers, eight Grooms of his Chamber; alſo he had of Alms, who were daily Waiters of his Board at Dinner; twelve Doctors and Chaplains, beſides them of his, which I never rehearſed; a Clerk of his Cloſet, and two Secretaries, and two Clerks of his Signet; four Counſellors learned in the Law.

And, for that he was Chancellor of *England*, it was neceſſary to have Officers of the Chancery to attend him for the better Furniture of the ſame.

Firſt, he had a Riding Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown, a Clerk of the Hamper, and a Chafer; then he had a Clerk of the Check, as well upon the Chaplains, as upon the Yeomen of the Chamber; he had alſo four Footmen, garniſhed with rich running Coats, whenſoever he had any Journey. Then he had a Herald of Arms, a Serjeant of Arms, a Phyſician, an Apothecary, four Minſtrels, a Keeper of his Tents, an Armourer, and Inſtructor of his Wards, an Inſtructor of his Wardrobe of Robes, a Keeper of his Chamber continually; he had alſo in his Houſe a Surveyor of *York*, a Clerk of the Green-Cloth. All theſe were daily attending, downlying and upriſing: And at Meat, he had eight continual Boards for the Chamberlains, and Gentlemen Officers, having a Meſs of young Lords, and another of Gentlemen; beſides this, there was never a Gentleman, or Officer, or other worthy Perſon, but he kept ſome two, ſome three Perſons to wait upon them; and all others, at the leaſt, had one, which did amount to a great Number of Perſons.

Now, having declared the Order according to the Chain Roll, Uſe of his Houſe, and what Officers he had daily attending to furniſh the ſame, beſides Retainers, and other Perſons, being Suitors, dined in the Hall: And, When ſhall we ſee any more ſuch Subjects that ſhall keep ſuch a noble Houſe? Therefore here is an End of his Houſhold; the Number of Perſons in the Chain were eight-hundred Perſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of his ſecond Ambaſſage to the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

AFTER he was thus furniſhed, in Manner as I have before rehearſed unto you, he was ſent twice on Ambaſſage to the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, that now reigneth, and Father to King *Philip*, now our Lord and Sovereign: Foraſmuch as the old Emperor *Maximilian* was dead, and, for divers other urgent Occaſions, touching his Majeſty; it was thought fit that about ſuch weighty Matters, and to ſo noble a Prince, the Cardinal was moſt meet to be ſent on this Ambaſſage; and he, being one ready to take the Charge thereof upon him, was furniſhed in every Reſpect moſt like a great Prince, which was much to the Honour of his Majeſty, and of this Realm: For, firſt, he proceeded forth like to a Cardinal, having all Things correſpondent; his Gentlemen, being very many in Number, were clothed in Livery-Coats of crimſon Velvet of the beſt, and Chains of Gold about their Necks; and his Yeomen, and all his mean Officers, were clad in fine Scarlet, guarded with black Velvet one Hand-breadth. Thus furniſhed, he was twice ſent in this Manner to the Emperor in *Flanders*, then lying at *Bruges*, whom he did moſt nobly entertain, diſcharging all his own Charges, and his Men's. There was no Houſe in the Town of *Bruges*, wherein any of my Lord's Gentlemen were lodged or had Recourſe, but that the Owners of the Houſes were commanded by the Emperor's Officers, upon the Pain of their Lives, to take no Money for any Thing that the Cardinal's Men did take of any Kind of Victuals; no, although they were diſpoſed to make coſtly Banquets, further commanding their ſaid Hoſts that they ſhould want nothing which they honeſtly required, or deſired to have.

Alſo the Emperor's Officers every Night went through the Town from Houſe to Houſe, where any *Engliſhmen* had Recourſe, or lodged, and ſerved their Livery for all Night, which was done on this Manner: Firſt, the Officers brought into the Houſe a Caſteel of fine Manchet, then two ſilver Pots of Wine, and a Pound of Sugar, white Lights, and yellow Lights, a Bowl of Silver, and a Goblet to drink in, and every Night a Staff-Torch. This was the Order of their Livery every Night; and then, in the Morning, when the Officers came to fetch away their Stuff, they would account for the Gentlemen's Coſts the Day before.

Thus the Emperor entertained the Cardinal, and his Train, during the Time of his Ambaſſy. And, that done, he returned into *England* with great Triumph, being no leſs in Eſtimation with the King than he was before, but rather much more; for he increaſed daily in the King's Favour, by reaſon of his Wit and Readineſs to do the King Pleaſure in all Things.

In the one-and-twentieth Year of King *Henry the Eighth*'s Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1529, this Emperor *Charles the Fifth* came into *England*, who was nobly entertained.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Manner of his going to Weſtminſter-Hall.

NOW muſt I declare the Manner of his going to *Weſtminſter-Hall* in the Term Time: Firſt, When he came out of his Privy-Chamber, he moſt commonly heard two Maſſes in his Chapel or Chamber. And I heard one of his Chaplains ſay ſince, that was a Man of Credit, and excellent Learning, that, what Buſineſs ſoever the Cardinal had in the Day-time, he never went to Bed with any Part of his Service unſaid, no, not ſo much as one Collect, in which, I think, he deceived many a Man: Then, going into his Chamber again, he demanded of ſome of his Servants if they were in Readineſs, and had furniſhed his Chamber of Preſence, and Waiting-Chamber: He, being then advertiſed, came out of his Privy-Chamber about Eight of the Clock, ready apparelled, and in Red, like a Cardinal; his upper Veſture

was all of Scarlet, or elſe of fine crimſon Taffata, or crimſon Sattin ingrained, his Pillion ſcarlet, with a black Velvet Tippet of Sables about his Neck, holding in his Hand an Orange, the Meat or Subſtance thereof being taken out and filled again with a Part of Sponge, with Vinegar, and other Confections againſt peſtilent Airs, the which he moſt commonly held to his Noſe, when he came to the Preſſes, or when he was peſtered with many Suitors: And before him was borne the Broad Seal of *England*, and the Cardinal's Hat, by ſome Lord, or ſome Gentleman of Worſhip, right ſolemnly: And, as ſoon as he was entered into his Chamber of Preſence, where there were daily attending on him as well Noblemen of this Realm, as other worthy Gentlemen of his own Family, his two great Croſſes were there attending upon him; then cry the Gentlemen-Uſhers that go before him bare-headed: On Maſters before, and make Room for my Lord. Thus, when he went down into the Hall with a Serjeant of Arms before him, bearing a great Mace of Silver, and two Gentlemen carrying two great Plates of Silver; and, when he came to the Hall-Door, there his Mule ſtood trapped all in crimſon Velvet, with a Saddle of the ſame.

Then were attending him, when he was mounted, his two Croſs-bearers, and his two Pillar-bearers, all upon great Horſes, and in fine Scarlet; then he marched on with a Train of Gentry, having four Footmen about him, bearing every one of them a Pole-ax in his Hand: And thus paſſed he forth till he came to *Weſtminſter*, and there alighted and went in this Manner up to the *Chancery*, and ſtaid a While at a Bar, made for him beneath the *Chancery*; and there he communed ſometimes with the Judges, and ſometimes with other Perſons, and then went up to the *Chancery*, and ſat there till Eleven of the Clock to hear Suits, and to determine Cauſes; and from thence he would go into the *Star-Chamber*, as Occaſion ſerved him; he neither ſpared High nor Low, but did judge every one according to Right.

Every *Sunday* he would reſort to the Court, being then at *Greenwich*, with his former rehearſed Train and Triumph, taking his Barge at his own Stairs, furniſhed with Yeomen ſtanding upon the Sails, and his Gentlemen within and about, and landed at the *Three Cranes* in the *Vine-tree*; and from thence he rode upon his Mule with his Croſſes, his Pillars, his Hat, and his Broad Seal carried before him on Horſeback along *Thames-ſtreet* until he came to *Billingſgate*; and there he took his Barge, and ſo went to *Greenwich*, where he was nobly entertained by the Lords in the King's Houſe, being there with Staves in their Hands, as the Treaſurer, Comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the King's Chamber, and ſo went Home again in the like Triumph.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's Magnificence in his Houſes.

HE lived a long Seaſon ruling all Things in this Realm appertaining to the King by his Wiſdom, and all other Matters of foreign Regions, with whom the King had any Occaſion to meddle. All Ambaſſadors of foreign Potentates were ever diſpoſed by the Cardinal's Wiſdom, to whom they had continual Acceſs for their Diſpatch.

His Houſe was always reſorted unto like a King's Houſe, with Noblemen and Gentlemen; and when it pleaſed the King's Majeſty, as many Times it did, he would, for his Recreation, reſort unto the Cardinal's Houſe, againſt whoſe Coming there wanted no Preparations or goodly Furnitures, with Victuals of the fineſt Sort that could be had for Money or Friendſhip.

Such Pleaſures were here deviſed for the King's Delight, as could be invented or imagined; Banquets ſet with Maſquers and Mummers, in ſuch a coſtly Manner, that it was glorious to behold; there wanted no Damſels meet to dance with the Maſquers, or to garniſh the Place, for the Time, with Variety of other Paſtimes. Then were there divers Kinds of Muſick, and many choice Men and Women Singers appointed to ſing, who had excellent Voices. I have ſeen the King come ſuddenly thither in a Maſque, with a dozen Maſquers all in Garments like Shepherds, made of fine Cloth.

Cloth of Gold and Silver Wire, and six Torch-bearers, besides their Drummers, and others attending on them with Vizards, and clothed all in Sattin. And, before his entering into the Hall, you shall understand that he came by Water to the Water-gate without any Noise, where were laid divers Chambers and Guns charged with Shot, and at his Landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling Noise in the Air, that it was like Thunder: It made all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a Banquet. In this Sort you shall understand, that the Tables were set in the Chamber of Presence covered, and my Lord Cardinal sitting under his Cloth of State, and there having all his Service alone; and then were there set a Lady and a Nobleman, a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, throughout all the Tables in the Chambers on the one Side, which were made all joining, as it were, but one Table. All which Order was done by my Lord *Sands*, then Lord Chamberlain to the King, and by Sir *Henry Guildford*, then Comptroller of the King's House.

Then, immediately after this great Shot of Guns, the Cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain to see what it did mean, as though he knew nothing of the Matter; they then looked out of the Window into the *Thames*, and, returning again, told him, that they thought they were Noblemen and Strangers arrived at the Bridge, and coming as Ambassadors from some foreign Prince: With that, said the Cardinal, I desire you, because you can speak *French*, to take the Pains to go into the Hall, there to receive them into the Chamber, where they shall see us, and all those noble Personages, being merry at our Banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and take Part of our Fare.

Then went they incontinently into the Hall, where they were received with twenty Torches, and conveyed up into the Chamber with such a Number of Drums and Flutes, as I have seldom seen together at one Time and Place.

Then, at their Arrival into the Chamber, they went two and two together directly before the Cardinal where he sat, and saluted them very reverently: To whom the Lord Chamberlain, for them, said; 'Sir, forasmuch as 'they are Strangers, and cannot speak *English*, 'they have desired me to declare unto you, 'that they, having Understanding, at this your 'triumphant Banquet, were assembled such a 'Number of fair Dames, they could do no 'less, under the Supportation of your Grace, 'than to view as well their incomparable Beau-'ties, as to accompany them at Mumchance, 'and after that to dance with them, so to 'beget their better Acquaintance.'

And, furthermore, they require of your Grace License, to accomplish this Cause of their Coming.

When the Cardinal said he was willing, and very well content they should do so.

Then went the Masquers, and first saluted all the Dames, and then returned to the most Worthy, and there opened the great Cup of Gold, filled with Crowns, and other Pieces, to cast at.

Thus perusing all the Gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And, having viewed all the Ladies, they returned to the Cardinal with great Reverence, pouring down all their Gold, which was above two-hundred Crowns. At all, quoth the Cardinal, and casting the Dye he won it, whereat was made great Joy.

Then, quoth the Cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should be a Nobleman amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this Place than I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my Duty, if I knew him.

Then spoke my Lord Chamberlain to them in *French*, declaring my Lord Cardinal's Words; and, they rounding him again in the Ear, the Lord Chamberlain said unto my Lord Cardinal:

Sir, quoth he, they confess that among them is such a noble Personage, whom, if your Grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your Place most willingly.

With that the Cardinal, taking good Advice, went amongst them; and at the last, quoth he, it seemeth to me, that the Gentleman with the black Beard should be he; and with that he rose out of his Chair, and offered the same to the Gentleman with the black Beard, with the Cup in his Hand: But the Cardinal was mistaken, for the Person to whom he then offered his Chair was Sir *Edward Nevill*, a comely Knight, and of a goodly Personage, who did more resemble his Majesty's Person than any other in that Masque.

The

The King, ſeeing the Cardinal ſo deceived in his Choice, could not forbear Laughing, but pulled down his Vizard, and Sir *Edward Nevill's* alſo, with ſuch a pleaſant Countenance and Chear, that all the noble Eſtates deſired his Highneſs to take his Place: To whom the King made Anſwer, that he would firſt go and ſhift him: And thereupon he went into the Cardinal's Bed-chamber, where was a great Fire prepared for him, and there he newly apparelled himſelf with rich and princely Garments; and, in the King's Abſence, the Diſhes of the Banquet were clean taken away, and the Tables covered again with new and perfumed Cloaths, every Man ſitting ſtill until the King's Majeſty, with his Maſquers, came in among them, every Man new apparelled.

Then the King took his Seat under the Cloth of Eſtate, commanding every Perſon to ſit ſtill as they did before; and then came in a new Banquet before his Majeſty of two-hundred Diſhes, and ſo they paſſed the Night in Banqueting and Dancing until Morning, which much rejoiced the Cardinal, to ſee his Sovereign Lord ſo pleaſant at his Houſe.

CHAP. IX.

Of the original Inſtrument of the Cardinal's Fall, Miſtreſs Anne Bullen.

NOW you ſhall underſtand, that the young Lord of *Northumberland* attended upon my Lord Cardinal, who, when the Cardinal went to Court, would ever have Conference with Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*, who then was one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Catharine*, inſomuch that at laſt they were contracted together, which, when the King heard, he was much moved thereat, for he had a private Affection to her himſelf, which was not yet diſcovered to any, and then adviſed the Cardinal to ſend for the Earl of *Northumberland*, his Father, and take Order to diſſolve the Contract made between the ſaid Parties; which the Lord Cardinal did, after a ſharp Reprehenſion, in regard he was contracted without the King and his Father's Knowledge: He ſent for his Father, who came to *London* very ſpeedily, and came firſt to my Lord Cardinal, as all great Perſonages did, that in ſuch Sort were ſent for, of whom they were advertiſed of the Cauſe of their Sending for: And, when the Earl was come, he was preſently brought to the Cardinal into the Gallery. After whoſe Meeting, my Lord Cardinal and he were in ſecret Communication a long Space; after their long Diſcourſe, and Drinking a Cup of Wine, the Earl departed, and, at his Going away, he ſat down at the Gallery End in the Hall, upon a Form, and, being ſet, called his Son unto him, and ſaid:

Son, quoth he, even as thou art, and ever haſt been a proud, diſdainful, and very unthrifty Maſter, ſo thou haſt now declared thyſelf: Wherefore what Joy, what Pleaſure, what Comfort, or what Solace can I conceive in thee? That thus, without Diſcretion, haſt abuſed thyſelf, having neither Regard to me thy natural Father, nor unto thy natural Sovereign Lord, to whom all honeſt and loyal Subjects bear faithful Obedience, nor yet to the Proſperity of thy own Eſtate; but haſt ſo unadviſedly enſnared thyſelf to her for whom thou haſt purchaſed the King's high Diſpleaſure, intolerable for any Subject to ſuſtain, And, but that the King doth conſider the Lightneſs of thy Head, and wilful Qualities of thy Perſon, his Diſpleaſure and Indignation were ſufficient to caſt me, and all my Poſterity, into utter Ruin and Deſtruction. But he, being my ſingular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my Lord Cardinal my very good Friend, have, and do clearly excuſe me in thy Lewdneſs, and do rather lament thy Folly, than malign thee, and have adviſed an Order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, than we conceive of. I pray to God that this may be a ſufficient Admonition unto thee, to uſe thyſelf more wiſely hereafter; for, aſſure thyſelf, that, if thou doſt not amend thy Prodigality, thou wilt be the laſt Earl of our Houſe: For thy natural Inclination, thou art maſterful and prodigal, to conſume all that thy Progenitors have, with great Travel, gathered and kept together with Honour: But, having the King's Majeſty my ſingular good Lord, I truſt, I aſſure thee, ſo to order my Succeſſion, that thou ſhalt conſume thereof but a little.

For

For I do not intend, I tell thee truly, to make thee Heir; for, Thanks be to God, I have more Boys, that, I truſt, will uſe themſelves much better, and prove more like to wiſe and honeſt Men; of whom I will chuſe the moſt likely to ſucceed me.

Now, good Maſters and Gentlemen, quoth he unto us, it may be your Chances hereafter, when I am dead, to ſee thoſe Things, that I have ſpoken to my Son, prove as true as I now ſpeak them; yet, in the mean Time, I deſire you all to be his Friends, and tell him his Faults in what he doth amiſs; wherein you ſhall ſhew yourſelves friendly to him; and ſo I take my Leave of you. And, Son, go your Ways unto my Lord your Maſter, and ſerve him diligently; and ſo parted, and went down into the Hall, and took his Barge.

Then, after long and large Debating the Matter about the Lord *Piercy*'s Aſſurance to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, it was deviſed, that the Contract ſhould be infringed and diſſolved, and that the Lord *Piercy* ſhould marry one of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Daughters. And ſo, indeed, not long after he did; whereby the former Contract was broken and diſſolved, wherewith Mrs. *Anne* was greatly diſpleaſed; promiſing, That, if ever it lay in her Power, ſhe would do the Cardinal ſome Diſpleaſure; which indeed ſhe afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing, but what the King commanded; whereby the Lord *Piercy* was charged to avoid her Company. And ſo was ſhe, for a Time, diſcharged the Court, and ſent Home to her Father; whereat ſhe was much troubled and perplexed; for all this Time ſhe knew nothing of the King's intended Purpoſe. But we may ſee, when Fortune doth begin to frown, how ſhe can compaſs a Matter of Diſpleaſure, through a far-fetched Mark: Now, therefore, of the Grudge, how it began, that in Proceſs of Time wrought the Cardinal's utter Deſtruction.

CHAP. X.

Of Mrs. Anne Bullen's *Favour with the King.*

O H Lord, what a great God art thou! that workeſt thy Wonders ſo ſecretly, that they are not perceived, until they be brought to paſs and finiſhed.

Attend now, good Reader, to this Story following, and note every Circumſtance, and thou ſhalt, at the End, perceive a wonderful Work of God againſt ſuch as forget him and his Benefits.

Therefore, I ſay, conſider; after this my Lord *Piercy*'s troubleſome Buſineſs was over, and all Things brought to an End, then Mrs. *Anne Bullen* was again admitted to the Court; where ſhe flouriſhed in great Eſtimation and Honour, having always a prime Grudge againſt my Lord Cardinal, for Breaking the Contract between the Lord *Piercy* and herſelf, ſuppoſing it had been his own Device, and no other's; and ſhe, at laſt, knowing the King's Pleaſure, and the Depth of his Secrets, then began to look very haughtily and ſtout, lacking no Manner of rich Apparel, or Jewels, that Money could purchaſe.

It was, therefore, imagined by many through the Court, that ſhe, being in ſuch Favour, might do much with the King, and obtain any Suit of him for her Friends. All this While, ſhe being in this Eſtimation in all Places, there was no Doubt, but good Queen *Catharine*, having this Gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by Report, and ſaw with her Eyes, how all Things tended againſt her good Ladyſhip; although ſhe ſeemed neither to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, nor the King, to carry any Spark of Diſcontent, or Diſpleaſure; but accepted all Things in good Part, and with great Wiſdom, and much Patience diſſembled the ſame, having Mrs. *Anne Bullen* in more Eſtimation for the King's Sake, than when ſhe was with her before, declaring herſelf indeed to be a very patient *Griſſel*, as, by her long Patience in all her Troubles, ſhall hereafter moſt plainly appear.

For the King was now ſo enamoured of this young Gentlewoman, that he knew not how ſufficiently to advance her.

This being perceived by all the great Lords of the Court, who bore a ſecret Grudge againſt my Lord Cardinal, for that they could not rule in the Kingdom as they would for him, becauſe he was *Dominus fac totum* with the King, and ruled as well the great Lords, as the mean Subjects; whereat they took an Occaſion to work him out of the King's Favour,

vour, and consequently themselves into more Estimation.

And, after long and secret Consultation with themselves, how to bring this Matter to pass, they knew very well, that it was somewhat difficult for them to do absolutely of themselves; wherefore they perceiving the great Affection and Love, the King bore to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their Judgments, that she would be a fit Instrument to bring their earnest Intentions to pass, therefore they often consulted with her to that Purpose; and she, having both a very good Wit, and also an inward Grudge and Displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, was ever as ready to accomplish their Desires, as they were themselves; wherefore there was no more to do, but only to imagine an Occasion to work their Malice by some pretended Circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers Devices how to effect their Purpose; but the Enterprise thereof was so dangerous, that, though they would fain have attempted the Matter with the King, yet durst they not, for they knew the great Zeal the King did bear unto the Cardinal; and this they knew very well, That, if the Matter, they should propound against him, was not grounded upon a just and urgent Cause, the King's Love was such towards him, and his Wit such withal, that he could with his Policy vanquish all their Enterprises, and then, after that, requite them in the like Nature, to their utter Ruin.

Therefore they were compelled to forbear their Plots, till they might have some better Ground to work upon. And now the Cardinal, perceiving the great Zeal, the King bore to this Gentlewoman, framed himself to please her, as well as the King: To that End, therefore, he prepares great Banquets and Feasts, to entertain the King and her, at his own House, she all this While dissembling the secret Grudge in her Breast. Now the Cardinal began to grow into wonderful Inventions not heard of before in *England*; and the Love between this glorious Lady and the King grew to such Perfection, that divers Things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speak, until I come to the proper Place.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Variance between the French *King and the Duke of* Bourbon, *who fled to the City of* Pavia, *where the King besieged him.*

THEN began a certain Grudge between the *French* King and the Duke of *Bourbon* to break out, insomuch that the Duke, being now at Variance with the House of *France*, was compelled, for Safeguard of his Life, to fly and forsake his Country, fearing the King's Malice and Indignation.

The Cardinal, having Intelligence hereof, contrived, that the King our Sovereign Lord should obtain the Duke to be his General in his Wars against the *French* King, with whom our King had then an Occasion of War; and the rather, because the Duke of *Bourbon* was fled to the Emperor to invite him to the like Purpose, where he moved the King in this Matter. And, after the King was advised thereof, and conceived the Cardinal's Invention, he mused more and more of this Matter, until it came into a Consultation amongst the Council; so that it was concluded, that an Ambassador should be sent to the Emperor about this Matter. And it was further concluded, that the King and the Emperor should join in those Wars against the *French* King; and that the Duke of *Bourbon* should be the King of *England*'s Champion, and General in the Field, who had a Number of good Soldiers, over and besides the Emperor's Army, which was not small; and that the King should pay the Duke monthly Wages for himself and his Retinue.

For which Purpose, *John Russel*, who was afterwards created Earl of *Bedford*, lay continually beyond the Seas in a secret Place, both to receive Money from the King, and to pay the same monthly to the Duke; so that the Duke began the Wars with the *French* King in his own Territories and Dukedom, which the King had gotten into his own Hands, being not perfectly known to the Duke's Enemies, that he had any Aid from our Sovereign Lord; and thus he wrought the *French* King much Displeasure, insomuch that the *French* King was constrained to prepare a present Army, and, in his own Person, to resist the Duke's Power. And, Battle being joined, the

the King drove him to take *Pavia*, a ſtrong Town in *Italy*, with his Hoſt of Men for his Security; where the King incamped himſelf wonderfully ſtrong, intending to cloſe the Duke within the Town, leſt he ſhould iſſue out, and ſkirmiſh with him.

The *French* King in his Camp ſent ſecretly into *England* a private Perſon (being a very witty Man) to treat of a Peace between his Maſter and our Sovereign Lord; his Name was *John Jokin*, who was kept as ſecretly as might be, no Man having Intelligence of his Arrival; for he was no *Frenchman* born, but an *Italian*, a Man of no great Eſtimation in *France*, nor known to be much in his Maſter's Favour, but taken to be a Merchant; and, for his ſubtle Wit, was elected to treat of ſuch an Ambaſſage, as the *French* King had given him in Commiſſion.

This *Jokin* was ſecretly conveyed to *Richmond*, and there ſtaid, until ſuch Time as the Cardinal reſorted thither to him, where, after *Eaſter* Term was ended, he kept his Feaſt of *Whitſuntide* very ſolemnly; in which Seaſon, my Lord Cardinal cauſed this *Jokin* divers Times to dine with him, who ſeemed to be both witty, and of good Behaviour. He continued long in *England* after this, till at the laſt, as it ſhould ſeem, he had brought the Matter, which he had in Commiſſion, to paſs. Whereupon, the King ſent out immediately a Reſtraint unto Sir *John Ruſſel*, that he ſhould retain that Month's Pay ſtill in his Hands, until the King's Pleaſure ſhould be further made known, which ſhould have been paid to the Duke, being then incamped within the Town of *Pavia*. For Want of which Money, the Duke and his Men were much diſmayed, when they ſaw no Money come, as it was wont to do; and, being in this dangerous Caſe, where Victuals began to grow ſcanty and very dear, they imagined many Ways what ſhould be the Reaſon that the King's Money came not; ſome ſaid this, and ſome ſaid that, miſtruſting nothing leſs than the true Cauſe thereof.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Duke of Bourbon's *Stratagem, and Victory, wherein the* French *King was taken Priſoner.*

NOW the Duke and his Soldiers were in great Miſery, for Want of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, which they could, by no Means, get within the Town: Hereupon, the Captains and Soldiers began to grudge and murmur, being, for Want of Victuals, all like to periſh; and, being in this Extremity, came before the Duke, and ſaid, 'Sir, 'we muſt, of Force and Neceſſity, yield to 'our Enemies; and better were it for us ſo 'to do, than to ſtarve like Dogs.' But, when the Duke heard this, he replied, with weeping Tears, 'Sirs, you have proved your-'ſelves valiant Men, and of noble Hearts, in 'this Service; and, for your Neceſſity, where-'of I myſelf do participate, I do not a little 'lament; but I ſhall deſire you, as you are 'noble in Heart and Courage, ſo to take Pa-'tience, for two or three Days, and, if 'Succour come not then from the King of 'England, as I doubt nothing leſs, I will then 'conſent to you all, to put ourſelves and 'Lives unto the Mercy of our Enemies;' whereunto they all agreed, and tarried till two Days were paſſed, expecting Relief from the King: Then, the Duke, ſeeing no Remedy, called his noble Captains and Soldiers before him, and, weeping, ſaid, 'You Noble-'men, and Captains, we muſt yield ourſelves 'unto our Enemies, or elſe famiſh; and, to 'yield the Town and ourſelves, I know well 'the Cruelty of our Enemies; as for my 'Part, I paſs not for their Cruelties, for I 'ſhall ſuffer Death, I know very well, moſt 'cruelly, if I come once into their Hands: 'It is not, therefore, for myſelf that I do 'lament, it is for your Sakes, it is for your 'Lives, and for the Safeguard of your Per-'ſons, for, ſo that you might eſcape your 'Enemies Hands, I would willingly ſuffer 'Death. Good Companions, and noble 'Soldiers, I do require you all, conſidering 'the miſerable Calamities and Dangers we 'are in, at this Preſent, to ſell our Lives 'moſt dearly, rather than to be murdered 'like Beaſts; therefore, if you all conſent

'with me, we will take upon us, this Night, 'to give our Enemies Aſſault, and, by that 'Means, we may either eſcape, or elſe give 'them an Overthrow; for it were better to 'die in the Field, like Men, than to live, 'Priſoners, miſerably in Captivity; to which 'they all agreed.

'Then (quoth the Duke) you all perceive 'the Enemies Camp is ſtrong, and there is no 'Way to enter upon them, but one, and 'that Entry is planted with great Ordnance, 'and Strength of Men, ſo that it is impoſſi-'ble to attain to our Enemies, that Way, to 'fight with them in their Camp; and alſo, 'now of late, you perceive, they have had 'but ſmall Doubt of us, in regard they have 'kept but ſlender Watch.

'Therefore, my Advice is, there ſhall iſſue 'out of the Town, in the dead Time of the 'Night, from us, a certain Number of you, 'that be the moſt likely to aſſault the Camp, 'and they ſhall give the Aſſault, ſecretly, a-'gainſt the Place of the Entry, which is moſt 'ſtrong and invincible; which Force, and 'valiant Aſſault, ſhall be to them, of the 'Camp, ſo doubtful, that they will turn the 'Strength of the Entry, that lieth over-againſt 'your Aſſault, to beat you from your Pur-'poſe; then will I enter out, at the Poſtern-'gate, and come to the Place of their Strength 'newly turned, and there, before they be a-'ware, will I enter, and fight with them in 'the Camp, and win their Ordnance, which 'they have newly turned, and beat them with 'their own Pieces, and then may you come, 'and join with me in the Field.'

This Device pleaſed them all wonderful well, who did then prepare themſelves, all that Day, for that Device, and kept themſelves ſecret and cloſe, without any Noiſe, or Shot of Pieces, in the Town, which gave the Enemy the leſs Fear of the Aſſault; for, at Night, they went all to their Tents, and couched quietly, nothing miſtruſting what after happened; ſo, in the Dead of the Night, when they were all at Reſt, the Aſſailants iſſued out of the Town, and there, according to the Duke's Appointment, they gave ſo cruel and fierce an Aſſault, that they, in the Camp, had much ado to withſtand them; and then, as the Duke before declared, they, within, were compelled to turn the Shot, that lay at the Entry, againſt the Aſſault; then iſſued out the Duke, and, with him, about fifteen or ſixteen hundred Men, or more, ſecretly in the Night. The Enemy being ignorant of his Coming, until he entered the Field, and, at his Entry, he took all the Ordnance that lay there, and ſlew the Gunners; then charged the Pieces againſt the Enemies, and ſlew them wonderfully, and cut down their Tents and Pavilions, and murdered many therein, before they were aware of his Coming, ſuſpecting nothing leſs than his Entry; ſo that he won the Field, before the King could ariſe, and the King was taken in his Lodging, before he was harneſſed. And, when the Duke had won the Field, the *French* King taken, and his Men ſlain; his Tents robbed and ſpoiled, and the King's Coffers ſearched; the Duke of *Bourbon* found the League, under the Great Seal of *England*, newly made, between the King of *England* and the *French* King, whereby he perceived the Impediment of his Money, which ſhould have come to him from the King, having, upon due Search of this Matter, further Intelligence, that all this Buſi-neſs was deviſed by the Cardinal of *England*: Whereupon, the Duke conceived ſuch Indig-nation againſt the Cardinal, that he went immediately to *Rome*, and there intended to ſack the Town, and to have taken the Pope; but, at the firſt Aſſault of the Town, the Duke was the firſt Man that was there ſlain; notwithſtanding, the Captains continued their Aſſaults, and, at laſt, many of the Town fled, with the Pope, to the Caſtle of *Angelo*, where he continued in great Calamity.

I have written this Hiſtory more at large, becauſe it was thought the Cauſe of all this Miſchief; wherefore, you may ſee, whatſo-ever a Man doth purpoſe, be he Prince or Prelate, yet God diſpatcheth all Things at his Pleaſure and Will, it being a Folly for any wiſe Man to take upon him any weighty En-terpriſe of his own Will, without calling up-on God, for his Grace and Aſſiſtance in all his Proceedings.

I have ſeen Princes, either when they would call a Parliament, or any other great Aſſem-bly, that they would firſt call to God moſt reverently, for his Grace therein; and now I ſee the Contrary, as it ſeems, they truſt more to their own Minds and Wills, than to God's

good

good Grace, and, even thereafter, oftentimes do their Matters take Effect; wherefore, not only in this Hiſtory, but divers others, may be perceived moſt evident Examples. Yet I ſee no Man, almoſt, in Authority, or high Eſtate, regard the ſame; which is the great Pity, and the more to be lamented. Now here I deſiſt to ſpeak any further of this Matter, and to proceed to others.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the French *King's Redemption out of Captivity, and the Cardinal's Ambaſſage into* France.

UPON the Taking of the *French* King, there were divers Conſultations, and various Opinions amongſt the Council; ſome held, that our Sovereign Lord the King could invade the Realm of *France*, and might eaſily conquer the ſame; foraſmuch as the King, with the moſt Part of the Noblemen of *France*, were in Captivity; ſome ſaid again, That the King, our Maſter, ought to have had the *French* King Priſoner, foraſmuch as he was taken by our King's Champion, and Captain-General, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Emperor; inſomuch that the King was adviſed, thereby, to Occaſion of War againſt the Emperor, becauſe he kept the King of *France* out of our King's Poſſeſſion, with divers Imaginations and Devices, as their Fancies ſerved, which were too long here to relate.

Thus were they in long Conſideration, whereof every Man in the Court talked as his Fancy ſerved him, until, at the laſt, divers Ambaſſadors, from the Realm of *France*, came to the King our Lord, deſiring him to take Order with the Emperor for the *French* King's Delivery, as his Highneſs's Wiſdom ſhould think beſt, wherein my Lord Cardinal bore great Rule; ſo that, after great Deliberation and Advice taken, it was thought good, by the Cardinal, that the Emperor ſhould deliver the *French* King out of his Ward, upon ſufficient Pledges.

And, afterwards, it was thought meet, that the King's two Sons, that is to ſay, the Dauphin and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhould be delivered, in Hoſtage, for Security of the Emperor, and the King our ſovereign Lord, upon all ſuch Demands and Requeſts, as ſhould be demanded of the *French* King, as well by the Emperor, as by our ſovereign Lord.

The Cardinal lamenting the *French* King's Captivity, and the Pope's great Adverſity, who yet remained in the Caſtle of *Angelo*, either as Priſoner, or elſe for Defence againſt his Enemies, endeavoured, and laboured all that he could, with the King and his Council, to take ſome Order, for the Quietneſs of them both.

At the laſt, as you heard before, divers of the great States, and Lords of the Council, with my Lady *Anne*, lay in continual Wait, to eſpy a convenient Occaſion, to take the Cardinal in a Snare.

Therefore, they conſulted with the Cardinal, and informed him, that they thought it a neceſſary Time for him, to take upon him the King's Commiſſion, to travel beyond the Seas, and, by his Wiſdom, to compaſs a preſent Peace amongſt theſe great Princes and Potentates, encouraging him thereto, and alledging, that it was more meet for his Wiſdom, Diſcretion, and Authority, to bring ſo weighty a Matter to paſs, than any other within this Realm; their Intent was no other, but to get him from the King, that they might adventure, by the Help of their chief Miſtreſs, to deprave him unto the King, and ſo, in his Abſence, bring him into his Diſgrace, or, at the leaſt, to be in leſs Eſtimation.

Well, the Matter was ſo handled, that the Cardinal was commanded to prepare himſelf for the Journey, which he took upon him, but, whether willingly or not, I cannot ſay, but this I know, that he made ſo ſhort Abode, after the perfect Reſolution thereof, that he cauſed all Things to be prepared ſpeedily for his Journey, and every one of his Servants were appointed, that ſhould attend him in the ſame.

When all Things were concluded, and provided for this noble Journey, he advanced forwards, in the Name of God. My Lord had

with him ſuch of the Lords and Biſhops, as were not of the Conſpiracy.

Then marched he forward from his new Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, through all *London*, over *London-Bridge*, having a great many Gentlemen, in a Rank, before him, in Velvet Coats, and, the moſt Part of them, with Chains of Gold about their Necks. And all his Yeomen followed him, with Noblemen, and great Men's Servants, all in Orange-tawny Coats, and the Cardinal's Hat, with *T.* and *C.* for *Thomas Cardinal*, embroidered upon them, as well upon his own Servants Coats, as all the reſt of the Gentlemen, and his Sumpter Mules, which were twenty, and more, in Number: And when all his Carriages and Carts, and other his Train, were paſſed before, he rode very ſumptuouſly, like a Cardinal, with the reſt of his Train on his Mule, with his ſpare Mule, and his ſpare Horſe, covered with crimſon Velvet, and gilded Stirrups, following him. And, before him, he had his two great ſilver Croſſes, his two Pillars of Silver, the King's Broad-ſeal of *England*, and his Cardinal's Hat, and a Gentleman carrying his Balance, otherwiſe called his *Cloke-bag*, which was made of fine Scarlet, all embroidered, very richly, with Gold. Thus he paſſed through *London*, as I ſaid before; and, all the Way in his ſaid Journey, he was thus furniſhed, having his Harbingers, in every Place, before, which prepared Lodgings for him, and his ſaid Train.

The firſt Journey he made was two Miles beyond *Deptford* in *Kent*, to Sir *Richard Wiltſhire*'s Houſe; the reſt of his Train were lodged in *Deptford*, and in the Country thereabouts.

The next Day he marched to *Rocheſter*, where he lay in the Biſhop's Palace, and the reſt were lodged in the City.

The third Day, he rode from thence to *Feverſham*, and there lodged in the Abbey, and his Train in the Town, and ſome about in the Country.

The fourth Day, he rode to *Canterbury*, where he was kindly entertained by the Biſhop of the City, and there he continued four or five Days. In which Seaſon was the Jubilee, and a great Fair in the Town, by reaſon it was the Feaſt of St. *Thomas*, their Patron; upon which Day, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion, wherein my Lord Cardinal was in his Legantine Ornaments, with his Hat upon his Head, who commanded the Monks and the Quire, to ſing the *Latin* after this Sort, 'Sancta Maria ora pro Papa Noſtro 'Clemente,' and, in this Manner, peruſed the *Latin* through; my Lord Cardinal kneeling at a Stool before the Quire-door, prepared for him, with Carpets and Cuſhions: All the Monks, and the Quire, ſtood in the Body, ſinging the *Litany*; at which Time, I ſaw my Lord Cardinal weep tenderly, which *James*, I, and others, conceived to be for Grief, that the Pope was in ſuch Calamity, and Danger of the Lance-knights.

The next Day, I was ſent with Letters from my Lord, to a Cardinal in *Calais*, in Poſt, ſo that I was, the ſame Night, in *Calais*. At my Arrival, I found, ſtanding upon the Pier, without the *Lanthorn*-gate, all the Council of the Town, to whom I delivered up my Meſſage, and my Letters, before I entered the Town; where I lay until my Lord came thither, who arrived two Days after my Coming thither, before Eight o'Clock in the Morning, and was received of all the noble Officers and Council of the Town, and the Mayor of the Staple, with Proceſſion, the Clerks being in rich Copes, having many rich Croſſes.

In the *Lanthorn*-gate, a Stool, with Cuſhions and Carpets, was ſet for him, where he kneeled, and made his Prayers: At which Time, they fenced him in with Seizures of Silver, and ſprinkled Water; that done, they paſſed on before him, in Proceſſion, until he came unto St. *Mary*'s Church, where, at the high Altar, turning him to the People, he gave them his Benediction and Pardon, and then he repaired, with a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, to a Place in the Town, called the *Chequer*, where he kept his Houſe, ſo long as he abode in the Town, going immediately into his naked Bed, becauſe he was ſomewhat troubled with Sickneſs, by Reaſon of his Paſſage by Sea.

That Night he called unto him Monſieur *de Bees*, Captain of *Bulloigne*, with divers others Gallants and Gentlemen, who had dined with him that Day, and, having ſome further Conſultation with my Lord Cardinal, he and the reſt of the Gentlemen departed again to *Bulloigne*.

Thus my Lord was daily viſited with one or other of the *French* Nobility.

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When all his Train and Carriage were landed, and all Things prepared for his Journey, his Grace called all his Noblemen and Gentlemen, into the Privy-Chamber, where being aſſembled before him, he ſaid: I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both conſider the Duty you owe to me, and the Good-will I ſemblably bear to you for the ſame. Your Intendment of Service is to further the Authority, I have by Commiſſion from the King, which diligent Obſervance of yours I will hereafter recommend to his Majeſty; as alſo to ſhew you the Nature of the *Frenchmen*, and withal to inſtruct you with the Reverence, you ſhall uſe me for the high Honour of the King's Majeſty, and to inform you, how you ſhall entertain, and accompany the *Frenchmen*, when you meet at any Time.

Concerning the *firſt* Point, you ſhall underſtand for divers weighty Affairs of his Grace's, and for mere Advancement of his Royal Dignity, he hath aſſigned me in this Journey to be his Lieutenant; what Reverence therefore belongeth to me, for the ſame, I will ſhew you.

By Vertue therefore of my Commiſſion and Lieutenantſhip, I aſſume and take upon me to be eſteemed in all Honour and Degrees of Service, as unto his Highneſs is meet and due, and that by me nothing be neglected that to his State is due and appertinent; for my Part, you ſhall ſee that I will not omit one Jot thereof: Therefore, one of the chief Cauſes of your Aſſembly, at this Time, is to inform you, that you be not ignorant of your Duty in this; I wiſh you therefore, as you would have my Favour, and alſo charge you all in the King's Name, that you do not forget the ſame in Time and Place, but that every of you do obſerve his Duty to me, according as you will, at your Return; avoid the King's Indignation, or deſerve his Highneſs's Thanks; the which I will ſet forth at our Return, as each of you ſhall deſerve.

Now to the *ſecond* Point, the Nature of the *Frenchmen* is ſuch, that at their firſt Meeting, they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long Acquaintance, and will commune with you in their *French* Tongue, as if you knew every Word; therefore, uſe them in a kind Manner, and be as familiar with them, as they are with you; if they ſpeak to you in their natural Tongue, ſpeak to them in *Engliſh*, for if you underſtand not them, no more ſhall they you. Then ſpeaking merrily to one of the Gentlemen, being a *Welchman*, *Rice*, quoth he, ſpeak thou *Welch* to them, and doubt not, but thy Speech will be more difficult to them, than their *French* ſhall be to thee. Moreover, he ſaid unto them all, let your Entertainment and Behaviour be according to all Gentlemen's in Humility, that it may be reported, after our Departure from thence, that you were Gentlemen of very good Behaviour and Humility; that all Men may know, you underſtand your Duties to your King, and to your Maſter. Thus ſhall you not only obtain to yourſelves great Commendations and Praiſes, but alſo greatly advance your Prince and Country.

Now being admoniſhed of theſe Things, prepare yourſelves againſt To-morrow, for then we purpoſe to ſet forward. Therefore, we his Servants, being thus inſtructed, and all Things being in a Readineſs, proceeded forward; the next Day being *Mary Magdalen*'s Day, my Lord Cardinal advanced out of *Calais*, with ſuch a Number of black Coats, as hath been ſeldom ſeen; with the Ambaſſador, went all the Peers of *Calais*, and *Groynes*. All other Gentlemen, beſides thoſe of his Train, were garniſhed with black Velvet Coats, and Chains of Gold. Thus paſſed he forward, with his Troop before, three in a Rank, which Compaſs extended three Quarters of a Mile in Length, having his Croſſes, and all other his accuſtomed glorious Furniture carried before him, as I have formerly related, except the Broad Seal, the which he left with Doctor *Taylor*, then Maſter of the Rolls, until his Return.

Thus paſſing on his Way, we had ſcarce gone a Mile, but it began to rain ſo vehemently, that I have not ſeen the like for the Time; which endured until we came to *Bulloigne*, and before we came to *Standing field*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, a goodly young Gentleman, gave my Lord a Meeting, and received him with much Joy and Reverence, and ſo paſſed forth with my Lord in Communication, until we came near the ſaid *Standing field*, which is a religious Place, ſtanding between the *Engliſh*, *French*, and Imperial Dominions, being a Neuter, holding of neither of them. Then there we waited for my Lord *Le Count Brian*, Captain of *Picardy*, with a great Number of Stradigats or Arboncies ſtanding in Array,

ray, in a great Piece of green Oats, all in Harneſs upon light Horſes, paſſing on with my Lord in a Wing into *Bulloigne*, and ſo after into *Picardy*, for my Lord doubted, that the Emperor would lay ſome Ambuſhment to betray him; for which Cauſe, he commanded them to attend my Lord for the Safety of his own Perſon, to conduct him from the Danger of his Enemies.

Thus rode he accompanied, until he came nigh to *Bulloigne*, within an *Engliſh* Mile, where all the worſhipful Citizens of *Bulloigne* came and met him, having a learned Man that made an Oration in *Latin* to him, unto the which my Lord made Anſwer; and that done, Monſieur *de Bees*, Captain of *Bulloigne*, with his Retinue, met him on Horſeback, with all his Aſſembly. Thus he marched into the Town, lighting at the Abbey Gate, from whence he was conveighed into the Abbey with Proceſſion, and there they preſented him with the Image of our Lady, commonly called, *Our Lady of* Bulloigne, where were always great Offerings; that done, he gave his Bleſſing to the People, with certain Days of Pardon: Then went he into the Abbey to his Lodging, but all his Train were lodged in the high baſe Town.

The next Day, after he had heard Maſs, he rode to *Muterel*, where he was in like Manner ſaluted by the Worſhipful of the Town, all in Livery alike, where alſo a learned Oration was made to him in *Latin*, which his Grace anſwered again in *Latin*. And as he entered in at the Gate, there was a Canopy of Silk, embroidered with like Letters, as his Men had on their Coats: And when he was alighted, his Footmen had it, as due to their Office. There were alſo made Pageants for Joy of his Coming, who was called in the *French* Tongue, whither he rode or came, *Le Cardinal de Patifagus*, and in *Latin*, *Cardinalus Patifagus*, and was accompanied all that Night, with the Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts.

The next Day he took his Journey towards *Aboville*, where he was in like Manner entertained, and conveighed into the Town, and moſt honourably welcomed with divers Kinds of Pageants, both coſtly, and wittily contrived to every Turning of the Streets; as he rode through the Town, having a Canopy borne over him, richer than at *Muterel*: and ſo conveighed him to his Lodging, which was a fair Houſe, newly built with Brick, at which Houſe, the *French* King, *Lewis*, was married to the King's Siſter, which was married after to the Duke of *Suffolk*. In this Town of *Aboville* he remained eight or nine Days, where reſorted unto him divers of the *French* King's Council, every Day continually feaſting, and entertaining him, and the other Lords.

At the Time of his departing out of the Town, he rode to a Caſtle beyond the Water, called by ſome, *Le Channel Percequeine*, ſtanding and adjoining to the ſaid Water, upon a great Hill and Rock, within the which, there was a College of Prieſts: The Situation whereof was like to the Caſtle of *Windſor* in *England*; and there he was received with a ſolemn Proceſſion, conveighing him firſt to the Church, and then to the Caſtle upon the Bridge, over the Water of *Some*, where King *Edward the Fourth* met with the *French* King, as you may read at large in the Chronicles of *England*.

My Lord was no ſooner ſeated in his Lodging, but I heard, that the *French* King would come that Day to the City of *Amience*, which was not above ſix *Engliſh* Miles from thence. And being deſirous to ſee his Coming thither, I took with me two of my Lord's Gentlemen, and rode preſently thither: And being but Strangers, we took up our Lodging, at the Sign of the *Angel*, directly over-againſt the Weſt Door of the Cathedral Church, *De noſtre Dame*, where we ſtaid in Expectation of the King's Coming: And about Four of the Clock, came Madam Regent the King's Mother, riding in a very rich Chariot, and with her within was the Queen of *Navarre*, her Daughter, attended with a Hundred or more of Ladies and Gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white Palfrey, alſo her Guard, which was no ſmall Number. And within two Days after the King came in, with a great Shot of Guns, and there were divers Pageants, made only for Joy of his Coming, having about his Perſon, and before him, a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in three Companies: The *Firſt*, were *Switzars* and *Burgonians* with Guns; the *Second* were *Frenchmen* with Bows; the *Third* were *Le Carpe-fall Scotchmen*, who were more comely Perſons than all the reſt. The *French* Guard

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and *Scotch* had all one Livery, being apparelled with rich Coats of white Cloath, with a Guard of Silver Bullion of a Handful broad: The King came riding on a rich Jennet, and did alight at the ſaid great Church, and was conveighed with Proceſſion to the Biſhop's Palace, where he was lodged. The next Morning, I rode again to *Piceguny*, to attend upon my Lord, and when I came, my Lord was ready to go on Horſeback, to ride towards *Amience*, and paſſing on his Way, he was ſaluted by divers noble Perſonages, making him Orations in *Latin*, to whom my Lord made Anſwer, *ex tempore*.

Then was Word brought him, that the King was ready to meet him, wherefore he had no other Shift, but to light at an old Chapel, that ſtood hard by the High-way, and there he newly apparelled himſelf in rich Array; and ſo mounted again upon another Mule, very richly trapped with a Foot-cloath of crimſon Velvet, purled with Gold, and fringed about the Edges with a Fringe of Gold very coſtly, his Stirrups of Silver gilt, Boſſes of the ſame, and the Cheeks of his Mule's Bit were all gilt with fine Gold; and by that Time he was mounted again in this gorgeous Manner, the King was come very near, within leſs than an *Engliſh* Quarter of a Mile, his Guard ſtanding in Array upon the Top of an high Hill, expecting my Lord's Coming; to whom my Lord made as much Haſte, as conveniently he could, until he came within a Pair of Butts Length, and there he ſtaid. The King, perceiving that, cauſed Monſieur *Van de Mount* to iſſue from him, and to ride to my Lord Cardinal, to know the Cauſe of his Tarrying; and ſo Monſieur *Van de Mount*, being mounted upon a very fair Jennet, took his Race with his Horſe, till he came even to my Lord, and then he cauſed his Horſe to come aloft twice or thrice ſo near my Lord's Mule, that he was in Doubt of his Horſe, and ſo alighted, and in humble Reverence, did his Meſſage to my Lord; that done, he repaired to the King.

And then the King advanced forward, ſeeing my Lord do the like, and in the mid Way they meet, embracing each other with amiable Countenances. Then came into the Place all Noblemen and Gentlemen, on both Parts, who made a mighty Preſs.

Then the King's Officers cried, *Penant de la vant*, i. e. *March, March*: So the King, with the Lord Cardinal on his Right Hand, rode towards *Amience*, every *Engliſh* Gentleman being accompanied with another of *France*. The Train of theſe two great Princes was two Miles in Length, that is to ſay, from the Place of their Meeting, unto *Amience*, where they were nobly received with Guns, and Pageants, until the King had brought my Lord to his Lodging, and then departed for that Night. The King being lodged in the Biſhop's Palace: And the next Day, after Dinner, my Lord rode with a great Train of *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen, unto the Court to the King, at which Time, the King kept his Bed; yet nevertheleſs, my Lord came into his Bed-chamber, where on the one Side of the Bed ſat the King's Mother, and on the other Side, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, accompanied with divers other Gentlemen of *France*, and after ſome Communication, and Drinking of Wine, with the King's Mother, my Lord departed, and returned to his own Lodging, accompanied with divers other Lords and Gentlemen.

Thus continued my Lord at *Amience*, and alſo the King, fourteen Days feaſting each other divers Times, and there, one Day at Maſs, the King and my Lord received the Holy Sacrament, as alſo the Queen Regent, and the Queen of *Navarre*; after that it was determined, that the King and my Lord ſhould remove, and ſo they rode to a City, called *Champaigne*, which was more than twenty Miles from *Amience*, unto which Town I was ſent to provide Lodging for my Lord; and in my Travel, I having Occaſion to ſtay by the Way, at a little Village, to ſhoe my Horſe, there came to me a Servant from the Caſtle, there perceiving me to be an *Engliſhman*, and of my Lord Legate's Servants, as they then called my Lord; and deſired me to go into the Caſtle, to the Lord his Maſter, who he thought would be very glad to ſee me: To whom I conſented, becauſe I deſired Acquaintance with Strangers, eſpecially with Men of Authority, and honourable Rank; ſo I went with him, who conducted me to the Caſtle, and at my firſt Entrance, I was among the Watchmen who kept the firſt Ward, being very tall Men, and comely Perſons, who ſaluted me very kindly; and knowing the Cauſe of my Coming, they advertiſed their Lord and Maſter; and forthwith the Lord of the Caſtle came out unto me, whoſe Name was Monſieur *Crocheſley* a Nobleman born; and at his

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Coming, he embraced me, ſaying, that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me, that I was ſo gentle as to viſit him, and his Caſtle, ſaying, that he was preparing to meet the King, and my Lord Cardinal, and to invite them to his Caſtle; and when he had ſhewed me the Strength of his Caſtle, and the Walls, which were fourteen Feet broad, and I had ſeen all the Houſes, he brought me down into a fair inner Court, where his Jennet ſtood ready for him, with twelve other of the faireſt Jennets, that ever I ſaw, eſpecially his own, which was a Mare; which Jennet, he told me, he had four-hundred Crowns offered for her; upon theſe twelve Jennets, were mounted twelve goodly Gentlemen, called *Pages of Honour*; they rode all bare-headed, in Coats of Cloth of Gold, guarded with black Velvet, and they had all of them Boots, of red *Spaniſh* Leather.

Then took he his Leave of me, commanding his Steward, and other of his Gentlemen, to conduct me to his Lady to Dinner; ſo they led me up to the *Gate-houſe*, where then their Lady and Miſtreſs lay, for the Time that the King and the Cardinal ſhould tarry there. And after a ſhort Time, the Lady *Crookſley* came out of her Chamber, into her Dining-Room, where I attended her Coming, who did receive me very nobly, like herſelf, ſhe having a Train of twelve Gentlemen, that did attend on her. Foraſmuch, quoth ſhe, as you are an *Engliſh* Gentleman, whoſe Cuſtom is to kiſs all Ladies and Gentlewomen in your Country without Offence, yet it is not ſo in this Realm; notwithſtanding, I will be ſo bold, as to kiſs you, and ſo ſhall you ſalute all my Maids. After this we went to Dinner, being as nobly ſerved, as ever I ſaw any in *England*, paſſing all Dinner-time in pleaſing Diſcourſes.

And ſhortly after Dinner I took my Leave, and was conſtrained, that Night, to lie ſhort of *Champaigne*, at a great walled Town, called *Moundrodrey*, the Suburbs whereof my Lord of *Suffolk*, had lately burned; and early in the Morning I came to *Champaigne*, being *Saturday*, and Market-day, where at my firſt Coming I took up my Inn, over-againſt the Market-place, and being ſet at Dinner in a fair Chamber, that looked out into the Street, I heard a great Noiſe, and Clattering of Bills; and looking out I ſaw the Officers of the Town, bringing a Priſoner to Execution, and with a Sword, cut off his Head. I demanded what was the Offence, they anſwered me, for killing of red Deer in the Foreſt near adjoining. And incontinently they held the poor Man's Head upon a Pole in the Market-place, between the Stags Horns, and his four Quarters, ſet up in four Places of the Foreſt.

Having prepared my Cardinal's Lodging in the great Caſtle of the Town, and ſeen it furniſhed, my Lord had the one Half aſſigned, and the King the other Half, and in like Manner they divided the Gallery between them; and in the Midſt thereof, there was made a ſtrong Wall, with a Window and a Door, where the King and my Lord did often meet and talk, and divers Times go one to the other, through the ſame Door. Alſo there was lodged in the ſame Caſtle Madam Regent, the King's Mother, and all the Ladies and Gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the Lord Chancellor of *France*, a very witty Man, with all the King's grave Counſellors, where they took great Pains daily in Conſultation. At which Time, I heard my Lord Cardinal fall out with the Chancellor of *France*, laying to his Charge, that he went about to hinder the League which was before his Coming concluded upon, by the King our Sovereign Lord, and the *French* King their Maſter. Inſomuch that my Lord ſtomached him ſtoutly, and told him, it was not he that ſhould infringe the amiable Friendſhip. And if the *French* King his Maſter, being there preſent, would follow his, the Chancellor's, Counſel, he ſhould not fail, ſhortly after his Return, to feel the Smart, what it was to maintain War againſt the King of *England*, and thereof he ſhould be well aſſured; inſomuch that his angry Speech and bold Countenance made them all doubt, how to quiet him to the Council, who was then departed in a great Fury.

Now here was Sending, here was Coming, here was Intreating, and here was great Submiſſion and Interceſſion, made unto him to reduce him to his former Communication, who would in no Ways relent, until Madam Regent came to him herſelf, who handled the Matter ſo well that ſhe brought him to his former Communication, and by that Means, he brought all Things to paſs, that before he could not compaſs, which was more out of Fear than Affection, the *French* King had to

the Matter in Hand; for now he had got the Heads of all the Council under his Girdle.

The next Morning, early after this Conflict, the Cardinal aroſe, about Four of the Clock, and ſat him down to write Letters into *England*, unto the King, commanding one of his Chaplains to prepare him ready; inſomuch that the Chaplain ſtood ready in his Veſtures until Four of the Clock in the Afternoon. All which Seaſon, my Lord never roſe to eat any Meat, but continually writ Letters with his own Hand; and about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, he made an End of Writing, commanding one *Chriſtopher Gunner*, the King's Serjeant, to prepare himſelf without Delay, to ride Poſt into *England*, with his Letters, whom he diſpatched away before ever he drank. That done, he went to Maſs and Mattins, and other Devotions with his Chaplains, as he was accuſtomed to do; and then went to walk in a Garden, the Space of an Hour and more, and then ſaid Evening Song, and ſo went to Dinner and Supper, making no long Stay, and ſo went to Bed.

The next Night following, my Lord cauſed a great Supper to be made, or rather a Banquet, for Madam Regent, and the Queen of *Navarre*, and other noble Perſonages, Lords and Ladies. At which Supper was Madam *Lewis*, one of the Daughters of *Lewis*, the laſt King, whoſe Siſter lately died; theſe two Siſters were by their Mother Inheritors of the Duchy of *Bretagne*. And, foraſmuch as King *Francis* had married one of the Siſters, by which he had one Moiety of the ſaid Duchy, he kept the ſaid Madam *Lewis*, the other Siſter, without Marriage to the Intent the whole Duchy might deſcend to him, or his Succeſſors after his Death, for Lack of Iſſue of her.

But now let us return to the Supper of Banquet, where all thoſe noble Perſonages were highly feaſted. And in the Midſt of the ſaid Banquet, the *French* King, and the King of *Navarre*, came ſuddenly in, who took their Places in the loweſt Part thereof: There was not only Plenty of fine Meats, but alſo much Mirth and Solace, as well in merry Communion, as alſo the Noiſe of my Lord's Muſick, who played there all that Night ſo cunningly, that the two Kings took great Delight therein, inſomuch that the *French* King deſired my Lord to lend them unto him for the next Night. And after the Supper or Banquet ended, the Lords fell to Dancing, amongſt whom one Madam *Fountaine* had the Praiſe. And thus paſſed they the moſt Part of the Night before they parted.

The next Day the King took my Lord's Muſick, and rode to a Nobleman's Houſe, where was ſome living Image, to whom he had vowed a Night's Pilgrimage; and to perform his Devotion when he came there, which was in the Night, he danced and cauſed others to do the ſame, and the next Morning he returned to *Champaigne*.

The King being at *Champaigne*, gave Order that a wild Boar ſhould be lodged for him in the Foreſt, whither my Lord Cardinal went with him to ſee him hunt the wild Boar, where the Lady Regent, with a Number of Ladies and Damſels, were ſtanding in Chariots, looking upon the Toil; amongſt theſe Ladies ſtood my Lord Cardinal to regard the Hunting, in the Lady Regent's Chariot. And within the Toil was the King, with divers Ladies of *France* ready furniſhed for the high and dangerous Enterprize of hunting of this perilous wild Swine.

The King being in his Doublet and Hoſe all of Sheep's colour Cloth, richly trimmed, in his Slip, a Brace of very great Grey-hounds, who were armed as their Manner there is, to defend them from the Violence of the Beaſts Tuſks. And the reſt of the King's Gentlemen, that were appointed to hunt, were likewiſe in their Doublets and Hoſe, holding each of them a very ſharp Boar's Spear. Then the King commanded the Keepers to uncouch the Boar; and that every Perſon within the Toil ſhould go to a Standing, among whom were divers Gentlemen of *England*.

The Boar preſently iſſued out of his Den, and being purſued by a Hound, came into the Plain, where he ſtaid a While, gazing upon the People, and the Hound drawing near him, he eſpied a Buſh upon a Bank; under the Buſh lay two *Frenchmen*, who fled thither, thinking there to be ſafe; but the Boar ſmelling them, and thruſting his Head into the Buſh, theſe two Men came away from thence, as Men uſe to fly from the Danger of Death.

Then was the Boar, by Violence of the Hunters, driven from thence, who run ſtraight to one of my Lord's Footmen, being a very tall Man, who had in his Hand an *Engliſh* Javelin, with which he defended himſelf a great

While. But the Boar continued foaming at him, with his great Tuſks; at the laſt, the Boar broke in ſunder his Javelin, ſo that he was glad to draw his Sword, and therewith ſtood upon his Guard, until the Hunters came and reſcued him, and put the Boar once again to Flight to another Gentleman of *England*, one Mr. *Ratcliff*, who was Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, now Earl of *Suſſex*, who, by his Boar's Spear, reſcued himſelf. There were many other Paſſages, but I forbear Prolixity, and return to the Matter in Hand.

Many Days were ſpent in Conſultation, and Expectation of *Chriſtopher Gunner*'s Return, who was formerly ſent Poſt into *England* with Letters, as I ſaid before: At laſt he returned with Letters, upon Receipt whereof my Lord prepared, with all Expedition, to return to *England*.

The Morning, that my Lord intended to remove, being at Maſs in his Cloſet, he conſecrated the Chancellor of *France* a Cardinal, and put his Hat on his Head, and his Cap of Scarlet, and then took his Journey, and returned into *England* with all the Expedition he could, and came to *Sayne*, and was there nobly entertained of my Lord *Staines*, who was Captain of that Place; and from thence went to *Calais*, where he ſtaid a While for Shipping of his Goods, and, in the mean Time, he eſtabliſhed a Work to be there kept for all Nations: But how long, or in what Sort, it continued, I know not; for I never heard of any great Good it did, or of any Aſſembly of Merchants, or Traffick of Merchandiſe, that were brought thither for ſo great and mighty a Matter, as was intended for the Good of the Town. This being eſtabliſhed, he took Shipping for *Dover*, and from thence rode Poſt to Court.

The King being then in his Progreſs at Sir *Henry Wyat*'s Houſe in *Kent*, of whom I and others of his Servants thought he ſhould have been nobly entertained, as well of the King himſelf, as of the Nobles: But we were all deceived in our Expectation. Notwithſtanding, he went immediately to the King after his Return, with whom he had long Talk, and continued two or three Days after in the Court, and then retired to his Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where he remained till *Michaelmas*-term, which was within a Fortnight after, and there he exerciſed his Place of Chancellorſhip, as he had done before.

And, immediately after the Beginning of the Term, he cauſed to be aſſembled in the *Star-chamber* all the Noblemen, Judges, and Juſtices of the Peace of every Shire throughout *England*, that were at *Weſtminſter-hall* then preſent. And there he made a long Oration, declaring the Cauſe of his Ambaſſage into *France*, and of his Proceedings therein; ſaying, That he had concluded ſuch an Amity and Peace, as was never heard of in this Realm, between our Sovereign Lord the King's Majeſty, the Emperor, and the *French* King, for a perpetual Peace, which ſhall be confirmed in Writing, under the Seals of both Realms, engraven in Gold: Offering further, that our King ſhould receive yearly, by that Name, out of the Duchy of *Normandy*, all the Charges and Loſſes, he had ſuſtained in the Wars.

And alſo, foraſmuch as there was a Reſtraint made of the *French* Queen's Dowry (whom the Duke of *Suffolk* had married) for many Years together during the Wars, it was concluded, That ſhe ſhould not only receive the ſame, according to her juſt Right, but alſo the Arrearages, being unpaid during the ſaid Reſtraint, ſhould be perfected ſhortly after. The Reſort of Ambaſſadors out of *France* ſhould be ſuch a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, to confirm the ſame, as hath not been ſeen, heretofore, repair hither out of one Realm.

This Peace thus concluded, there ſhall be ſuch an Amity between them of each Realm, and Intercourſe of Merchandiſe, that it ſhall be ſeen to all Men to be but one Monarchy. Gentlemen and others may travel from one Country to another, for their Recreations and Pleaſure; and Merchants of either Country may traffick ſafely, without Fear of Danger; ſo that this Realm ſhall ever after flouriſh.

Therefore may all *Engliſhmen* well rejoice, and ſet forth the Truth of this Ambaſſy in the Country. Now, my Maſters, I beſeech you, and require you, in the King's Behalf, that you ſhew yourſelves as loving and obedient Subjects, in whom the King may much rejoice, *&c.* And ſo he ended his Oration, and broke up the Court, for that Time.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the French *Ambaſſadors Entertainment and Diſpatch.*

NOW the great long-looked-for Ambaſſadors are arrived, being in Number eight Perſons, of the nobleſt and moſt worthy Gentlemen in all *France*; who were nobly received from Place to Place, and ſo conveyed, through *London*, to the Biſhop's Palace in *Paul's Church-yard*, where they were lodged; to whom divers Noblemen reſorted, and gave them noble Preſents (eſpecially the Mayor of the City of *London*) as, Wines, Sugars, Beeves, Muttons, Capons, wild Fowl, Wax, and other neceſſary Things in Abundance, for the Expences of his Houſe.

They reſorted to the Court, being then at *Greenwich*, on *Sunday*, and were received of the King's Majeſty, of whom they were entertained highly.

They had a Commiſſion to eſtabliſh our King's Highneſs in the Order of *France*; to whom they brought, for that Intent, a Collar of fine Gold, with a *Michael* hanging thereat, and Robes appertaining to the ſaid Order; which were of blue Velvet, and richly embroidered; wherein I ſaw the King paſs to the Cloſet, and afterwards in the ſame to Maſs.

And, to gratify the *French* King for his great Honour, he ſent incontinently Noblemen here in *England*, of the Order of the *Garter*; which Garter the Herald carried into *France* unto the *French* King, to eſtabliſh him in the Order of the *Garter*, with a rich Collar and Garter, and Robes according to the ſame; the *French* Ambaſſadors ſtill remaining here until the Return of the *Engliſh*.

All Things being then determined and concluded concerning the perpetual Peace, upon ſolemn Ceremonies and Oaths, contained in certain Inſtruments concerning the ſame, it was concluded there ſhould be a ſolemn Maſs ſung in the Cathedral Church of *Paul* in *London*, by the Cardinal, the King being preſent at the ſame in his Traverſe to perform all Things determined.

And, for the Preparation thereof, there was a Gallery from the Weſt-door of *Paul's* Church, through the Body of the ſame, up to the Choir, and ſo to the high Altar into the Traverſe. My Lord Cardinal prepared himſelf to ſing the Maſs, aſſociated with twenty-four Mitres of Biſhops and Abbots, who attended him with ſuch Ceremonies, as to him were then due, by Reaſon of his Legative Prerogative.

And, after the laſt *Agnus*, the King roſe out of the Traverſe, and kneeled upon a Carpet and Cuſhions before the high Altar; and the like did the Great Maſter of *France*, chief Ambaſſador, that here repreſented the King's Perſon of *France*; between whom the Lord Cardinal divided the bleſſed Sacrament, as a perfect Oath and Bond for Security of the ſaid Covenants of the ſaid perpetual Peace.

That done, the King went again into the Traverſe, this Maſs being ended, which was ſolemnly ſung both by the Choir of the ſame Church, and all the King's Chapel.

Then my Lord took and read the Articles of Peace openly before the King and all others, both *Engliſh* and *French*; and there, in Sight of all the People, the King put his Hand to the gold Seal, and ſubſcribed with his own Hand, and delivered the ſame to the Grand Maſter of *France*, as his Deed, who ſemblably did the like. That done, they departed, and rode Home with the Cardinal, and dined with him, paſſing all the Day after in Conſultation of weighty Affairs touching the Articles and Concluſion of the ſaid Peace.

Then the King departed to *Greenwich* by Water; at whoſe Departure it was concluded, by the King's Device, that all the *Frenchmen* ſhould remove to *Richmond*, and hunt there; and from thence to *Hampton-court*, and there to hunt likewiſe; and the Lord Cardinal there to make a Banquet, or Supper, or both; and from thence they ſhould ride to *Windſor*, and there hunt; and afterwards return to the King at *Greenwich*, and there to banquet with him before their Departure.

This determined, they all repaired to their Lodgings; then was there no more to do, but to make Preparation in all Things for the Entertainment of this great Aſſembly at *Hampton-court*, at the Time appointed by my Lord Cardinal, who called before him all his chief Officers, as Stewards, Treaſurers, Clerks, and Comptrollers of his Kitchen; to whom he declared his whole Mind touching the Entertainment of the *Frenchmen* at *Hampton-court*; to

whom he alſo gave Command neither to ſpare for any Coſt, or Expence, nor Pains to make them ſuch a triumphant Banquet, that they might not only wonder at it here, but alſo make a glorious Report, to the great Honour of our King and this Realm.

Thus, having made known his Pleaſure, to accompliſh his Commandment, they ſent out all the Carriers, Purveyors, and other Perſons to my Lord's Friends to prepare: Alſo they ſent to all expert Cooks, and cunning Perſons in the Art of Cookery in *London*, or elſewhere, that might be gotten, to beautify the noble Feaſt.

Then the Purveyors provided, and my Lord's Friends ſent in ſuch Proviſion, that it was a Wonder to ſee it.

The Cooks wrought both Day and Night in many curious Devices, where was no Lack of Gold, Silver, or any other coſtly Thing; the Yeomen and Grooms of his Wardrobe were buſied in hanging the Chambers with coſtly Hangings, and furniſhing the ſame with Beds of Silk, and other Furniture for the ſame in every Degree.

Then my Lord ſent me, being his Gentleman-uſher, and two others of my Fellows, to foreſee all Things touching our Rooms to be richly garniſhed; wherein our Pains was not ſmall; but daily we travelled up and down, from Chamber to Chamber, to ſee Things fitted.

Then wrought Joiners, Carpenters, Painters, and all other Artificers needful, that there was nothing wanting to adorn this noble Feaſt. There was Carriage and Re-carriage of Plate, Stuff, and other rich Implements, ſo that there was nothing lacking, that could be deviſed or imagined for that Purpoſe. There were alſo provided two-hundred and eighty Beds, with all Manner of Furniture to them, too long here to be related.

The Day aſſigned to the *Frenchmen* being come, they were ready aſſembled before the Hour of their Appointment; wherefore the Officers cauſed them to ride to *Hanworth*, a Park of the King's within three Miles of *Hampton-court*, there to ſpend the Time in Hunting till Night; which they did, and then returned, and every of them were conveyed to their ſeveral Chambers, having in them good Fires, and Store of Wine, where they remained till Supper was ready.

The Chambers, where they ſupped and banqueted, were adorned thus:

Firſt, the great Waiting-chamber was hung with very rich Cloth of Arras; and ſo all the reſt, ſome better than others; and furniſhed with tall Yeomen to ſerve. There were ſet Tables round about the Chambers, Banquet-wiſe, covered; alſo a Cupboard, garniſhed with white Plate, having alſo in the ſame Chamber four great Plates, to give the more Light, ſet with great Lights; and a great Fire of Wood and Coals.

The next Chamber was the Chamber of Preſence, richly hanged, alſo, with Cloth of Arras, and a ſumptuous Cloth of State, furniſhed with many goodly Gentlemen to ſerve. The Tables were ordered, in Manner as the others were, ſave only the high Table was removed beneath the Cloth of State, towards the Midſt of the Chamber, with ſix Deſks of Plate, garniſhed all over with fine Gold, ſaving one Pair of Candleſticks of Silver, and gilded, with Lights in the ſame; the Cupboard was barred about, that no Man could come very near it, for there were divers Pieces of great Store of Plate to uſe; beſides, the Plates that hung on the Walls, to give Light, were Silver, and gilt, with Wax Lights.

Now were all Things in Readineſs, and Supper fit; the principal Officers cauſed the Trumpets to blow, to warn them to Supper: Then the Officers conducted the Noblemen where they were to ſup, and, they being ſet, the Service came up, in ſuch Abundance, both coſtly, and full of Devices, with ſuch a pleaſant Noiſe of Muſick, that the *Frenchmen*, as it ſeemed, were wrapped up in a heavenly Paradiſe. You muſt underſtand, that my Lord Cardinal was not there all this While; but the *French* Monſieurs were very merry with their rich Fare, and curious Cates and Knacks; but, before the ſecond Courſe, my Lord Cardinal came in, booted and ſpurred, ſuddenly amongſt them; at whoſe Coming, there was great Joy, every Man riſing from his Place, whom my Lord Cardinal cauſed to ſit ſtill, and keep their Places, and, being in his riding Apparel, called for his Chair, and ſat him down in the Midſt of the high Table, and was there as merry and pleaſant, as ever I ſaw him in my Life.

Preſently after, came up the ſecond Courſe, which was above one-hundred ſeveral Devices, which

which were ſo goodly and coſtly, that, I think, the *Frenchmen* never ſaw the like.

But the rareſt Curioſity of all the reſt, they all wondered at, which, indeed, was worthy of Wonder, were Caſtles, with Images in the ſame, like St. *Paul*'s Church, for the Model of it; there were Beaſts, Birds, Fowls, Perſonages, moſt excellently made, ſome fighting with Swords, ſome with Guns, others with Croſs-bows, ſome dancing with Ladies, ſome on Horſeback, with compleat Armour, juſtling with long and ſharp Spears, with many more ſtrange Devices, which I cannot deſcribe; amongſt all, I noted, there was a Cheſs-board made of ſpice Plate, with Men of the ſame, and of good Proportion.

And, becauſe the *Frenchmen* are very expert at that Sport, my Lord Cardinal gave that ſame to a *French* Gentleman, commanding, that there ſhould be made a good Caſe, to convey the ſame into his Country.

Then called my Lord for a great Bowl of Gold, filled with Hippocras, and, putting off his Cap, ſaid, 'I drink a Health to the King 'my ſovereign Lord, and next unto the 'King your Maſter.' And, when he had drunk a hearty Draught, he deſired the Grand Maſter to pledge him a Cup, which Cup was worth five-hundred Marks; and ſo all the Lords, in Order, pledged theſe great Princes. Then went the Cup merrily about, ſo that many of the *Frenchmen* were led to their Beds; then went my Lord into his Privy-Chamber, making a ſhort Supper, or rather a ſhort Repaſt, and then returned again into the Preſence-chamber, amongſt the *Frenchmen*, behaving himſelf in ſuch a loving Sort, and ſo familiarly towards them, that they could not ſufficiently commend him.

And, while they were in Communication and Paſtime, all their Livery were ſerved to their Chambers; every Chamber had a Baſon and Ewer of Silver, and a great Livery-pot, with Plenty of Wine, and Sufficient of every Thing.

Thus furniſhed was every Room about the Houſe: when all was done, then were they conducted to their Lodgings.

In the Morning, after they had heard Maſs, they ſaid and dined with my Lord, and ſo departed towards *Windſor*; and, as ſoon as they were gone, my Lord returned to *London*, becauſe it was in the Midſt of the Term.

You muſt conceive, the King was privy to this magnificent Feaſt, who then intended far to exceed the ſame, which I refer to the *Frenchmen*'s Return. Now the King had given Command to his Officers, to provide a far more ſumptuous Banquet for the Strangers, than they had at the Cardinal's, which was not neglected. After the Return of theſe Strangers from *Windſor*, which Place they much commended for the Situation thereof, the King invited them to the Court, where they dined, and, after Dinner, they danced, and had their Paſtime till Supper-time.

Then was the Banquet-chamber, in the little Yard at *Greenwich*, furniſhed for the Entertainment of theſe Strangers, to which Place they were conducted by the greateſt Perſonages, then being in the Court, where they did both ſup and banquet; but to deſcribe to you the Order hereof, the Variety of coſtly Diſhes, and the curious Devices, my weak Ability, and ſhallow Capacity, would much eclipſe the Magnificence thereof: But thus much take Notice of, that, although that Banquet at *Hampton* Court was marvellous ſumptuous, yet this Banquet excelled the ſame, as much as Gold doth Silver in Value; and, for my Part, I never ſaw the like.

In the Midſt of the Banquet, there were turning at the Barriers luſty Gentlemen in compleat Armour, very gorgeous, on Foot, and the like on Horſeback; and, after all this, there was ſuch an excellent Interlude, made in *Latin*, that I never ſaw or heard the like, the Actors Apparel being ſo gorgeous, and of ſuch ſtrange Devices, that it paſſeth my poor Capacity to relate them.

This being ended, there came a great Company of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the chiefeſt Beauties in the Realm of *England*, being as richly attired, as Coſt could make, or Art deviſe, to ſet forth their Geſtures, Proportions, or Beauties, that they ſeemed, to the Beholders, rather like celeſtial Angels, than terreſtrial Creatures, and, in my Judgment, worthy of Admiration; with whom the Gentlemen of *France* danced and maſked, every Man chooſing his Lady, as his Fancy ſerved: That done, and the Maſkers departed, came in another Maſk of Ladies and Gentlewomen, ſo richly attired,

attired, as I cannot expreſs; theſe Ladies Maſkers took each of them one of the *Frenchmen* to dance, and here note, that theſe noble Women ſpoke all of them good *French*, which delighted them much to hear the Ladies ſpeak to them in their own Language.

Thus, triumphantly, did they ſpend the whole Night, from Five o'Clock in the Night, until Two or Three o'Clock in the Morning, at which Time the Gallants drew all to their Lodgings, to take their Reſt.

As neither Health, Wealth, nor Pleaſure, can always laſt, ſo ended this triumphant Banquet, which, being paſſed, ſeemed, in the Morning, to the Beholders, as a phantaſtick Dream.

Now, after all this ſolemn Banqueting, they prepared, with Bag and Baggage, to return; and, thereupon, repaired to the King, and, in Order, every Man took his Leave of his Majeſty, and the Nobles, by whom the King ſent his princely Pleaſure and Commendations to the King their Maſter, thanking them for their Pains; and, after great Communication had with the great Maſter of that Ambaſſage, he bade them Adieu.

Then they came to *Weſtminſter*, to my Lord Cardinal, to do the like, of whom he received the King's Reward, which I ſhall hereafter relate.

Firſt, every Man, of Honour and Eſtimation, had Plate, ſome to the Value of two or three-hundred Pounds, and ſome of four-hundred Pounds, beſides the great Gifts before received of his Majeſty, as Gowns of Velvet, with rich Furs, great Chains of Gold, and ſome had goodly Horſes of great Value, with divers other Gifts of great Value, which I cannot call to Remembrance; but the worſt of them had the Sum of twenty Crowns; and thus, being nobly rewarded, my Lord, after humble Commendations to the *French* King, bade them Farewel, and ſo they departed.

The next Day, they were conveyed to *Dover*, to the Sea-ſide, with all their Furniture, being accompanied with many *Engliſh* young Gallants; and what Report of their Royal Entertainment they made in their own Country, I never heard.

CHAP. XV.

Of the King's Diſcovery of his Love to Mrs. Anne Bullen *to the Cardinal, with the Cardinal's Diſlike, and alſo the Opinions of all the learned Biſhops in* England, *and foreign Univerſities.*

AFTER this began new Matters, which troubled the Heads and Imaginations of all the Court, wherewith all their Stomachs were full, but little Digeſtion, *viz.* the long concealed Affection of the King to Mrs. *Anne Bullen* now broke out, which his Majeſty diſcloſed to the Cardinal, whoſe often Perſuaſions, on his Knees, took no Effect.

My Lord, thereupon, being compelled to declare to his Majeſty his Opinion and Wiſdom, in the Advancement of the King's Deſires, thought it not ſafe for him to wade too far alone, or to give raſh Judgment in ſo weighty a Matter, but deſired Leave of the King to aſk Counſel of Men of ancient and famous Learning, both in the Divine and Civil Laws.

Now this being obtained, he, by his Legantine Authority, ſent out his Commiſſions for the Biſhops of this Realm, who, not long after, aſſembled all at *Weſtminſter*, before my Lord Cardinal; and not only theſe Prelates, but alſo the moſt learned Men of both Univerſities, and ſome from divers Cathedral Colleges in this Realm, who were thought ſufficiently able to reſolve this doubtful Queſtion.

At this learned Aſſembly was the King's Caſe conſulted of, debated, argued, and judged, from Day to Day: But, in Concluſion, when theſe ancient Fathers of Law and Divinity parted, they were all of one Judgment, and that contrary to the Expectation of moſt Men. And I heard ſome of the moſt famous and learned amongſt them ſay, The King's Caſe was too obſcure for any Man, and the Points therein were doubtful, to have any Reſolution therein, and ſo, at that Time,

Time, with a general Conſent, departed, without any Reſolution or Judgment.

In this Aſſembly of Biſhops, and divers other learned Men, it was thought very expedient, that the King ſhould ſend out his Commiſſioners into all Univerſities in *Chriſtendom*, as well here in *England*, as foreign Regions, there to have this Caſe argued ſubſtantially, and to bring with them, from thence, every Definition of their Opinions of the ſame, under the Seal of every Univerſity; and thus much, for this Time, were their Determinations.

And, thereupon, divers Commiſſioners were preſently appointed for this Deſign; ſo ſome were ſent to *Cambridge*, ſome to *Oxford*, ſome to *Lorrain*, others to *Paris*, ſome to *Orleans*, others to *Padua*, all at the proper Coſts and Charges of the King, which, in the Whole, amounted to a great Sum of Money; and all went out of this Realm, beſides the Charge of the Ambaſſage, to thoſe famous and notable Perſons of all the Univerſities, eſpecially ſuch as bore the Rule, or had the Cuſtody of the Univerſity Seals, who were fed by the Commiſſioners with ſuch great Sums of Money, that they did eaſily condeſcend to their Requeſts, and grant their Deſires.

By Reaſon whereof, all the Commiſſioners returned with their Purpoſe, furniſhed, according to their Commiſſions, under the Seal of every ſeveral Univerſity, whereat there was no ſmall Joy conceived of the principal Parties; inſomuch that ever after the Commiſſioners were had in great Eſtimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded, far beyond their worthy Deſerts. Notwithſtanding, they proſpered, and the Matter went ſtill forward, having now, as they thought, a ſure Staff to lean upon.

Theſe Proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinal, he ſent again for the Biſhops, to whom he declared the Effect of theſe Commiſſioners Pains, and, for Aſſurance thereof, ſhewed them the Inſtruments of each Univerſity, under their ſeveral Seals; and, the Buſineſs being thus handled, they went again to Conſultation, how Things ſhould be ordered.

At laſt it was concluded, that it was very meet the King ſhould ſend unto the Pope's Holineſs the Opinions of both Univerſities of *England*, and alſo foreign Univerſities, which were manifeſtly authoriſed by their common Seals: And it was alſo thought fit, the Opinions of the worthy Prelates of *England* ſhould be ſent to the Pope, compriſed in an Inſtrument, which was not long Time in finiſhing.

Nor was it long after, that the Ambaſſadors were aſſigned for this Deſign, who took their Journey accordingly, having certain Inſtruments, that, if the Pope would not, thereupon, conſent to give Judgment, definitively in the King's Caſe, then to require another Commiſſion from his Holineſs, to be granted to his Legate, to eſtabliſh a Court here in *England*, for that Purpoſe only, to be directed to my Lord Cardinal, Legate of *England*, and to Cardinal *Campaine*, Biſhop of *Bath*, which the King gave him at a certain Time, when he was ſent Ambaſſador hither from the Pope's Holineſs, to determine, and rightly judge according to their Conſciences. To the which, after long Suit made, and for the Good-will of the ſaid Cardinal, the Pope granted their Suit.

Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King, that his Grace's Pleaſure ſhould be now brought to paſs ſubſtantially, being never more likely, conſidering the State of the Judges.

Long was the Expectation, on both Sides, for the Coming over of the Legate from *Rome*, who, at laſt, arrived in *England*, with his Commiſſion, and, being much troubled with the Gout, his Journey was long and tedious, before he could get to *London*, who ſhould have been moſt ſolemnly received at *Blackheath*; but he deſired not to be ſo entertained with Pomp and Vain-glory, and, therefore, he came, very privately, on his own Horſe, without *Temple-Bar*, called *Bath-place*, where he lay; the Houſe being furniſhed with all Manner of Proviſion of my Lord's. So, after ſome Deliberation and Conſultation, in the Ordering of the King's Buſineſs, now in Hand, by his Commiſſion, and Articles of his Ambaſſage, which being read, it was determined, that the King, and the good Queen, his lawful Wife, ſhould be judged at *Bridewell*, and in *Black-friars*, and, ſome Place thereabouts, the Court to be kept, for the Diſputation and Determination of the Cauſes, and Differences, between the King and the Queen, where they were to repair before theſe two Legates, who

who ſat as Judges; before whom the King and Queen were cited, and ſummoned to appear, which was a ſtrange Sight, and the neweſt Device that ever was heard or read of in any Story or Chronicle: A King and a Queen to be compelled to appear in a Court, as common Perſons, within their own Realm and Dominions, and to abide the Judgments and Decrees of their Subjects, being a Prerogative belonging to the Royal Diadem.

CHAP. XVI.

A new Court erected to determine the King's Caſe, two Cardinals being Judges, having Power to convene the King and Queen, and the Iſſue thereof.

IT is a wonderful Thing to conſider the Strength of Princes Wills, when they are bent to have their Pleaſure fulfilled, wherein no reaſonable Perſuaſions will ſerve the Turn; how little do they regard the dangerous Sequels that may enſue as well to themſelves as to their Subjects. And, amongſt all Things, there is nothing that makes them more wilful than carnal Love, and various Affecting of voluptuous Deſires, wherein nothing could be of greater Experience than to ſee what Inventions were furniſhed, what Laws were enacted, what coſtly Edifices of noble and ancient Monaſteries were there overthrown, what Diverſities of Opinions then aroſe, what Extortions were then committed, how many learned and good Men were then put to Death, and what Alterations of good ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and charitable Foundations, were turned from the Relief of the Poor, to the utter Deſtruction and Deſolation, almoſt to the Subverſion, of this noble Realm.

It is a thouſand Pities to underſtand the Things that ſince have happened to this Land, the Proof whereof hath taught all us *Engliſhmen* lamentable Experience. If Men's Eyes be not blind, they may ſee, and, if their Ears be not ſtopped, they may hear; and if Pity be not exiled, their Hearts may relent and lament at the Sequel of this inordinate Love, altho' it laſted but a While. *O Lord God, with-hold thine Indignation from us.*

You ſhall underſtand, as I ſaid before, that there was a Court erected at *Black friars, London*, where theſe two Cardinals ſat as Judges: Now will I deſcribe unto you the Order of the Court.

Firſt, There were many Tables and Benches ſet in Manner of a Conſiſtory, one Seat being higher than another for the Judges aloft; above them three Degrees high was a Cloth of Eſtate hanged, and a Chair Royal under the ſame, wherein ſat the King, and ſome Diſtance off ſat the Queen, and at the Judges Feet ſat the Scribes and Officers for the Execution of the Proceſs; the chief Scribe was Doctor *Stevens*, after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Apparitor, who was called Doctor of the Court, was one *Cooke* of *Weſtminſter*. Then before the King and the Judges ſat the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Warham*, and all other Biſhops; there ſtood, at both Ends within, Counſellors learned in the Spiritual Laws, as well on the King's Side, as the Queen's Side, Dr. *Sampſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Dr. *Hall*, after Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with divers others; and Proctors in the ſame Law were Dr. *Peter*, who was afterwards chief Secretary, and Dr. *Tregunmill*, with divers others.

Now, on the other Side, there were Council for the Queen, Dr. *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* in *Wales*, two brave noble Divines, eſpecially the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a very godly Man, whoſe Death many Noblemen and many worthy Divines much lamented, who loſt his Head about this Cauſe, before it was ended, upon *Tower-hill*; as alſo another ancient Doctor called Doctor *Ridley*, a little Man but a great Divine. The Court being thus ordered, as is before expreſſed, the Judges commanded the Cryer to proclaim Silence, whilſt the Commiſſion was both read to the Court and to the People there aſſembled: That done, and Silence being again proclaimed, the Scribes commanded the Cryer to call King *Henry* of *England*; whereunto the King anſwered and ſaid, *Here:* Then called he again the Queen of *England*, by the Name of *Catharine* Queen of *England*, *Come into the Court*, &c. Who made no Anſwer thereunto, but roſe immediately out of her Chair where ſhe ſat; and, becauſe ſhe could not come to the King directly, by reaſon of the Diſtance, therefore ſhe

came

came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled down at his Feet, ſaying theſe Words in broken *Engliſh*, as followeth:

Sir, quoth ſhe, I beſeech you do me Juſtice and Right, and take ſome Pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a Stranger, born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Council, and leſs Aſſurance of Friendſhip. Alas! Sir, how have I offended you? What Offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of Life in this Sort? I take God to witneſs, I have been to you a true and loyal Wife, ever conformable to your Will and Pleaſure; never did I contrary or gainſay your Mind, but always ſubmitted myſelf in all Things, wherein you had any Delight or Dalliance, whether it were little or much, without Grudging or any Sign of Diſcontent: I have loved for your Sake all Men whom you have loved, whether I had Cauſe or not, were they Friends or Foes; I have been your Wife this twenty Years, by whom you had many Children: And, when I firſt came to your Bed, I take God to witneſs, I was a Virgin; whether it were true or no, I put it to your Conſcience. If there be any Cauſe that you can alledge, either of Diſhoneſty, or of any other Matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with Shame and Rebuke; but, if there be none, then I pray you let me have Juſtice at your Hands.

'The King your Father was a Man of ſuch 'an excellent Wit in his Time, that he was 'accounted a ſecond *Solomon*; and the King of '*Spain*, my Father *Ferdinand*, was taken for 'one of the wiſeſt Kings that reigned in *Spain* 'theſe many Years. So they were both wiſe 'Men and noble Princes; and it is no Queſtion 'but they had wiſe Counſellors of either Realm, 'as be now at this Day, who thought not, 'at the Marriage of you and me, to hear what 'new Devices are now invented againſt me, 'to cauſe me to ſtand to the Order of this 'Court. And I conceive you do me much 'Wrong, nay you condemn me for not An'ſwering, having no Council but ſuch as you 'have aſſigned me: You muſt conſider that 'they cannot be indifferent on my Part, being 'your own Subjects, and ſuch as you have 'made Choice of out of your own Council 'where unto they are privy, and dare not diſ'cover your Pleaſure.

'Therefore, I moſt humbly beſeech you, to 'ſpare me, until I know how my Friends in '*Spain* will adviſe me: But, if you will not, 'then let your Pleaſure be done.'

And with that ſhe roſe, making a Courteſy to the King, and departed from thence, all the People thinking ſhe would have returned again to her former Seat; but ſhe went preſently out of the Court, leaning upon the Arm of one of her Servants, who was her general Receiver, one Mr. *Griffith*.

The King, ſeeing that ſhe was ready to go out of the Court, commanded the Cryer to call her again by theſe Words, *Catharine*, Queen of *England*, *come into Court*. Lo, quoth Mr. *Griffith*, you are called again. Go on, quoth ſhe, it is no Matter: It is no indifferent Court for me, therefore I will not tarry; go on your Way; and ſo they departed, without any further Anſwer at that Time, or any Appearance in any other Court after that.

The King, ſeeing ſhe was departed thus, and conſidering her Words, ſaid to the Audience theſe few Words in Effect:

Foraſmuch, quoth he, as the Queen is gone, I will in her Abſence declare unto you all: She hath been to me a true obedient Wife, and as comfortable as I could wiſh or deſire; ſhe hath all the Virtues and good Qualities that belong to a Woman of her Dignity, or in any of meaner Eſtate; her Conditions will well declare the ſame.

Then, quoth the Cardinal, I humbly beſeech your Highneſs, to declare unto this Audience, whether I have been the firſt and chief Mover of this Matter unto your Highneſs, or no, for I am much ſuſpected of all Men.

My Lord Cardinal, quoth the King, you have rather adviſed me to the Contrary, than been any Mover of the ſame. The ſpecial Cauſe, that moved me in this Matter, is a certain Scruple that pricked my Conſcience, upon certain Words ſpoken by the Biſhop of *Bayonne*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who came hither to conſult of a Marriage between the Princeſs our Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſecond Son to the King of *France*; and, upon Reſolution and Determination, he deſired Reſpite to adverti'e the King his Maſter thereof, whether our Daughter *Mary* ſhould be legitimate, in reſpect of my Marriage with this Woman, being ſometime my

my Brother's Wife: Which Words, I pondering, begot ſuch a Scruple in my Conſcience, that I was much troubled at it, whereby I thought myſelf in Danger of God's heavy Diſpleaſure and Indignation; and the rather, becauſe he ſent us no Iſſue Male, for all the Iſſue Male that I have had by my Wife died incontinently after they came into the World, which cauſed me to fear God's Diſpleaſure in that Particular. Thus, my Conſcience being toſſed in that Wave of troubleſome Doubts, and partly in Deſpair to have any other Iſſue, than I had already by this Lady, my now Wife; it behoved me to conſider the Eſtate of this Realm, and the Danger it ſtands in for Lack of a Prince to ſucceed me. I thought it therefore good, in Releaſe of this mighty Burthen on my Conſcience, as alſo for the quiet Eſtate of this Realm, to attempt a Trial in the Law herein: Whether I might lawfully take another Wife, without Stain of carnal Concupiſcence, by which God may ſend more Iſſue, in Caſe this my firſt Copulation was not good? I not having any Diſpleaſure in the Perſon, or Age of the Queen, with whom I could be well contented to continue, if our Marriage may ſtand with the Law of God, as with any Woman alive; in which Point conſiſteth all the Doubt that we go about, now to know by the learned Wiſdom of you our Prelates and Paſtors, of this Realm and Dominion, now here aſſembled for that Purpoſe, to whoſe Conſciences and Learning I have committed the Care and Judgment, according to which I will, God willing, be well contented to ſubmit myſelf, and obey the ſame. And, when my Conſcience was ſo troubled, I moved it to you, my Lord of *Lincoln*, in Confeſſion, then being my ghoſtly Father: And, foraſmuch as you were then in ſome Doubt, you moved me to aſk Counſel of the reſt of the Biſhops; whereupon I moved it to you, my Lord Cardinal, to have your Licenſe, foraſmuch as you are Metropolitan, to put this Matter in Queſtion; and ſo I did to all you, my Lords, to which you all granted under your Seals, which is here to ſhew. That is truth, quoth the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and, I doubt not, but my Brothers will acknowledge the ſame. No, Sir, not ſo, under Correction, quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, for you have not my Hand and Seal. No, quoth the King, Is not this your Hand and Seal, and ſhewed it to him in the Inſtrument with Seals? No, forſooth, quoth the Biſhop: How ſay you to that, quoth the King, to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*? Sir, It is his Hand and Seal, quoth the Biſhop of *Canterbury*. No, my Lord, quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, indeed you were in Hand with me to have both my Hand and Seal, as other of the Lords had done; but I anſwered, that I would never conſent to any ſuch Act, for it was much againſt my Conſcience. And therefore my Hand and Seal ſhall never be ſet to ſuch an Inſtrument, God willing, with many other Words to that Purpoſe. You ſay Truth, quoth the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſuch Words you uſed; but you fully reſolved at the laſt, that I ſhould ſubſcribe your Name, and put to your Seal, and you would allow of the ſame; all which, quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, under Correction, my Lord, is untrue. Well, quoth the King, we will not ſtand in Argument with you, you are but one. And ſo the King aroſe up, and the Court was adjourned until the next Day, at which Time the Cardinals ſat again, and the Council on both Sides were there preſent to anſwer.

The King's Council alledged the Matrimony not good, nor lawful at the Beginning, becauſe of the carnal Copulation that Prince *Arthur* had with the Queen: This Matter was very narrowly ſcanned on that Side, and, to prove the carnal Copulation, they had many Reaſons and Similitudes of Truth; and being anſwered Negatively again, on the other Side, it ſeemed that all their former Allegations were doubtful to be tried, and that no Man knew. 'Yes, quoth the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, 'I know the Truth. How can you know 'the Truth, quoth the Cardinal, more than 'any other Perſon? Yes, forſooth, my 'Lord, quoth he, I know that God is the 'Truth itſelf, and never ſaith but Truth, 'and he ſaith thus: *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo 'non ſeparet.* And, foraſmuch as this Marriage was joined, and made by God to a good 'Intent, therefore, I ſaid, I knew the Truth, 'and that Man cannot break upon any wilful 'Action, which God hath made and conſtituted. So much do all faithful Men know, 'quoth my Lord Cardinal, as well as you, 'therefore, this Reaſon is not ſufficient in this 'Caſe; for the King's Council do alledge 'many Preſumptions, to prove that it was 'not lawful at the Beginning, *Ergo*, it was 'not ordained by God, for God doth nothing 'without a good End; therefore, it is not to

be

'be doubted, but, if the Preſumptions be 'true which they alledge to be moſt true, 'then the Conjunction neither was, nor could 'be of God; therefore I ſay unto you, my 'Lord of *Rocheſter*, you know not the Truth, 'unleſs you can avoid their Preſumptions upon 'juſt Reaſons.'

'Then, quoth Dr. *Ridley*, it is a great 'Shame and Diſhonour to this honoura- 'ble Preſence, that any ſuch Preſumptions 'ſhould be alledged in this open Court. 'What, quoth my Lord Cardinal, *Domine* '*Doctor Reverende*. No, my Lord, there 'belongs no Reverence to this Matter, for 'an unreverent Matter may be unreverently 'anſwered;' and ſo left off, and then they proceeded to other Matters.

Thus paſſed this Court from Seſſion to Seſſion, and Day to Day, till a certain Day the King ſent for the Cardinal to *Bridewell*, who went into the Privy-chamber to him where he was, about an Hour, and then departed from the King, and went to *Weſtminſter* in his Barge; the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, being with him, ſaid, 'It is a hot Day To-day. 'Yes, quoth the Cardinal, if you had been 'as well chafed, as I have been within this 'Hour, you would ſay you were very hot.' My Lord no ſooner came Home, but he went to Bed, where he had not laid above two Hours, but my Lord of *Wiltſhire*, Mrs. *Anne Bullen's* Father, came to ſpeak with him from the King; my Lord commanded he ſhould be brought to his Bed's-ſide, who told him, it was the King's Mind he ſhould forthwith go, with the Cardinal, to the Queen, being then at *Bridewell*, in her Chamber, and to perſuade her, through their Wiſdoms, to put the whole Matter into the King's own Hands, by her Conſent; which ſhould be much better for her Honour, than ſtand to the Trial at Law, and, thereby, be condemned, which would tend much to her Diſhonour and Diſcredit.

To perform the King's Pleaſure, my Lord ſaid he was ready, and ſo prepared to go: 'But, quoth he further to my Lord of *Wilt-* 'ſhire, you, and others of the Lords of the 'Council, have put Fancies into the Head of 'the King, whereby you trouble all the 'Realm, but, at the Length, you will get 'but ſmall Thanks, both of God and the 'World;' with many other earneſt Words and Reaſons, which did cauſe my Lord of *Wiltſhire* to be ſilent, kneeling by my Lord's Bed's-ſide, and, in Concluſion, departed.

And then my Lord roſe, and took his Barge, and went to *Bath-houſe*, to Cardinal *Campaine's*, and ſo went together to *Bridewell*, to the Queen's Lodgings, ſhe being then in her Chamber of Preſence; they told the Gentleman-uſher, that they came to ſpeak with the Queen's Grace, who told the Queen, the Cardinals were come to ſpeak with her; then ſhe roſe up, having a Skain of red Silk about her Neck, being at Work with her Maids, and came to the Cardinals, where they ſtaid, attending her Coming, at whoſe Approach, quoth ſhe: 'Alack, my Lords, I am ſorry 'that you have attended on me ſo long, 'What is your Pleaſures with me? If it pleaſe 'your Grace, quoth the Cardinal, to go to 'your Privy-chamber, we will ſhew you 'the Cauſe of our Coming.'

'My Lord, ſaid ſhe, if you have any 'Thing to ſay to me, ſpeak it openly before 'all theſe Folk, for I fear nothing that you 'can ſay to me, or againſt me, but that I 'am willing all the World ſhould both ſee 'and hear it, and, therefore, ſpeak your 'Minds openly.'

Then began my Lord to ſpeak to her in *Latin*: 'Nay, good my Lord, ſpeak to me 'in *Engliſh*, quoth ſhe, although I do under- 'ſtand ſome *Latin*. Forſooth, quoth my 'Lord, good Madam, if it pleaſe your Grace, 'we come both to know your Mind, what 'you are diſpoſed to do in this Matter, 'and alſo to declare to you, ſecretly, our 'Counſels and Opinions, which we do, for 'very Zeal and Obedience to your Grace.'

'My Lords, quoth ſhe, I thank you for 'your Good-wills, but to make Anſwer to 'your Requeſts I cannot ſo ſuddenly; for I 'was ſet amongſt my Maids at Work, little 'thinking of any ſuch Matter, wherein is re- 'quiſite ſome Deliberation, and a better Head 'than mine to make Anſwer; for I need 'Counſel in this Caſe, which concerns me 'ſo near, and Friends here I have none, they 'are in *Spain*, in my own Country: Alſo, 'my Lords, I am a poor Woman, of too 'weak a Capacity to anſwer ſuch noble Per- 'ſons of Wiſdom as you are, in ſo weighty 'a Matter. And, therefore, I pray you, be 'good to me, a Woman deſtitute of Friend- 'ſhip here in a foreign Region, and your

'Counſel I alſo ſhall be glad to hear;' and therewith ſhe took my Lord by the Hand, and led him into her Privy-chamber, with the other Cardinal, where they ſtaid a While, and I heard her Voice loud, but what ſhe ſaid, I know not.

This done, they went to the King, and made a Relation unto him of the Paſſages, between the Queen and them, and ſo they departed.

This ſtrange Caſe proceeded, and went forward from Court-day to Court-day, until it came to that, that every Man expected to hear Judgment given, at which Time, all their Proceedings were openly read in *Latin*; that done, the King's Council, at the Bar, moved for Judgment; quoth Cardinal *Campaine*, 'I will not give Judgment, until I 'have related the whole Proceedings to the 'Pope, whoſe Counſel and Commandment, 'I will, in this Caſe, obſerve: The Matter 'is too high for us to give haſty Judgment, 'conſidering the Perſons, and the doubtful 'Occaſions alledged, and alſo whoſe Com-'miſſioners we are, by whoſe Authority we 'ſit.

'It is good Reaſon, therefore, that we 'make our chief Lord of Counſel acquainted 'with the ſame, before we proceed to Judg-'ment definitive: I came not to pleaſe for 'any Favour, Reward, or Fear, of any Per-'ſon alive, be he King, or otherwiſe; I have 'no ſuch Reſpect to the Perſon, that I 'ſhould offend my Conſcience. And the 'Party-defendant will make no Anſwer here, 'but rather doth appeal from us; I am an 'old Man, both weak and ſickly, and look, 'every Day, for Death: What ſhall it avail 'me, to put my Soul in Danger of God's 'Diſpleaſure, to my utter Damnation, for the 'Favour of any Prince in this World? My 'being here is only to ſee Juſtice adminiſtered, 'according to my Conſcience.

'The Defendant ſuppoſeth that we be not 'indifferent Judges, conſidering the King's 'high Dignity and Authority within this 'Realm. And we being both his Subjects, 'ſhe thinks we will not do her Juſtice; and, 'therefore, to avoid all theſe Ambiguities, 'I adjourn the Court, for the Time, accord-'ing to the Court of Rome, from whence 'our Juriſdiction is arrived; for, if we ſhould 'go further than our Commiſſion doth war-'rant us, it were but a Folly, and Blame-'worthy, becauſe then we ſhall be Breakers 'of the Orders, from whom we have, as I 'ſaid, our Authority derived;' and ſo the Court was diſſolved, and no more done.

Thereupon, by the King's Commandment, ſtepped up the Duke of *Suffolk*, and, with a haughty Countenance, uttered theſe Words:

'It was never thus in *England*, until we 'had Cardinals amongſt us.'

Which Words were ſet forth with ſuch Vehemency, that all Men marvelled what he intended, the Duke further expreſſing ſome opprobrious Words.

My Lord Cardinal, perceiving his Vehemency, ſoberly ſaid, 'Sir, of all Men in this 'Realm, you have leaſt Cauſe to diſpraiſe 'Cardinals; for, if I poor Cardinal had not 'been, you ſhould not, at this preſent, have 'had a Head on your Shoulders, wherewith 'to make ſuch a Brag in Deſpight of us, who 'wiſh you no Harm, neither have given 'you ſuch Cauſe to be offended with us. I 'would have you think, my Lord, I, and my 'Brother, wiſh the King as much Happineſs, 'and the Realm as much Honour, Wealth, 'and Peace, as you, or any other Subject, of 'what Degree ſoever he be, within this 'Realm, and would as gladly accompliſh his 'lawful Deſires.

'And now, my Lord, I pray you, ſhew 'me what you would do in ſuch a Caſe as 'this, if you were one of the King's Com-'miſſioners, in a foreign Region, about ſome 'weighty Matter, the Conſultation whereof 'was very doubtful to be decided: Would you 'not advertiſe the King's Majeſty, before 'you went through with the ſame? I doubt 'not but you would, and, therefore, abate 'your Malice and Spight, and conſider that 'we are Commiſſioners for a Time, and can-'not, by Vertue of a Commiſſion, proceed 'to Judgment, without the Knowledge and 'Conſent of the Head of the Authority, and 'Licenſe obtained from him, who is the 'Pope.

'Therefore do we neither more nor leſs, 'than our Commiſſion allows us; and, if 'any Man will be offended with us, he is an 'unwiſe Man; therefore pacify yourſelf, my

'Lord;

'Lord, and ſpeak like a Man of Honour and 'Wiſdom, or hold your Peace; ſpeak not 'reproachfully of your Friends, you beſt 'know what Friendſhip I have ſhewn you: 'I never did reveal to any Perſon, till now, 'either to my own Praiſe, or your Diſhonour.' Whereupon the Duke went away, and ſaid no more, being much diſcontented.

This Matter continued thus a long Seaſon, and the King was in Diſpleaſure againſt my Lord Cardinal, becauſe his Suit had no better Succeſs to his Purpoſe.

Notwithſtanding, the Cardinal excuſed himſelf, by his Commiſſion, which gave him no Authority to proceed to Judgment, without the Knowledge of the Pope, who reſerved the ſame to himſelf. At laſt they were advertiſed, by a Poſt, that they ſhould take Deliberation in the Matter, until his Council were opened, which ſhould not be till *Bartholomew*-tide next.

The King, thinking it would be too long before it would be determined, ſent an Ambaſſador to the Pope, to perſuade him to ſhew ſo much Favour to his Majeſty, as that it might be ſooner determined.

On this Ambaſſage went Dr. *Stephen Gardener*, then called by the Name of Dr. *Steven*, Secretary to the King, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This Ambaſſador ſtaid there till the latter End of Summer, of whoſe Return you ſhall hereafter hear.

CHAP. XVII.

Of certain Paſſages conducing to the Cardinal's Fall.

NOW the King commanded the Queen to be removed from the Court, and ſent to another Place; and preſently after the King rode on Progreſs, and had in his Company Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*; in which Time Cardinal *Campaine* made Suit to be diſcharged, and ſent Home to *Rome*; and, in the Interim, returned Mr. Secretary; and it was concluded, that my Lord ſhould come to the King to *Graſton* in *Northamptonſhire*; as alſo Cardinal *Campaine*, being a Stranger, ſhould be conducted thither by my Lord Cardinal. And ſo, the next *Sunday*, there were divers Opinions that the King would not ſpeak with my Lord; whereupon there were many great Wagers laid.

Theſe two Prelates being come to the Court, and alighting, expected to be received of the great Officers, as the Manner was, but they found the contrary: Nevertheleſs, becauſe the Cardinal *Campaine* was a Stranger, the Officers met him with Staves in their Hands in the outward Court, and ſo conveyed him to his Lodging prepared for him; and, after my Lord had brought him to his Lodging, he departed, thinking to have gone to his Chamber, as he was wont to do. But it was told him, he had no Lodging or Chamber appointed for him in the Court; which News did much aſtoniſh him.

Sir *Henry Norris*, who was then Groom of the Stool, came unto him, and deſired him to take his Chamber for a While, until another was provided for him; for, I aſſure you, here is but little Room in this Houſe for the King, and therefore, I humbly beſeech your Grace, accept of mine for a Seaſon. My Lord, thanking him for his Courteſy, went to his Chamber, where he ſhifted his riding Apparel.

In the mean Time came divers Noblemen of his Friends to welcome him to the Court, by whom my Lord was advertiſed of all Things touching the King's Favour or Diſpleaſure; and, being thus informed of the Cauſe thereof, he was more able to excuſe himſelf.

So my Lord made him ready, and went to the Chamber of Preſence with the other Cardinal, where the Lords of the Council ſtood all of a Row in Order in the Chamber, and ſaluted them both: And there were preſent many Gentlemen, which came on Purpoſe to obſerve the Meeting and Countenance of the King to my Lord Cardinal. Then, immediately after, the King came into the Chamber of Preſence, ſtanding under the Cloth of State.

Then my Lord Cardinal took Cardinal *Campaine* by the Hand, and kneeled down before the King, but what he ſaid unto him, I know not: But his Countenance was amiable, and his Majeſty ſtooped down, and with both his Hands took him up, and then took him

him by the Hand, and went to the Window with him, and there talked with him a good While.

Then, to have beheld the Countenance of the Lords and Noblemen that had laid Wagers, it would have made you ſmile, eſpecially thoſe that had laid their Money that the King would not ſpeak with him.

Thus they were deceived, for the King was in earneſt Diſcourſe with him, inſomuch that I could hear the King ſay, How can this be, is not this your Hand? And pulled a Letter out of his own Boſom, and ſhewed the ſame to my Lord. And, as I perceived, my Lord ſo anſwered the ſame, that the King had no more to ſay; but ſaid to my Lord, Go to your Dinner, and take my Lord Cardinal to keep you Company, and after Dinner I will ſpeak further with you, and ſo they departed. And the King that Day dined with Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen* in her Chamber.

Then was there ſet up in the Preſence-Chamber a Table for my Lord, and other Lords of the Council, where they dined together; and ſitting at Dinner telling of divers Matters, The King ſhould do well, quoth my Lord Cardinal, to ſend his Biſhops and Chaplains home to their Cures and Benefices. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, and ſo it were meet for you to do alſo. I would be very well contented therewith, if it were the King's Pleaſure to licenſe me, with his Grace's Leave, to go to my Cure at *Wincheſter*. Nay, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, to your Benefice at *York*, where your greateſt Honour and Charge is. Even as it ſhall pleaſe the King, quoth my Lord Cardinal; and ſo they fell upon other Diſcourſes. For, indeed, the Nobility were loth he ſhould be ſo near the King, as to continue at *Wincheſter*. Immediately after Dinner they fell to Council till the Waiters had alſo dined.

I heard it reported by thoſe that waited on the King at Dinner, that Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen* was offended as much as the Duſt, that the King did ſo graciouſly entertain my Lord Cardinal: Saying, Sir, Is it not a marvellous Thing to ſee into what great Debt and Danger he hath brought you, with all your Subjects? How ſo, quoth the King? Forſooth, quoth ſhe, there is not a Man in all your whole Realm of *England* owing a hundred Pounds, but he hath indebted you to him, meaning of Loan, which the King had of his Subjects. Well, well, quoth the King, for that Matter there was no Blame in him, for I know that Matter better than you, or any elſe.

Nay, quoth ſhe, beſides that, what Exploits hath he wrought in ſeveral Parts and Places of this Realm, to your great Slander and Diſgrace? There is never a Nobleman, but, if he had done half ſo much as he hath done, were well worthy to loſe his Head. Yea, if my Lord of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suffolk*, my Father, or any other Man, had done much leſs than he hath done, they ſhould have loſt their Heads before this.

Then I perceive, quoth the King, you are none of my Lord Cardinal's Friends. Why, Sir, quoth ſhe, I have no Cauſe, nor any that love you. No more hath your Grace, if you did well conſider his indirect and unlawful Doings.

By that Time the Waiters had dined, and took up the Table, and ſo for that Time ended their Communication.

You may perceive by this, how the old Malice was not forgotten; but begins to kindle and be ſet on Fire, which was ſtirred by his ancient Enemies, whom I have formerly named in this Treatiſe.

The King, for that Time, departed from Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*, and came to the Chamber of Preſence, and called for my Lord, and, in the great Window, had a long Diſcourſe with him, but of what, I know not: Afterwards the King took him by the Hand, and led him into the Privy-Chamber, and ſat in Conſultation with him all alone, without any other of the Lords, till it was dark Night; which blanked all his Enemies very ſore, who had no other Way but by Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*, in whom was all their Truſt and Affiance for the Accompliſhment of their Enterpriſes; for, without her, they feared all their Purpoſes would be fruſtrated.

Now at Night was Warning given me, that there was no Room for my Lord to lodge in the Court; ſo that I was forced to provide my Lord a Lodging in the Country, about *Eaſton*, at one Mr. *Empſton*'s Houſe, where my Lord came to Supper by Torch-light, being late before my Lord parted from the King, who willed him to reſort to him in the Morning, for that he would talk farther

with

with him about the ſame Matter; and in the Morning my Lord came again, at whoſe Coming the King's Majeſty was ready to ride, willing my Lord to conſult with the Lords in his Abſence, and ſaid he would not talk with him, commanding my Lord to depart with Cardinal *Campaine*, who had already taken his Leave of the King.

This ſudden Departure of the King's was the eſpecial Labour of Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*, who rode with him purpoſely to draw him away, becauſe he ſhould not return till the Departure of the Cardinals. The King rode that Morning to view a Piece of Ground to make a Park of, which was afterwards, and is at this Time, called *Harewell Park*, where Miſtreſs *Anne* had provided him a Place to dine in, fearing his Return before my Lord Cardinal's Departure.

So my Lord rode away after Dinner with Cardinal *Campaine*, who took his Journey towards *Rome*, with the King's Reward, but what it was I am not certain.

After their Departure, it was told the King, that Cardinal *Campaine* was departed, and had great Treaſure with him of my Lord Cardinal's of *England*, to be conveyed in great Sums to *Rome*, whither they ſurmiſed he would ſecretly repair out of this Realm. Inſomuch, that they cauſed a Poſt to ride after the Cardinal to ſearch him, who overtook him at *Calais*, and ſtaid him until Search was made; but there was found no more than was received of the King for a Reward.

Now, after Cardinal *Campaine* was gone, *Michaelmas* Term drew on, againſt which Time my Lord Cardinal repaired to his Houſe at *Weſtminſter*; and, when the Term began, he went into the Hall in ſuch Manner as he was accuſtomed to do, and ſat in the Chancery, being then Lord Chancellor of *England*, after which Day he never ſat more; the next Day he ſtaid at Home for the Coming of my Lords of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who came not that Day, but the next: And did declare unto my Lord, that it was the King's Pleaſure he ſhould ſurrender up the Great Seal of *England* into their Hands, and that he ſhould depart unto *Aſher*, which is a Houſe near unto *Hampton-Court*, belonging unto the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*.

The Cardinal demanded of them to ſee their Commiſſion that gave them ſuch Authority; who anſwered again, they were ſufficient Commiſſioners, and had Authority to do no leſs from the King's own Mouth. Notwithſtanding, he would in no Wiſe agree to their Demand in that Behalf, without further Knowledge of their Authority, telling them, that the Great Seal was delivered to him by the King's own Perſon, to enjoy the Miniſtration thereof, together with the Chancellorſhip, during the Term of his Life, whereof, for Surety, he had the King's Letters Patents to ſhew; which Matter was much debated between him and the Dukes, with many great Words, which he took patiently, inſomuch that the Dukes were fain to depart without their Purpoſe at that Time, and returned to *Windſor* to the King; and, the next Day, they returned to my Lord with the King's Letters; whereupon, in Obedience to the King's Command, my Lord delivered to them the Broad Seal, which they brought to *Windſor* to the King.

Then my Lord called his Officers before him, and took Account of all Things they had in their Charge; and, in his Gallery, were ſet divers Tables, upon which were laid divers and great Store of rich Stuffs, as whole Pieces of Silk of all Colours, Velvets, Sattins, Muſks, Taffaties, Grograms, Scarlets, and divers rich Commodities. Alſo, there were one-thouſand Pieces of fine Holland, and the Hangings of the Gallery with Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Silver, and rich Cloth of Bodkin of divers Colours, which were hanged, in Expectation of the King's Coming.

Alſo, of one Side of the Gallery, were hanged the rich Suits of Copes of his own Providing, which were made for Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*; they were the richeſt that ever I ſaw in all my Life: Then had he two Chambers adjoining to the Gallery, the one moſt commonly called the Gilt-Chamber, the other the Council-Chamber, wherein were ſet two broad and long Tables, whereupon were ſet ſuch Abundance of Plate of all Sorts, as was almoſt incredible to be believed, a great Part being all of clean Gold; and, upon every Table and Cupboard where the Plate was ſet, were Books, importing every Kind of Plate, with the Contents, and the Weight thereof.

Thus were all Things furniſhed and prepared, giving the Charge of the ſaid Stuff, with other Things remaining in every Office, to be delivered to the King, as he gave Charge; all Things being ordered as is before rehearſed,

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my Lord prepared to depart, and reſolved to go by Water; but, before his Going, Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, being his Treaſurer, came unto him, and ſaid, Sir, quoth he, I am ſorry for your Grace, for I hear you are ſtraight to go to the *Tower*: Is this the beſt Comfort, quoth my Lord, you can give to your Maſter in Adverſity? It hath always been your Inclination to be light of Credit, and much lighter in reporting of Lyes; I would you ſhould know, Sir *William*, and all thoſe Reporters too, that it is untrue, for I never deſerved to come there; although it hath pleaſed the King to take my Houſe ready furniſhed, for his Pleaſure, at this Time, I would all the World ſhould know, I have Nothing but it is of Right for him, and of him I received all that I have; it is therefore convenient and reaſonable to tender the ſame to him again.

Then my Lord, with his Train of Gentlemen and Yeomen, which was no ſmall Company, took his Barge at his Privy-Stairs, and went by Water to *Putney*, at which Time, upon the Water, were Abundance of Boats filled with People, expecting to have ſeen my Lord Cardinal go to the *Tower*, which they longed to ſee. Oh! wondering and new-fangled World! Is it not a Time to conſider the Mutability of this uncertain World? For the common People ever deſire Things for Novelty's Sake, which after, turn to their ſmall Profit or Advantage. For, if you mark the Sequel, they had ſmall Cauſe to rejoice at his Fall; I cannot ſee, but all Men in Favour are envied by the common People, though they do miniſter Juſtice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at *Aſher*, three or four Weeks, without either Beds, Sheets, Table-Cloths, or Diſhes to eat their Meat in, or wherewith to buy any. But there were good Store of all Kind of Victuals, and of Beer, and Wine plenty; but afterwards my Lord borrowed ſome Plate and Diſhes of the Biſhop of *Carliſle*.

Thus continued my Lord in this ſtrange State till after *Allhallows-tide*; and being one Day at Dinner, Mr. *Cromwell* told him, That he ought in Conſcience to conſider the true and good Service, that he and other his Servants had done him, who never forſook him in Weal nor Woe: Then ſaid my Lord, Alas! *Tom*, you know I have Nothing to give you nor them, which makes me both aſhamed and ſorry that I have Nothing to requite your faithful Services: Whereupon Mr. *Cromwell* told my Lord, That he had Abundance of Chaplains, that were preferred by his Grace to Benefices of ſome one-thouſand Pounds, and others five-hundred Pounds, ſome more and ſome leſs; and we your poor Servants, who take more Pains in one Day's Service, than all your idle Chaplains have done in a Year; and therefore, if they will not impart liberally to you in your great Indigence, it is Pity they ſhould live, and all the World will have them in Indignation for their great Ingratitude to their Maſter.

Afterwards, my Lord commanded me to call all his Gentlemen and Yeomen up in the great Chamber, commanding all the Gentlemen to ſtand on the right Hand, and the Yeomen on the left Side; at laſt my Lord came out in his Rochet, upon a Violet Gown, like a Biſhop, who went with his Chaplains to the Upper-end of the Chamber, where was a great Window, beholding his goodly Number of Servants, who could not ſpeak to them, until the Tears ran down his Cheeks; which, being perceived of his Servants, cauſed Fountains of Tears to guſh out of their ſorrowful Eyes in ſuch Sort, as would cauſe any Heart to relent.

At laſt my Lord ſpoke to them to this Effect and Purpoſe, ſaying, Moſt faithful Gentlemen, and true-hearted Yeomen, I much lament that in my Proſperity I did not ſo much for you as I might have done, and was in my Power to do; I conſider that, if in my Proſperity I ſhould have preferred you to the King, then ſhould I have incurred the King's Servants Diſpleaſure, who would not ſpare to report behind my Back, that there could no Office in the Court eſcape the Cardinal and his Servants, and by that Means I ſhould have run into open Slander of all the World; but now it is come to paſs, that it hath pleaſed the King to take all that I have into his Hands, ſo that I have now Nothing to give you, for I have Nothing left me but the bare Cloaths on my Back; with many other Words in their Praiſe: And ſo he, giving them all hearty Thanks, went away; and afterwards many of his Servants departed from him, ſome to their Wives, ſome to their Friends, and Mr. *Cromwell* to *London*, it being then the Beginning of the Parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Cardinal is accused of High-Treason in the Parliament-House, against which Accusation, Mr. Cromwell *(late Servant to him) being a Burgess in the Parliament, made Defence.*

THE aforesaid Mr. *Cromwell*, after his Departure from my Lord, devised with himself to be be one of the Burgesses of the Parliament: And, being at *London*, he chanced to meet one Sir *Thomas Russel*, Knight, a special Friend of his, whose Son was one of the Burgesses of the Parliament, of whom, by Means, he obtained his Room, and so put his Feet into the Parliament-House; and, three Days after his Departure from my Lord, he came again to *Asher*, and, I being there with my Lord, he said unto me, with a pleasant Countenance: I have adventured my Feet where I will be better regarded, before the Parliament be dissolved. And, after he had some Talk with my Lord, he made Haste to *London*, because he would not be absent from the Parliament, to the Intent he might acquaint my Lord what was there objected against him, thereby the better to make his Defence, insomuch, that there was Nothing at any Time objected against my Lord, but he was ready to make Answer thereunto; by Means whereof, he, being earnest in his Master's Behalf, was reputed the most faithful Servant to his Master of all others, and was generally, of all Men, highly commended.

Then was there brought a Bill of Articles into the Parliament-House, to have my Lord condemned of High-Treason, against which Bill, Mr. *Cromwell* did inveigh so discreetly, and with such witty Persuasions, that the same would take no Effect. Then were his Enemies constrained to indict him of a *Præmunire*, and all was to intitle the King to all his Goods and Possessions, which he had obtained and purchased for the Maintenance of his Colleges of *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, which were both most sumptuous Buildings. To the Judges, that were sent to take my Lord's Answer herein, he thus answered:

'My Lords Judges, quoth he, the King 'knoweth, whether I have offended or no in 'using my Prerogative for the which I am in'dicted: I have the King's License in my 'Coffer, to shew under his Hand and Broad-'Seal, for the Executing and Using thereof in 'a most large Manner, the which now are in 'the Hands of mine Enemies; but, because I 'will not here stand to contend with his Ma'jesty in his own Case, I will here presently 'before you confess the Indictment, and put 'myself wholly to the Mercy and Grace of 'the King, trusting that he hath a Conscience 'and Reason to consider the Truth, and my 'humble Submission and Obedience, wherein I 'might well stand to my Trial with Justice. 'Thus much may you say to his Highness, 'That I wholly submit myself under his Obe'dience in all Things, to his princely Will 'and Pleasure, whom I never disobeyed or 'or repugned, but was always contented and 'glad to please him before God, whom I 'ought most chiefly to have believed and obey'ed, which I now repent: I most heartily de'sire you to have me commended to him, for 'whom I shall, during my Life, pray to God 'to send him much Prosperity, Honour, and 'Victory over his Enemies.' And so they left him.

After which, Mr. *Shelley*, the Judge, was sent to speak with my Lord, who, understanding he was come, issued out of his Privy-Chamber, and came to him to know his Business; who, after due Salutation, did declare unto him, That the King's Pleasure was, to demand my Lord's House, called *York place*, near *Westminster*, belonging to the Bishoprick of *York*; and that you do pass the same according to the Laws of this Realm: His Highness hath sent for all his Judges and learned Council, to know their Opinions for your Assurance thereof, who be fully resolved, that your Grace must make a Recognisance, and, before a Judge, acknowledge and confess the Right there to belong to the King and his Successors, and so his Highness shall be assured thereof.

Wherefore, it pleased the King to send me hither to take of you the Recognisance, having

having in your Grace ſuch Affiance, that you will not refuſe to do ſo; therefore I do deſire to know your Grace's Pleaſure therein.

Maſter *Shelley*, quoth my Lord, I know the King of his own Nature is of a Royal Spirit, not requiring more, than Reaſon ſhall lead him to by the Law; and therefore I counſel you, and all other Judges and learned Men of his Council, to put no more into his Head, than Law, that may ſtand with Conſcience; for, when you tell him, that, although this be Law, yet it is not Conſcience; for Law without Conſcience is not fit to be miniſtered by a King, nor his Council, nor by any of his Miniſters; for every Council to a King ought to have Reſpect to Conſcience before the Rigour of the Law: *Laus eſt facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The King ought, for his royal Dignity and Prerogative, to mitigate the Rigour of the Law; and therefore, in his princely Place, he hath conſtituted a Chancellor to order for him the ſame; and therefore the Court of *Chancery* hath been commonly called the Court of *Conſcience*, for that it hath Juriſdiction to command the Law, in every Caſe, to deſiſt from the Rigour of the Execution. And now I ſay to you, Maſter *Shelley*, Have I a Power, or may I with Conſcience give that away, which is now mine, for me and my Succeſſors? If this be Law and Conſcience, I pray you, ſhew me your Opinion.

Forſooth, quoth he, there is no great Conſcience in it; but, having Regard to the King's great Power, it may the better ſtand with Conſcience, who is ſufficient to recompenſe the Church of *York* with the double Value.

That I know well, quoth my Lord; but there is no ſuch Condition, but only a bare and ſimple Departure of others Rights: If every Biſhop ſhould do ſo, then might every Prelate give away the Patrimony of the Church, and ſo, in Proceſs of Time, leave nothing for their Succeſſors to maintain their Dignities; which would be but little to the King's Honour.

Well, quoth my Lord, let me ſee your Commiſſion; which was ſhewed to him; then quoth my Lord, Tell his Highneſs, that I am his moſt faithful Subject, and obedient Beadſman, whoſe Command I will in no wiſe diſobey, but will in all Things fulfil his Pleaſure, as you the Fathers of the Law ſay, I may. Therefore I charge your Conſcience to diſcharge me; and ſhew his Highneſs, from me, that I muſt deſire his Majeſty to remember, there is both Heaven and Hell: And thereupon the Clerk took and wrote the Recogniſance, and, after ſome ſecret Talk, they departed.

Thus continued my Lord at *Aſher*, receiving daily Meſſages from the Court, ſome good and ſome bad, but more ill than good; for his Enemies, perceiving the good Affection, the King bore always to him, deviſed a Means to diſquiet his Patience, thinking thereby to give him Occaſion to fret and chafe, that Death ſhould rather enſue, than otherwiſe; which they moſt deſired; for they feared him more after his Fall, than they did in his Proſperity; fearing, if he ſhould, by Reaſon of the King's Favour, riſe again, and be again in Favour, and great at the Court, they his Enemies might be in Danger of their Lives, for their Cruelty wrongfully ministered unto him, and, by their malicious Surmiſes, invented and brought to paſs againſt him: And did continually find new Matters againſt him, to make him vex and fret; but he was a wiſe Man, and did arm himſelf with much Patience.

At *Chriſtmas* he fell very ſore ſick, moſt likely to die. The King hearing thereof, was very ſorry, and ſent Dr. *Butts*, his Phyſician, unto him; who found him very dangerouſly ſick in Bed, and returned to the King: The King demanded, ſaying, Have you ſeen yonder Man? Yes, Sir, quoth he. How do you like him? quoth the King. Sir, quoth he, if you will have him dead, I will warrant you, he will be dead within theſe four Days, if he receive no Comfort from you ſhortly.

Marry! God forbid, quoth the King, that he ſhould die, for I would not loſe him for twenty-thouſand Pounds; I pray you, go to him, and do your Care to him.

Then muſt your Grace, quoth Dr. *Butts*, ſend him ſome comfortable Meſſage. So I will, quoth the King, by you; therefore make Speed to him again, and you ſhall deliver him this Ring from me, for a Token. [In the which Ring was the King's Image engraven, with a Ruby, as like the King as might be deviſed.] This Ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the ſame; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my Heart for any Thing; and that ſhall be known ſhortly; therefore bid him pluck up his Heart, and be of good Comfort: And I charge you, come not

not from him, till you have brought him out of the Danger of Death, if it be poſſible.

Then ſpoke the King to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*: Good Sweetheart, as you love me, ſend the Cardinal a Token at my Requeſt, and, in ſo doing, you ſhall deſerve our Thanks. She, being diſpoſed not to offend the King, would not diſobey his loving Requeſt, but took incontinently her Tablet of Gold, that hung at her Side, and delivered it to Dr. *Butts*, with very gentle and loving Words; and ſo he departed to *Aſhur* with Speed. And after him the King ſent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr. *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, to conſult and adviſe with Dr. *Butts* for my Lord's Recovery.

Now, after Dr. *Butts* had been with him, and delivered him the Tokens from the King and Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, with the moſt comfortable Words, he could deviſe, on the King's and Mrs. *Anne*'s Behalf, he advanced himſelf in his Bed, and received the Tokens very joyfully, giving him many Thanks for his Pains and good Comfort. He told him further, That the King's Pleaſure was, that he ſhould miniſter unto him for his Health. And for the better and more aſſured Ways, he hath alſo ſent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr. *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, all to join for his Recovery: Therefore, my Lord, quoth Dr. *Butts*, it were well they were called to viſit you, and to conſult with me for your Diſeaſe.

At which Motion my Lord was contented, and ſent for them to hear their Judgments; but he truſted more to Dr. *Cromer*, than all the reſt, becauſe he was the very Means to bring him from *Paris* to *England*, and gave him, partly, his Exhibition in *Paris*. To be ſhort, in four Days they ſet him again upon his Feet, and he had gotten him a good Stomach to Meat. All this done, and my Lord in a right good Way of Amendment, they took their Leaves, and departed: To whom my Lord offered his Reward; but they refuſed, ſaying, the King had given a ſpecial Commandment, that they ſhould take nothing of him, for, at their Return, he would reward them of his own Coſt.

After this, my Lord continued at *Aſhur* till *Candlemas*; before, and againſt which Feaſt, the King cauſed to be ſent to my Lord three or four Loads of Stuff; and moſt thereof, except Beds and Kitchen-ſtuff, was loaded in Standers, wherein were both Plate, and rich Hangings, and Chapel-ſtuff, which was done without the Knowledge of the Lords of the Council; for all which he rendered the King moſt humble and hearty Thanks, and afterwards made Suit to the King to be removed from *Aſhur* to *Richmond*; which Requeſt was granted.

The Houſe of *Richmond*, a little before, was repaired by my Lord, to his great Coſt; for the King had made an Exchange with him for *Hampton-court*. Had the Lords of the Council known of theſe Favours from the King to the Cardinal, they would have perſuaded the King to the Contrary; for they feared, leſt his now Abode near the King might move the King at ſome Seaſon to reſort unto him, and to call him Home again, conſidering the great and daily Affection the King bore unto him. Therefore they moved the King, that my Lord might go down to the North, to his Benefice there, where he might be a good Stay, as they alledged, to the Country. To which the King condeſcended, thinking no leſs, but that all had been true, according to their Relation, being with ſuch Colour of deep Conſideration, that the King was ſtraightway perſuaded to their Concluſion: Whereupon, my Lord of *Norfolk* ordered Mr. *Cromwell*, who daily did reſort to my Lord, that he ſhould ſay to him, That he muſt go Home to his Benefice. Well, then, *Thomas*, quoth my Lord, we will go to *Wincheſter*. I will, then, quoth Mr. *Cromwell*, tell my Lord of *Norfolk* what you ſay. And ſo he did, at his next Meeting of him. What ſhould he do there? quoth the Duke. Let him go to the rich Biſhoprick of *York*, where his greateſt Honour and Charge lie; and ſo ſhew to him. The Lords, who were not his Friends, perceiving that my Lord was diſpoſed to plant himſelf ſo nigh the King, thought then to withdraw his Appetite from *Wincheſter*; moved the King to give my Lord a Penſion of four-thouſand Marks out of *Wincheſter*, and all the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt the Nobility and his Servants; and to, likewiſe, to divide the Revenues of St. *Albans*; whereof ſome had two-hundred Pounds; and all the Revenues of his Lands, belonging to his Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, the King took into his own Hands; whereof Mr. *Cromwell* had the Receipt and Government before, by my Lord's Aſſignment. Wherefore it was thought very neceſſary, that he ſhould have the ſame, till, who executed all Things ſo well and exactly,

that he was had in great Eſtimation for his Behaviour therein.

Now it came to paſs, that thoſe, to whom the King had given any Annuities, or Fees for Term of Life, or by Patent, could not be good, but only for and during my Lord's Life; foraſmuch as the King had no longer Eſtate therein, but what he had by my Lord's Attainder in the *Præmunire*; and, to make their Eſtate good and ſufficient, there was no other Way, but to obtain my Lord's Confirmation of their Patents; and, to bring this about, there was no other Means, but by Mr. *Cromwell*, who was thought the fitteſt Inſtrument for this Purpoſe; and, for his Pains therein, he was worthily rewarded; and his Demeanour, his Honeſty, and Wiſdom were ſuch, that the King took great Notice of him, as you ſhall hereafter hear.

Still the Lords thought long, till my Lord was removed further off the King's Way; wherefore, among others of the Lords, my Lord of *Norfolk* ſaid: 'Mr. *Cromwell*, methinks, the Cardinal thy Maſter makes no 'Haſte to go Northwards; tell him, if he go 'not away, I will tear him with my Teeth; 'therefore I would adviſe him to prepare 'away with Speed, or elſe I will ſet him forward.' Theſe Words reported Mr. *Cromwell* to my Lord at his next Repair, which was then at *Richmond*, having obtained Licenſe of the King to remove from *Aſhur* to *Richmond*. And, in the Evening, my Lord being accuſtomed to walk in the Garden, and I being with him ſtanding in an Alley, I eſpied certain Images of Beaſts, counterfeited in Timber; which I went nearer, to take the better View of them; among whom I there ſaw ſtand a dun Cow, whereat I moſt muſed of all thoſe Beaſts: My Lord then ſuddenly came upon me unawares, and, ſpeaking to me, ſaid: What have you eſpied there, whereat you look ſo earneſtly?

Forſooth, quoth I, ſo it pleaſe your Grace, I here behold theſe Images, which, I ſuppoſe, were ordained to be ſet up in the King's Palace; but amongſt them all I have moſt conſidered this Cow, which ſeems to me the Artificer's Maſter-piece. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord, upon this Cow hangs a certain Prophecy, which perhaps you never heard of: I will ſhew you, there is a Saying,

When the Cow doth ride the Bull,
Then, Prieſt, beware of thy Scull.

Which Saying, neither my Lord that declared it, nor I that heard it, underſtood the Effect, although the Compaſs thereof was working, and then like to be brought to paſs; this Cow the King gave by Reaſon of the Earldom of *Richmond*, which was his Inheritance. This Prophecy was afterwards expounded in this Manner: The dun Cow, becauſe it is the King's Beaſt, betokens the King, and the Bull betokens Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, who after was Queen; her Father gave the black Bull's Head in his Cogniſance, which was his Beaſt; ſo that when the King had married Queen *Anne*, it was thought of all Men to be fulfilled, for what a Number of Priests, Religious and Secular, loſt their Heads for Offending of theſe Laws made, to bring this Matter to paſs, is not unknown to all the World; therefore it may well be judged that this Prophecy is fulfilled.

You have heard what Words the Duke of *Norfolk* ſpoke to Maſter *Cromwell* touching my Lord's Going into the North; then ſaid my Lord, *Tom*, it is Time to be going; therefore I pray you, go to the King, and tell him I would go to my Benefice at *York*, but for Lack of Money, deſiring his Grace to help me to ſome; and you may ſay, that the laſt Money I had from his Grace was too little to pay my Debts, and to compel me to pay the reſt of my Debts were for ſuch Extremity, ſeeing all my Goods are taken from me: alſo ſhew my Lord of *Norfolk*, and the reſt of the Council, that I would depart, if I had Money. Sir, quoth Mr. *Cromwell*, I ſhall do my beſt, and ſo after other Communication departed, and came to *London*; then, in the Beginning of *Lent*, my Lord removed his Lodging into the *Charter-houſe* at *Richmond*, where he lay in a Lodging that Dr. *Collet* made for himſelf; and every Afternoon, for the Time of his Reſidence, there would he ſit in Contemplation, with ſome one of the moſt ancient Fathers there, who converted him to diſpoſe the vain Glory of this World, and they gave unto him Shirts of Hair to wear next his Body, which he wore divers Times after.

The Lords aſſigned that my Lord ſhould have a thouſand Marks Penſion out of *Wincheſter*, for his Going down into the North; which when the King heard of, he commanded that it ſhould be forthwith paid unto Mr. *Cromwell*. And the King commanded Mr. *Cromwell*, to repair to him again, when he had received the ſaid Sum, which he accordingly did: To whom his Majeſty ſaid, Shew your Lord that I have ſent him ten-thouſand Pounds of my Benevolence, tell him he ſhall not lack, and bid him be of good Comfort. Mr. *Cromwell*, on my Lord's Behalf, thanked the King for his Royal Liberality, towards my Lord, and with that departed to *Richmond*, to whom he delivered the Money, and the joyful Tidings, wherein my Lord did not a little rejoice. forthwith there was a Preparation made for his Going. He had with him, in his Train, one-hundred and ſixty Perſons, having with him twelve Carts to carry his Goods, which he ſent from his College at *Oxford*, beſides other Carts of his daily Carriage, of his Neceſſaries for his Buildings; he kept his ſolemn Feaſt of *Eaſter*, at *Peterborough*, and upon *Palm-Sunday*, he bore his Palm, and went in Proceſſion with the Monks; and upon *Thurſday* he made his Maunday, having fifty-nine poor People whoſe Feet he waſhed and kiſſed, and after he had dried them, he gave every one of them twelve Pence, and three Ells of good Canvas to make them Shirts, and each of them a Pair of new Shoes, and a Caſk of Red-herrings; on *Eaſter-day*, he roſe to the Reſurrection, and that Day he went in Proceſſion in his Cardinal's Veſtments, having his Hat on his Head, and ſung the high Maſs there himſelf ſolemnly; after his Maſs, he gave his Benediction to all the Hearers, with clean Remiſſion. From *Peterborough* he took his Journey into the North, but made ſome Stay by the Way, and many Paſſages happened in his Journey too tedious here to relate. At the laſt he came to *Stoby*, where he continued till after *Michaelmas*, exerciſing many Deeds of Charity; moſt commonly every *Sunday*, if the Weather ſerved, would he go to ſome poor Pariſh Church thereabouts, and there would ſee the divine Service, and either ſaid or heard Maſs, and then cauſed one of his Chaplains to preach the Word of God to the People, and afterwards he would dine in ſome honeſt Houſe in the Town, where ſhould be diſtributed to the Poor Alms, as well of Meat and Drink, as Money to ſupply the Want of Meat and Drink, if their Number did exceed; thus with other good Deeds, practiſing himſelf, during the Time of his Abode there, between Party and Party, being at Variance: About *Michaelmas*, after he removed from thence to *Cawood* Caſtle, within ſeven Miles of the City of *York*, where he had much Honour and Love from all Men, High and Low, and kept a plentiful Houſe for all Comers; alſo he built and repaired the Caſtle, which was much decayed, having at the leaſt three-hundred Perſons daily at Work, to whom he paid Wages lying there: Where all the Doctors and Prebends of the Church of *York* did repair to my Lord, according to their Duties, as unto the chief Head, Patron, and Father of their Spiritual Dignities, who did moſt joyfully welcome him into thoſe Parts, ſaying: It was no ſmall Comfort unto them, to ſee their Head among them, who had been ſo long abſent from them, being like unto fatherleſs and comfortleſs Children for Want of his Preſence; and that they truſted ſhortly to ſee him amongſt them in his own Church. To whom he made Anſwer, That it was the moſt ſpecial Cauſe of his Coming, to be amongſt them as a Father, and a natural Brother.

Sir, quoth they, you muſt underſtand the Ordinances and Rules of our Church, whereof, although you be the Head and ſole Governor, yet you are not ſo well acquainted as we be therein: Therefore, if it pleaſe your Grace, we ſhall, under Favour, open unto you ſome Part of our ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of our Church, that our Head, Prelate, and Paſtor, as you now are, might not come above our Choir Door, until by due Order he be inſtalled. And if you ſhould happen to die before your Inſtallation, you ſhould not be buried above in the Choir, but below in the nether Part of the Body of the Church. Therefore we humbly deſire and beſeech you, in the Name of all our Brethren, that you would vouchſafe to do the ſame, as our ancient Fathers, our Predeceſſors, have done, and that you will not break the laudable Cuſtoms of our Church, to the which we are obliged by Oath at our firſt Admittance to obſerve that, and divers others, which in our Chapter do remain upon Record.

Theſe Records, quoth my Lord, would I fain ſee, and then I ſhall know further of my Advice and Mind in this Buſineſs.

A Day

A Day was signed to bring their Records to my Lord, at which Time they resorted to my Lord with their Register and Books of Records, wherein were fairly written their Institutions and Rules, which every Minister of their Church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe, and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my Lord had read the Records, he did intend to be at the Cathedral Church of *York*, the next *Monday*, after *Allhallows-day*, against which Time due Preparation was made for the same; but not in so sumptuous a Wise, as were his Predecessors before him: Nor yet in such Sort, as the Fame and common Report was afterwards made of him, to his great Slander. And to the false Reporters no small Dishonesty, to become Divulgers of such notorious Lyes, as I am sure they were: For I myself was sent by my Lord to *York*, to see that all Things there should be ordered and provided for that Solemnity, in a very decent Form, to the Honour of that ancient and worthy Monastery of *York*.

It came to pass, that upon *Allhallows-day*, one of the head and principal Officers of the said Cathedral Church, which should have had most Doing at my Lord's Installation, was with my Lord at *Cawood*, and sitting at Dinner, they fell into Communication of this Matter, and the Order and Ceremony thereof: He saying that my Lord Cardinal should go a Foot from a Chapel, which stands without the Gates of the City, called St. *James*'s Chapel, upon the Minster upon Cloth, which should be distributed to the Poor, after his said Passage to the Church. Which my Lord hearing, replied and said, Although, perhaps, our Predecessors have gone upon Cloth, yet we intend to go on Foot without any such Pomp, or Vanity, in the Vamps of our Hose. And, therefore, he gave Order to his Servants, to go a [illegible] bly thither, as might be, without any [illegible] Apparel; for I intend, on *Sunday*, [illegible] and to make but [illegible] for you at the Close, and the next Day [illegible] with the Mayor, and so [illegible]

The Day being not unknown to all the Country, the [illegible] Abbots and Priors had such [illegible] in, that was almost incredible for Store and Variety.

The common People held my Lord in great Estimation for his Purity and Liberality, and also for his familiar Gesture, and good Behaviour amongst them. By Means whereof he gained much Love of all the People in the North Parts of *England*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Cardinal's Fall, and how he was arrested of High-Treason.

WHAT chanced before his last Troubles at *Cawood*, as a Sign or Token from God of that which should follow, I will now, God willing, declare. My Lord's Enemies being then at Court about the King, in good Estimation, and honourable Dignities; seeing now my Lord in great Favour, and fearing the King would now call him Home again, *they therefore did plot amongst themselves to dispatch him by Means of some sinister Treason, or to bring him into the King's great Indignation, by some other Means.*

This was their daily Study and Consultation, having, for their special Help and Furtherance, as many vigilant Attendants upon him, as the Poets feign *Argus* had Eyes.

The King, with these their continual Complaints, was moved to much Indignation, and thought it good that the Cardinal should come up, and to stand to his Trial in his own Person; which his Enemies did not like. Notwithstanding, he was sent for, and after this Sort:

First, they devised that Sir *Walter Welch* Knight, one of the King's Privy-chamber, should be sent down with a Commission into the North; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was sometime brought up in the House of my Lord, being joined in Commission with him, should arrest my Lord of High-Treason. This being resolved upon, Sir *Walter Welch* prepared for his Journey, with his Commission and certain Instruments annexed to the same, and took Horse at the Court Gate upon *Allhallows-day*, towards my Lord of *Northumberland*'s.

Now

Now will I declare what I promiſed before of a certain Sign or Token of my Lord's Troubles enſuing.

Upon *Allhallows-Day*, my Lord ſitting at Dinner, having, at his Board's End, divers of his Chaplains to bear him Company for Want of other Gueſts; you ſhall now underſtand, that my Lord's great Croſs which ſtood by fell, and in the Fall broke Doctor *Bonner's* Head, inaſmuch that ſome Blood ran down. My Lord, perceiving the Fall thereof, demanded of thoſe that ſtood by him, what was the Matter that they ſtood ſo amazed; I ſhewed him, of the Fall of his great Croſs upon Dr. *Bonner's* Head: Quoth my Lord, Hath it drawn any Blood? Yea, quoth I. With that he caſt his Head aſide, and ſoberly ſaid, *Malum omen*, and thereupon ſuddenly ſaid Grace, and roſe from Table, and went to his Bed chamber, but what he did there I cannot tell. Now mark how my Lord expounded the Meaning thereof, in his Fancy, to me at *Pontefract*, after his Fall: *Firſt*, that the great Croſs that he bore as Archbiſhop of *York* betokened himſelf, and Doctor *Auſtin* the Phyſician, who overthrew the Croſs, was he that accuſed my Lord, whereby his Enemies caught an Occaſion to overthrow him; it fell on Dr. *Bonner's* Head, who was then Maſter of my Lord's Faculties and Spiritual Juriſdiction, who was then damnified by the Fall thereof; and moreover the Drawing of Blood betokeneth Death, which did ſuddenly after follow.

Now the appointed Time drew near for the Inſtallation and Sitting at Dinner; the *Friday* before the *Monday*, that he ſhould have been inſtalled at *York*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Welch*, with a great Company of Gentlemen, of the Earl's Houſe, and of the Country whom they had gathered in the King's Name, to accompany them, yet not knowing to what End, came to the Hall of *Cawood* (the Officers being at Dinner) and my Lord not fully dined, not knowing any Thing of the Earl's being come.

The firſt Thing that the Earl did, after he had ſet the Hall in Order, he commanded the Porter to deliver the Keys of the Gates to him; which he would in no wiſe do, although he was threatened and commanded in the King's Name, to make Deliverance thereof to one of the Earl's Servants; which he ſtill refuſed, ſaying to the Earl, that the Keys were delivered to him by his Lord and Maſter, both by Oath and other Command.

Now ſome of the Gentlemen that ſtood by the Earl, hearing the Porter ſpeak ſo ſtoutly, ſaid, 'He is a good Fellow, and a faithful 'Servant to his Maſter, and ſpeaks like an 'honeſt Man; therefore give him your Charge, 'and let him keep the Keys ſtill;' then ſaid my Lord, You ſhall well and truly keep the Keys to the Uſe of our Sovereign Lord the King, and you ſhall let none paſs in nor out of the Gates, but ſuch as from Time to Time you ſhall be commanded by us, being the King's Commiſſioners during our Stay here; and with that Oath he received the Keys of the Earl and Mr. *Welch's* Hands; but of all theſe Doings knew my Lord Nothing, for they had ſtopped the Stairs that none ſhould go to my Lord's Chamber, and they that came down could not go up again. At the length, one eſcaped up, and ſhewed my Lord, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Hall; whereat, my Lord wondered, and, at the firſt, believed him not, till he heard it confirmed by another: Then ſaith my Lord, I am ſorry, we have dined; for I fear, our Officers have not provided Fiſh enough for the Entertainment of him, with ſome honourable Chear fitting his Eſtate and Dignity: And with that my Lord aroſe from the Table, and commanded to let the Cloth lie, that the Earl might ſee how far forth they were at their Dinners; and, as he was going down Stairs, he encountered with my Lord of *Northumberland*; to whom, my Lord ſaid, You are heartily welcome, my Lord, and ſo they embraced each other: Then ſaith my Lord Cardinal, If you had loved me, you would have ſent me Word before of your Coming, that I might have entertained you, according to your Honour. Notwithſtanding, you ſhall have ſuch Chear, as I can make you for the Preſent, with a right Good-will; truſting you will accept thereof in good Part, and hoping hereafter to ſee you oftener, when I ſhall be more able to entertain you; this ſaid, my Lord took him by the Hand, and led him to his Chamber, whom followed all the Earl's Servants; and, they being there all alone, ſaving I, which kept the Door, as my Office required, [illegible]ng Gentleman-uſher, and theſe two Lords ſtanding at a Window, the Earl trembling ſaid, I arreſt you of High-Treaſon; with which Words, my Lord was well nigh aſtoniſhed, ſtanding [illegible] good While, without ſpeaking one Word.

But

But, at the laſt, ſaith my Lord, What Authority have you to arreſt me? The Earl ſaith, I have a Commiſſion ſo to do. Shew it me, ſaith my Lord, that I may ſee the Contents thereof. Nay, Sir, that you may not, ſaith the Earl. Then ſaith my Lord, hold you contented, for I will not obey your Arreſt, for there have been between your Anceſtors, and my Predeceſſors, great Contentions and Debates, and therefore, unleſs I ſee your Authority, I will not obey you.

Even as they were debating the Matter in the Chamber, ſo likewiſe was Maſter *Welch* buſy in arreſting Dr. *Auſtin*, at the Door, ſaying, Go in, you Traytor, or I ſhall make thee: With that I opened the Portal Door, and did thruſt in Dr. *Auſtin* before him, with Violence. The Matter on both Sides aſtoniſhed me very much, marvelling what all this ſhould mean, until, at the laſt, Maſter *Welch*, being entered my Lord's Chamber, began to pluck off his Hood, being of the ſame Cloth his Cloke was, which Hood he wore, to the Intent he ſhould not be known, who kneeled down to my Lord; to whom my Lord ſaid, Come hither, Gentleman, and let me ſpeak with you, commanding him to ſtand up, and ſaid thus: My Lord of *Northumberland* hath arreſted me, but by what Authority I know not; if you be privy thereunto, joined with him therein, I pray you ſhew me. Indeed, my Lord, if it pleaſe your Grace, ſays Maſter *Welch*, I pray have me excuſed; there are annexed to our Commiſſion certain Inſtructions, as you may not ſee nor be privy to. Why, ſaith my Lord, be your Inſtructions ſuch as I may not ſee nor be privy thereunto? Yet peradventure, if I be privy unto them, I may help you the better to perform them, for it is not unknown to you, that I have been of Counſel, in as weighty Matters as theſe are; and I doubt not, but I ſhall do well enough, for my Part, and prove myſelf a true Man againſt the Expectations of my cruel Enemies; I ſee the Matter, whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to do I trow, thou art of the Privy-Chamber, your Name is Mr. *Welch*; I am contented to yield to you, but not to the Earl, unleſs I ſee his Commiſſion, and alſo you are a ſufficient Commiſſioner in this Behalf, being one of the Privy-Chamber: Therefore put your Commiſſion in Execution, ſpare me not, I will obey you and the King, for I fear not the Cruelty of mine Enemies, no more than I do the Truth of my Allegiance, wherein, I take God to Witneſs, I never offended his Majeſty in Word or Deed, and therein I dare ſtand Face to Face with any, having a Difference without Partiality.

Then came my Lord of *Northumberland*, and commanded me to avoid the Chamber: And, being loth to depart from my Maſter, I ſtood ſtill, and would not remove; to whom he ſpoke again and ſaid, There is no Remedy, you muſt depart; with that I looked upon my Maſter, as who would have ſaid, Shall I go? and, perceiving by his Countenance, that it was not for me to ſtay, I departed and went into another Chamber, where were many Gentlemen and others to hear News; to whom I made a Report of what I heard and ſaw, which was great Heavineſs to them all.

Then the Earl called into his Chamber divers of his own Servants, and, after he and Maſter *Welch* had taken the Keys from my Lord, he committed the Keeping of my Lord unto five Gentlemen, and then they went about the Houſe, and put all Things in Order, intending to depart the next Day, and to certify the King, and the reſt of the Lords, what they had done.

Then went they buſy about to convey Dr. *Auſtin* away to *London* with as much Speed and Privacy, as they could poſſibly, ſending with him divers Perſons to conduct him, who was bound to his Horſe like a Traytor.

And this being done, when it was near Night, the Commiſſioners ſending two Grooms of my Lords to attend him in his Chamber, where he lay all Night, the reſt of the Earl's Men watched in the Chamber, and all the Houſe was watched, and the Gates ſafe kept, that no Man could paſs or repaſs until next Morning.

About Eight of the Clock next Morning, the Earl ſent for me into his Chamber, and commanded me to go to my Lord; and, as I was going, I met with Maſter *Welch*, who called me unto him, and ſhewed me how the King's Majeſty bore unto me his principal Favour for my Love and diligent Service, that I had performed to my Lord: Wherefore, ſaith he, the King's Pleaſure is, that you ſhall be about him as chief, in whom his Highneſs putteth great Confidence and Truſt; and thereupon gave me in Writing the Articles: Which when I had read, I ſaid I was content to obey his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and would be

ſworn to the Performance thereof; whereupon he gave me my Oath.

That done, I reſorted to my Lord, whom I found ſitting in a Chair, the Table being ready ſpread for him. But, ſo ſoon as he perceived me to come in, he fell into ſuch a woful Lamentation, that would have forced a flinty Heart to mourn.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but he would not: 'For, quoth he, I am 'much grieved that I have nothing to re-'ward you, and the reſt of my true and faith-'ful Servants, for all the good Service that 'they and you have done me, for which I do 'much lament.'

Upon *Sunday* following, the Earl and Mr. *Welch* appointed to ſet forward; for my Lord's Horſe and ours were brought ready into the inner Court, where we mounted, and coming towards the Gate ready to ride out, the Porter had no ſooner opened the ſame, but we ſaw without, ready attending, a great Number of Gentlemen, and their Servants, ſuch as the Earl had appointed for that Service, to attend and conduct my Lord to *Pontefract* that Night.

But, to tell you the Truth, there were alſo many of the People of the Country aſſembled at the Gate, lamenting his Departure, in Number above Three-thouſand, who, after the Opening of the Gate, that they had a Sight of him, cried out, with a loud Voice, 'God ſave your Grace, God ſave your Grace, 'the foul Evil take them that have taken you 'from us; we pray God, that Vengeance 'may light upon them.' And thus they ran after him through the Town of *Cawood*, for he was there very well beloved, both of Rich and Poor.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cardinal's Entertainment at the Earl of Shrewſbury's, *and of his Death and Burial at* Leiceſter.

AFTER our Departure from *Cawood*, we came to *Doncaſter*; the third Day we came to *Sheffield*-park, where my Lord of *Shrewſbury* lived, within the Lodge, and the Earl and his Lady, and a great Company of Gentlewomen and Servants, ſtood without the Gate, to attend my Lord's Coming; at whoſe Alighting, the Earl received him with much Honour, and embraced him, ſaying theſe Words: 'My Lord, you are moſt heartily 'welcome to my poor Lodge, and I am 'glad to ſee you.'

Here my Lord ſtaid a Fortnight, and was moſt nobly entertained; he ſpent moſt of his Time, and applied his Mind to Prayers continually, in great Devotion. It came to paſs, as he ſat one Day at Dinner, I, being there, perceived his Colour, divers Times, to change; I aſked him if he was not well; who anſwered me, with a loud Voice, 'I am ſuddenly 'taken with a Thing at my Stomach as cold 'as a Whet-ſtone, and am not well; there-'fore take up the Table, and make a ſhort 'Dinner, and return to me again ſuddenly.' I made but a little Stay, but came to him again, where I found him ſtill ſitting, very uneaſy: He deſired me to go to the Apothecary, and aſk him if he had any Thing would break Wind upwards; he told me, he had: Then I went and ſhewed the ſame to my Lord, who did command me to give him ſome thereof, and ſo I did, and it made him break Wind exceedingly: 'Lo, 'quoth he, you may ſee it was but Wind, 'for now, I thank God, I am well eaſed;' and ſo he aroſe from the Table, and went to Prayers, as he uſed, every Day after Dinner.

In the Afternoon, my Lord of *Shrewſbury* ſent for me to him, to whom he ſaid, 'For-'aſmuch as I have always perceived you to 'be a Man, in whom your Lord putteth 'great Affiance, and I myſelf, knowing you 'to be a Man very honeſt;' with many Words of Commendations and Praiſe, more than becometh me to rehearſe, he ſaid, 'Your Lord and Maſter hath often deſired 'me to write to the King, that he might an-'ſwer his Accuſations before his Enemies: 'And, this Day, I have received Letters from 'his Majeſty, by Sir *William Kingſton*, where-'by I perceive, that the King hath him in 'good

'good Opinion, and, upon my Requeſt, 'hath ſent for him, by the ſaid Sir *William* '*Kingſton*.

'Therefore, now I would have you play 'your Part wiſely with him, in ſuch Sort, 'as he may take it quietly, and in good Part, 'for he is always full of Sorrow, and much 'Heavineſs, at my being with him, that I 'fear he would take it ill, if I bring him Ti-'dings thereof; and therein doth he not well, 'for I aſſure you, that the King is his very 'good Lord, and hath given me moſt hearty 'Thanks for his Entertainment; and, there-'fore, go your Way to him, and perſuade 'him, that I may find him quiet at my Co-'ming, for I will not tarry long after you.

'Sir, quoth I, and, if it pleaſe your Lord-'ſhip, I ſhall endeavour, to the beſt of my 'Power, to accompliſh your Lordſhip's Com-'mand; but, Sir, I doubt, when I name 'this Sir *William Kingſton*, that he will miſ-'truſt ſome Ill, becauſe he is Conſtable of the '*Tower*, and Captain of the Guard, having, 'in his Company, twenty-four of the Guard 'to accompany him. That is nothing, quoth 'the Earl; what, if he be Conſtable of the '*Tower*, and Captain of the Guard, he is the 'fitteſt Man, for his Wiſdom and Diſcreti-'on, to be ſent about ſuch a Buſineſs; and, 'for the Guard, it is only to defend him from 'thoſe that might intend him any Ill: Beſides 'that, the Guard are, for the moſt Part, 'ſuch of his old Servants, as the King hath 'took into his Service, to attend him moſt 'juſtly. Well, Sir, quoth I, I ſhall do what 'I can,' and ſo departed, and went to my Lord, and found him in the Gallery, with his Staff and his Beads in his Hands; and ſeeing me, he aſked me what News; 'For-'ſooth, quoth I, the beſt News that ever 'you heard, if you can take it well. I pray 'God it be true, then, quoth he.' 'My 'Lord of *Shrewſbury*, ſaid I, your moſt aſ-'ſured Friend, hath ſo provided, by his Let-'ters to the King, that his Majeſty hath ſent 'for you, by Maſter *Kingſton*, and twenty-'four of the Guard, to conduct you to his 'Highneſs. Maſter *Kingſton!*' quoth he, and clapped his Hand on his Thigh, and gave a great Sigh.

'May it pleaſe your Grace, quoth I, I 'wiſh you would take all Things well, it 'would be much better for you; content 'yourſelf, for God's Sake, and think, that 'God and your good Friends have wrought 'for you, according to your own Deſires: 'And, as I conceive, you have much more 'Cauſe to rejoice, than lament or miſtruſt 'the Matter; for, I aſſure you, that your 'Friends are more afraid of you, than you 'need be of them: And his Majeſty, to 'ſhew his Love to you, hath ſent Maſter '*Kingſton* to honour you, with as much 'Honour as is your Grace's Due, and to con-'vey you in ſuch eaſy Journies, as is fitting 'for you, and you ſhall command him to do, 'and that you ſhall have your Requeſt. And 'I humbly intreat you, to imprint this my 'Perſuaſion in your Highneſs's Diſcretion, and 'to be of good Chear; wherewith you ſhall 'comfort yourſelf, and give your Friends, 'and poor Servants, great Comfort and Con-'tent.

'Well, quoth he, I perceive more than 'you can imagine, or do know.' Preſently after came my Lord, to acquaint him with that I had ſo lately related; my Lord Cardinal thanked the Earl for his great Love, and called for Maſter *Kingſton*, who came to him preſently, and, kneeling down before him, ſaluted him in the King's Behalf, whom my Lord, bareheaded, offered to take up, but he would not: 'Then, quoth my Lord, Maſter '*Kingſton*, I pray you ſtand up, and leave 'your Kneeling to me, for I am a Wretch 'repleat with Miſery, not eſteeming myſelf, 'but, as a meer Abject, utterly caſt away, 'but without Deſert, God knows; therefore, 'good Maſter *Kingſton*, ſtand up.'

Then Maſter *Kingſton* ſaid, 'The King's 'Majeſty hath him commended unto you; 'I thank his Highneſs, quoth my Lord, I 'hope he is in good Health. Yes, quoth 'Maſter *Kingſton*, and he hath him commend-'ed unto you, and commanded me to bid you 'be of good Chear, for he beareth you as 'much Good-will as ever he did.

'And whereas Report hath been made 'unto him, that you ſhould commit, againſt 'his Majeſty, certain heinous Crimes, which 'he thinketh to be; but yet, he, for Admini-'ſtration of Juſtice, in ſuch Caſes requiſite, 'could do no leſs than ſend for you, that 'you might have your Trial, miſtruſting no-'thing your Truth and Wiſdom, but that 'you ſhall be able to acquit yourſelf of all

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'Complaints, and Accuſations, extended a-'gainſt you; and you may take your Journey 'to him at your Pleaſure, commanding me 'to attend you.

'Maſter *Kingſton*, quoth my Lord, I 'thank you for your good News; and, Sir, 'hereof aſſure yourſelf, if I were as able and 'luſty, as ever I was, to ride, I would go 'with you Poſt: But, alas! I am a diſeaſed 'Man, having a Flux' (at which Time it was apparent that he had poiſoned himſelf) 'it 'hath made me very weak; but the com-'fortable News you bring is of Purpoſe, I 'doubt, to bring me into a Fool's Paradiſe, 'for I know what is provided for me: Not-'withſtanding, I thank you for your Good-'will, and Pains taken about me, and I 'ſhall, with Speed, make ready to ride with 'you.'

After this, I was commanded to make all Things ready for our Departure the Morrow after.

When my Lord went to Bed, he fell very ſick of the Flux, which cauſed him to go to Stool, from Time to Time, all that Night; inſomuch that, from that Time till Morning, he had fifty Stools; and the Matter, that he voided, was very black, which the Phyſicians called *Aduſt*, whoſe Opinions were, that he had not above four or five Days to live.

Notwithſtanding, he would have ridden with Mr. *Kingſton* the next Day, had not the Earl of *Shrewſbury* adviſed him to the Contrary; but, the next Day, he took his Journey with Maſter *Kingſton*, and them of the Guard, who, eſpying him, could not abſtain from Weeping, conſidering he was their old Maſter, and now in ſuch a miſerable Caſe; whom my Lord took by the Hand, and would, as he rode by the Way, ſometimes talk with one, and ſometimes with another, till he came to a Houſe of my Lord's, ſtanding in the Way, called *Hardwick*-hall, where he lay all that Night, extremely ill. The next Day, he came to *Nottingham*, and, the next Day, to *Leiceſter*-abbey, and, the next Day, he waxed very ſick, that he had almoſt fallen from his Horſe, ſo that it was Night, before he got to *Leiceſter*-abbey; where, at his Coming in at the Gates, the Abbot, with all their Convent, met him with many lighted Torches, whom they honourably received, and welcomed with great Reverence.

To whom my Lord ſaid, 'Father Abbot, 'I am come to lay my Bones amongſt you.' Riding ſtill on his Mule, till he came to the Stairs of his Chamber, where he alighted; Maſter *Kingſton*, holding him by the Arm, led him up the Stairs, who told me afterwards, that he never felt ſo heavy a Burden in all his Life; and, as ſoon as he was in his Chamber, he went ſtraight to Bed; this was upon *Saturday*, and ſo he continued.

On *Monday* in the Morning as I ſtood by his Bed-ſide, about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Windows being cloſe ſhut, and having Wax Lights burning upon the Cupboard, I thought I perceived him drawing on towards Death. He, perceiving my Shadow upon the Bed-ſide, aſked who was there. Sir quoth I, it is I: How do you, quoth he, well? Ay, Sir, quoth I, if I might ſee your Grace well: What is it o'Clock, quoth he? I anſwered, it was about Eight of the Clock: Quoth he, that cannot be, rehearſing Eight of the Clock ſo many Times: Nay, quoth he, that cannot be, for at Eight of the Clock you ſhall ſee your Maſter's Time draw near, that I muſt depart this World. With that, Dr. *Palmes*, a worthy Gentlemen, ſtanding by, bid me aſk him if he would be ſhriven, to make him ready for God, whatever chanced to fall out, which I did: But he was very angry with me, and aſked, What I had to do to aſk him ſuch a Queſtion? Till, at the laſt, the Doctor took my Part, and talked with him in *Latin*, and pacified him.

After Dinner, Mr. *Kingſton* ſent for me, and ſaid, Sir, the King hath ſent unto me Letters, by Mr. *Vincent*, our old Companion, who hath been in Trouble in the *Tower*, for Money that my Lord ſhould have at his Departure: A great Part of this Money cannot be found; wherefore the King, at Mr. *Vincent*'s Requeſt, for the Declaration of the Truth, hath ſent him hither with his Grace's Letters, that I ſhould examine my Lord, and have your Counſel therein, that he may take it well and in good Part. And this is the Cauſe of my ſending for you, therefore, I deſire your Counſel herein, for Acquittal of this poor Gentleman, Mr. *Vincent*.

Sir, quoth I, according to my Duty you ſhall; and, by my Advice, you ſhall reſort unto him in your own Perſon to viſit him, and, in Communication, break the Matter unto him: And, if he will not tell you the

Truth, then you may certify the King thereof; but in any Caſe, name not, nor ſpeak of my Fellow *Vincent*: Alſo I would, not have you to detract the Time, for he is very ſick, and I fear that he will not live paſt a Day or two; and accordingly Mr. *Kingſton* went to my Lord, and demanded the Money, ſaying, that my Lord of *Northumberland* found a Book at *Cawood* Houſe, that you had but lately borrowed ten-thouſand Pounds, and there is not ſo much as one Penny to be found, who hath made the King privy to the ſame; wherefore, the King hath written to me, to know what is become thereof, for it were Pity that it ſhould be holden from you both. Therefore, I require you, in the King's Name, to tell me the Truth, that I may make a juſt Report unto his Majeſty, of your Anſwer?

With that, quoth my Lord, Oh good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the King ſhould think any ſuch Thing in me, that I ſhould deceive him of one Penny, ſeeing I have nothing, nor ever had, God be my Judge, that I ever eſteemed ſo much mine own, as his Majeſty's, having but the bare Uſe of it, during my Life, and after my Death, to leave it wholly to him; wherein his Majeſty hath prevented me. But for this Money, you demand of me, I aſſure you, it is none of my own, for I borrowed it of divers of my Friends to bury me, and to beſtow amongſt my Servants, who have taken great Pains about me; notwithſtanding, if it be your Pleaſure to know, I muſt be content; yet I beſeech his Majeſty, to ſee it ſatisfied for the Diſcharge of my Conſcience to them that I owed it to. Who be they, quoth Mr. *Kingſton?* That ſhall I tell you, quoth my Lord, I borrowed two-hundred Pounds of *John Allen* of *London*, another two-hundred Pounds of Sir *Richard Greſham*, and two-hundred Pounds of the Maſter of the *Savoy*; and alſo two-hundred of Dr. *Higden*, Dean of my College, at *Oxford*; two-hundred Pounds of the Treaſurer of the Church; and two-hundred Pounds of Mr. *Ellis* my Chaplain; and another two-hundred Pounds of a Prieſt. I hope the King will reſtore it again, foraſmuch as it is none of mine.

Sir, quoth Mr. *Kingſton*, there is no Doubt in the King, whom you need not diſtruſt, but Sir, I pray you, where is the Money? Quoth he, I will not conceal it, I warrant you, but I will declare it unto you before I die, by the Grace of God; have a little Patience with me, I pray you, for the Money is ſafe enough in an honeſt Man's Hands, who will not keep one Penny thereof from the King.

So Mr. *Kingſton* departed, for that Time, my Lord being very weak, and about Four of the Clock, the next Morning, as I conceived, I aſked him how he did. Well, quoth he; if I had any Meat, I pray you give me ſome.

Sir, quoth I, there is none ready; then he ſaid, you are much to blame, for you ſhould have always Meat for me in Readineſs, whenſoever that my Stomach ſerves me; I pray you get ſome ready for me; for I mean to make myſelf ſtrong To-day, to the Intent I may go Confeſſion, and make me ready for God; quoth I, I will call up the Cooks to prepare ſome Meat, and alſo I will call Mr. *Palmer*, that he may diſcourſe with you, till your Meat be ready. With a Good-will, quoth my Lord, and ſo I called Mr. *Palmer*, who roſe and came to my Lord.

Then I went and acquainted Mr. *Kingſton*, that my Lord was very ſick, and not like to live. In good Faith, quoth Mr. *Kingſton*, you are much too blame, to make him believe he is ſicker than he is. Well, Sir, quoth I, you cannot ſay, but I gave you Warning, as I am bound to do; upon which Words he aroſe, and came unto him, but before he came, my Lord Cardinal had eaten a Spoonful or two of Callis made of Chickin, and after that he was in his Confeſſion, the Space of an Hour: And then Mr. *Kingſton* came to him, and bad him Good-morrow, and aſked him how he did, Sir, quoth he, I watch but God's Pleaſure, to render up my poor Soul to him. I pray you, have me heartily commended unto his Royal Majeſty, and beſeech him on my Behalf to call to his princely Remembrance all Matters that have been between us from the Beginning and and the Progreſs: And eſpecially between good Queen *Catharine*, and *him*, and then ſhall his Grace's Conſcience know whether I have offended him, or not.

He is a Prince of a moſt royal Carriage, and hath a Princely Heart, and, rather than he will miſs or want any Part of his Will, he will endanger the one Half of his Kingdom.

I do aſſure you, I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes three Hours together, to perſuade him from his Will and Appetite, but could not prevail: And, Maſter *Kingſton*, if had

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I but ſerved God, as *diligently* as I have ſerved the King, he would not have given me over in my grey Hairs. But this is the juſt Reward that I muſt receive for my diligent Pains and Study, not regarding my Service to God, but only to my Prince. Therefore, let me adviſe you, if you be one of the Privy-Council, as by your Wiſdom you are fit, take Heed what you put in the King's Head, for you can never put it out again.

And I deſire you further, to requeſt his Grace in God's Name, that he have a vigilant Eye to ſuppreſs the helliſh *Lutherans*, that they increaſe not through his great Negligence, in ſuch a Sort, as he be compelled to take up Arms to ſubdue them, as the King of *Bohemia* was; whoſe Commons being infected with *Wickliff*'s Hereſies, the King was forced to take that Courſe.

Let him conſider the Story of King *Richard the Second*, the ſecond Son of his Progenitor; who lived in the Time of *Wickliff*'s Seditions and Hereſies: Did not the Commons, I pray you, in his Time, riſe againſt the Nobility and chief Governors of this Realm; and, at the laſt, ſome of them were put to Death, without Juſtice or Mercy, and, under Pretence of having all Things common, did they not fall to Spoiling or Robbing, and, at laſt, took the King's Perſon, and carried him about the City, making him obedient to their Proclamations?

Did not alſo the traiterous Heretick, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, pitch a Field with Hereticks againſt King *Henry the Fourth*, where the King was in Perſon, and fought againſt them, to whom God gave the Victory?

Alas! If theſe be not plain Precedents and ſufficient Perſuaſions to admoniſh a Prince: Then God will take away from us our prudent Rulers, and leave us to the Hands of our Enemies. And then will enſue Miſchief upon Miſchief, Inconveniences, Barrenneſs and Scarcity, for Want of good Orders, in the Commonwealth, from which God of his tender Mercy defend us.

Maſter *Kingſton* farewel, I wiſh all Things may have good Succeſs, my Time draws on; I may not tarry with you, I pray you remember my Words.

Now, began the Time to draw near, for he drew his Speech at Length; his Tongue began to fail him, his Eyes perfectly ſet in his Head, and his Sight failed him. Then we began to put him in Mind, of *Chriſt*'s Paſſion, and, cauſed the Yeoman of the Guard, to ſtand by privately, to ſee him die, and bear Witneſs of his Words and Departure, who heard all his Communications.

And then preſently the Clock ſtruck Eight, at which Time he gave up the Ghoſt; and thus departed he this Life, one of us looking upon another, ſuppoſing he propheſied of his Departure.

We ſent for the Abbot of the Houſe to anoint him, who ſpeedily came as he was ending his Life, who ſaid certain Prayers before that the Life was out of his Body.

Here is the End and Fall of Pride; for, I aſſure you, he was the proudeſt Man alive, having more Regard to the Honour of his Perſon, than to his ſpiritual Function, wherein he ſhould have expreſſed more Meekneſs and Humility: For Pride and Ambition are both linked together; and Ambition is like Choler, which is an Humour that makes Men active, earneſt, and full of Alacrity and Stirring, if it be not ſtopped or hindered in its Courſe; but, if it be ſtopped, and cannot have its Way, it becometh Duſt, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious and proud Men, if they find the Way open for their Riſing and Advancement, and ſtill get forwards, they are rather buſy than dangerous; but, if they be checked in their Deſires, they become ſecretly diſcontented, and look upon Men and Matters with an evil Eye, and are beſt pleaſed when Things go backwards: But I forbear to ſpeak any further therein.

The Cardinal being departed, Mr. *Kingſton* ſent Poſt to *London* one of the Guard; then were Mr. *Kingſton* and the Abbot in Conſultation about the Funeral, which was ſolemniſed the Day after, for Mr. *Kingſton* would not ſtay the Return of the Poſt.

They thought good, that the Mayor of *Leiceſter* and his Brethren ſhould ſee him perſonally dead, to prevent falſe Reports that he was alive. And, in the Interim, whilſt the Mayor was ſent for, his Bones were laid in the Coffin, and his Shirt of Hair, and his Overſhirt of fine Holland, were taken off, and put into the Coffin together, with all ſuch Ornaments wherewith he was inveſted, when he was made Archbiſhop, as Mitre, Croſs, Ring, and Pall, with all other Things due to his Orders.

Thus

Thus he lay all that Day with his Coffin open and bare-faced, that all that deſired might ſee him; and about Three of the Clock he was buried by the Abbot with great Solemnity. And being in the Church, his Corpſe was ſet in the *Lady's-Chapel* with many Tapers, and poor Men about him, holding Torches in their Hands, who watched the Corpſe all that Night, whilſt the Canons ſung divers Dirges, and other divine Oriſons.

And, at Four of the Clock the next Morning, the Cardinal's Servants and Mr. *Kingſton* came to the Church to the Execution of many Ceremonies, in ſuch Manner as is uſual at a Biſhops Burials; and ſo he went to Maſs, where the Abbot did offer, and divers others; and then went to bury the Corpſe in the Middle of the ſaid Chapel; by this Time it was Six of the Clock, being St. *Andrew*'s Day.

Then we prepared for our Journey to the Court, where we attended his Majeſty. The next Day I was ſent for to the King, conducted by Mr. *Norris*, where the King was in his Night-Gown of *Rochet* Velvet, furred with Sables, before whom I kneeled the Space of an Hour, during which Time his Majeſty examined me of divers Particulars concerning my Lord Cardinal, wiſhing, rather than Twenty-thouſand Pounds, that he had lived.

He aſked me concerning the fifteen-hundred Pounds, which Mr. *Kingſton* moved to my Lord. Quoth I, I think I can perfectly tell your Grace where it is, and who hath it. Can you, quoth the King, I pray you tell me, and you ſhall not be unrewarded?

Sir, quoth I, after the Departure of Mr. *Vincent* from my Lord at *Scrooby*, who had the Cuſtody thereof, leaving it with my Lord in divers Bags, he delivered it to a certain Prieſt, ſafely to be kept for his Uſe. Is this true, quoth the King? Yea, quoth I, without Doubt, the Prieſt will not deny it before me, for I was at the Delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich Ornaments, which are not regiſtered in the Book of my Lord's Inventory, or other Writings, whereby any Man is able to charge him therewith, but myſelf.

Then ſaid the King, Let me alone for keeping this Secret between me and you. Howbeit, three may keep Counſel, if two be away; and, if I knew my Cap was privy to my Counſel, I would caſt it into the Fire and burn it; and, for your Honeſty and Truth, you ſhall be our Servant in our Chamber, as you were with your Maſter.

Therefore, go you your Ways to Sir *John Gage*, our Vice-Chamberlain, to whom we have ſpoken already, to admit you our Servant in our Chamber, and then go to the Lord of *Norfolk*, and he ſhall pay you your whole Year's Wages, which is ten Pounds: Is not it ſo, quoth the King? Yea, forſooth, and if it pleaſe your Grace, quoth I: And withal, ſaid the King, you ſhall receive a Reward from the Duke of *Norfolk*.

So I received ten Pounds of the Duke for my Wages, and twenty Pounds for my Reward; and his Majeſty gave me a Cart and ſix Horſes, the beſt that I could chuſe out of my Lord's Horſes, to carry my Goods, and five Marks for my Charges Homewards.

A Speech made by Alderman *Garroway*, at a Common Hall, on *Tueſday* the Seventeenth of *January*, upon Occaſion of a Speech, delivered there the *Friday* before, by Mr. *Pym*, at the Reading of his Majeſty's Anſwer to the late Petition. Printed in the Year 1642. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

BEFORE we enter upon the Buſineſs of the Day, I muſt, in Diſcharge of my Duty, ſpeak freely to you of the laſt Day's Work which lies ſo heavy upon us, that, if we find not ſome Way to free ourſelves of the Scandal and Diſhonour of that Day, farewell the Reputation of this Council, and of this City. We ſent a Petition lately to his Majeſty, by ſix worthy Members of this Court; if you will believe them, they received a very gracious Entertainment from his Majeſty; and, if you will believe moſt wiſe Men, they brought a very gracious Anſwer back from his Majeſty, with Directions, by a Servant of his own, that the ſame ſhould be communicated to the whole City, from whom the Petition was preſumed to be ſent, a Circumſtance as gracious as the Matter itſelf. See now how we have requited him? His Meſſenger ſtays ten Days, at the leaſt, before we can vouchſafe to ſpeak with him, whereas ours ſtaid not an Hour for Admiſſion to his Majeſty, and but a Day for an Anſwer: Upon the Receipt of our Petition, his Majeſty ſpoke very graciouſly of the City, very affectionately of the moſt conſiderable Part of it; when his Anſwer is read (an Anſwer, I muſt tell you, worth another Manner of Debate) Strangers are admitted to make bitter invective Speeches againſt it, and the King that ſent it; whilſt no honeſt Citizen, who have only Right to ſpeak here, durſt ſpeak his Conſcience, for Fear of having his Throat cut as he went Home. Think, Gentlemen, what an Encouragement we have given his Majeſty to treat and correſpond with us, whilſt he is thus uſed: I am far from undervaluing both, or either Houſe of Parliament; I have been often a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and know well my Duty to it; but, though their Privileges are infinitely grown and enlarged ſince that Time, I hope they have not ſwallowed up all other Men's? Though they are the great Council and Court of the Kingdom, yet there are other Councils and Courts too, What do we elſe here? And, though they have a great Liberty of Language within their own Walls, I never heard that they might ſpeak what they liſt in other Places. In my Time, when there was any Occaſion to uſe the City, as often there was, the Lord Mayor, or Aldermen, or ſome truſted by them, were ſent for to attend either Houſe; but, for Members of either, or both Houſes, to come hither, and be preſent at our Councils, and govern here by Privilege of Parliament, was never heard of till of late: You will ſay, it is a great Honour to us, that thoſe Worthies take the Pains to come to us, when they might ſend for us; it may be an Honour too great for us to bear, and truly, I believe it hath been ſo chargeable to us, that we ought not to be ambitious of ſuch Honour. Mr. *Pym* (who hath been a very coſtly Orator to us) told us (and his Speech is ſince printed for our Honour too, to ſhew how tame a People we are) That there were many Things in that Anſwer, of great Aſperſion upon the Proceedings of Parliament, and ſo forth. Truly I know no ſuch Thing; if we petitioned for Peace, we were to expect his Majeſty would tell us by what Means that Peace came to be diſturbed, and then preſcribe us a Means for our Reparation. If any Man's Guilt hath made him think himſelf concerned in it, though he be not named, he is his own Accuſer.

He told us, That there was no Occaſion given by any Tumults, which might juſtly cauſe his Majeſty's Departure, and this, he ſaid, was the Opinion of both Houſes; and his Proof was, becauſe his Majeſty came into the City without a Guard, and dined at the Sheriff's, next Day after his Coming to the Houſe of Commons, and returned back again to *Whitehall*, where he ſtaid ſome Days. I am willing to believe both Houſes as far as I am able, and, if they had declared that it had been lawful to beat the King out of Town, I muſt have ſat ſtill with Wonder; but, when they declare to us Matter of Fact, which is equally within our own Knowledge, and wherein we cannot be deceived, they muſt pardon me if I differ from them. If they ſhould declare, that they have paid us all the Money they owe us, or, that there is no Croſs ſtanding in *Cheapſide*, Could we believe them? Why, Gentlemen, neither of theſe is better known to us, than that there were ſuch Tumults at *Weſtminſter*, as might very well make the King think himſelf in Danger. We all well remember what excellent Company flocked by *Whitehall* every Day, for a Week before the King went to the Houſe of Commons, and for his Coming to the *Guildhall* the next Day, when he did us ſo much Honour, to vouchſafe us ſo particular Satisfaction, and came without a Guard, to

ſhew

ſhew how much he truſted in our Duty and Affection (I pray God the Deceiving that Truſt may never riſe in Judgment againſt this City) we too well remember the rude Carriage of many People to him as he went to the Sheriff's to Dinner, which was not ſo much as reprehended by any Officer; and we all know what paſſed the Night following, when an Alarum was given, that there was an Attempt from *Whitehall* upon the City, and ſo all Men put into ſudden Arms; and if, by the great Induſtry and Dexterity of our good Lord Mayor, that Hubbub had not been appeaſed, God knows what might have followed; if you will believe ſome Men, they will tell you, the Deſign of thoſe, who gave that Alarum, was no leſs than to pull down *Whitehall*. There is no Queſtion but there was Cauſe enough for his Majeſty to remove from *Whitehall*; and how quietly he ſtaid after at *Hampton-Court*, and at *Windſor*, cannot be forgotten, not to ſpeak of that Army by Land and Water, which, accompanied the Perſons accuſed, to *Weſtminſter*, the next Day after his Majeſty's Return, the Danger of which was ſo great, that no honeſt Man could have wiſhed the King had run the Hazard of it, by Staying.

His Majeſty ſeems to be ſenſible, that the Government of this City is now ſubmitted to the arbitrary Power of a few deſperate Perſons, to which the Gentleman gave us this Teſtimony from both Houſes, that we had, in moſt of the great Occaſions, concerning the Government of the City, followed their Direction. Troth, Gentlemen, would they had furniſhed us with a better Anſwer. Have we our Charter by the Grace and Favour of the two Houſes, or by the Goodneſs of the King? Have we thoſe Privileges with foreign Princes, by which many here have gotten ſuch Eſtates, by the Power of the Houſes, or by the Protection of the King? Why ſhould we then govern the City by the Direction of both Houſes? I am not willing to ſpeak ſlightly of any Perſons gotten into Authority; only we may ſay, there be ſome amongſt us, we did not think two Years ago to have met here, and yet we were wont to ſee an Alderman coming a Dozen Years off. I cannot tell what you mean by arbitrary Power, but I am ſure we are governed by Nothing we were uſed to be governed by. I have been Lord Mayor myſelf, in a pleaſanter Time than this, and ſhould have ſome Share ſtill in the Government; before God, I have no more Authority in the City, than a Porter, not ſo much as an *Aldermanbury* Porter. If to be governed by People whoſe Authority we know not, and by Rules which no Body ever heard of, or can know, be a Sign of arbitrary Power, we have as much of it as Heart can wiſh.

To the King's Charge of our Contributing for the Maintenance of the Army which had given him Battle, we were told that divers Practices were made againſt the Parliament before they made any Preparation for their Defence. By Practices, I think they mean Fears and Jealouſies, for all the Particulars, mentioned by him, we know, and are underſtood by all the Boys in the Streets; but we are ſure there were ten-thouſand Men raiſed and armed out of this Town, and the neighbouring Counties, before the King had ſeven-hundred. To the Danger the King's Perſon was in (at the Thought whereof every honeſt Heart trembles) the Gentleman told us they were ſorry for it; I dare not tell you what I think their Sorrow was, but, Maſters, if you knew how much your Eſtates, and Being, depend upon the Life and Safety of our good King, you would no ſooner apprehend him in Danger, than you would run to his Reſcue, as you would fly from the Plague and Beggary. But that Reproach of Maintaining the King's Children here, I confeſs, made my Heart riſe; I hope it did ſo to many here: Is our good King fallen ſo low, that his Children muſt be kept for him? It is worth our Enquiry, Who brought him to that Condition? We hear him complain, that all his own Revenue is ſeized and taken from him: Are not his Exchequer, Court of Wards, Mint here, his Cuſtoms too worth ſomewhat, and are his Children kept upon Alms? How ſhall we and our Children proſper, if this be not remedied?

They will by no Means endure, that his Majeſty be obeyed in the Apprehenſion of the Lord Mayor, and the other three Gentlemen; for it is the Senſe of both Houſes, that this Demand is againſt the Privilege of Parliament, and moſt diſhonourable to the City; for the *Firſt*, I dare not ſpeak my Mind, though I muſt confeſs myſelf not able to anſwer the King's Reaſons in many of his Declarations upon that Point; but, for the Second (under the Favour of both Houſes) whether it be diſhonourable for the City, whether it be fit to be done or no, we are the beſt, indeed, we are

the only Judges. I will take the Liberty to ſpeak freely my Conſcience in this Caſe, as a Friend to Juſtice, as a Lover of theſe Men, and as a Servant to the City; and, as all theſe, I proteſt to God, if I were now Lord Mayor, and the other three were my Father and my Brothers, I would ſatisfy the King in this Point. Did his Majeſty aſk to have them in to Death, merely upon his Accuſation; or have them ſent bound Hand and Foot to *Oxford*, where it might be in his Power to proceed againſt them in an extraordinary Way, it might ſeem unreaſonable; but to apprehend them to keep them in ſafe Cuſtody, that his Majeſty may proceed againſt them according to the known Laws, under which they were born and bred, where, if guilty, they muſt be left to the Juſtice of the Law, and his Majeſty's Mercy, if innocent, will receive an honourable Acquittal, ſeems to me ſo juſt in the King to aſk, and ſo neceſſary for us to yield to, that the Denying it implies a Doubt in us of the Innocence of thoſe whom we will not ſubmit to Juſtice. Here is a Way to find out the King's evil Counſellors! If theſe Men do their Part, like Men of good Conſciences, ſubmit to the Tryal of the Law, which is the only Judge of Guilt and Innocence, and are found clear from that heavy Charge his Majeſty accuſes them of, How glorioufly will theſe Men live hereafter? And the King cannot refuſe to deliver thoſe up who have wickedly conſpired the Deſtruction of honeſt Men: But, if we ſhould only cry out, that the King is miſinformed, and dare not truſt ourſelves upon a Tryal, we may preſerve our Safety, but we ſhall loſe our Reputation. Thus much for Juſtice, for the Gentlemen's Sakes now: This Way, you ſee, a Way to Honour and Safety too, if there be Innocence; but, Do you think after a Month's longer Enduring the Miſeries which are now upon us, Men will not more importunately and impatiently enquire after the Cauſes of their Sufferings, if they ſhall find, that the Denial to give up four Men (who, it may be, are not of any known Merit too) to be tried by the Law, being accuſed of High-Treaſon, and conſpiring to take away the King's Life, incenſed our gracious King againſt us, and kept him from being amongſt us, whereby our Trade decays, and ſuch Violencies and Outrages are every Day committed: I ſay, Can any four Men bear the Burden of this Envy and Malice? Will not ſome ſtout, bold Perſons, incenſed and made deſperate by their, and the common Sufferings, tear theſe Men in Pieces? We have been all young Men and Apprentices, let us remember the Spirit was then amongſt us; Would we have ſuffered all our Hopes to have been blaſted and deſtroyed by any four, or fourteen Men? Let us not flatter ourſelves, there is the ſame Courage ſtill in the City, which, at ſome Time, will break out to the Ruin of more than theſe Men; but I thank that Worthy that told us, that it is againſt the Rules of Juſtice, that any Men ſhould be impriſoned upon a general Charge, when no Particulars are proved againſt them: How inſenſibly, in other Men's Caſes, do we accuſe ourſelves? Why, how many of us, within theſe ſix Months, have been committed upon a general Charge? How many Perſons of Honour and Reputation are now impriſoned in this Town, when Particulars are ſo far from being proved againſt them, that they are not ſo much as ſuggeſted? Was ever any Charge ſo general, as to be a Malignant or a Cavalier? Yet you hear all ſuch Impriſonments are againſt the Rules of Juſtice; my Opinion is, that, for Juſtice-Sake, for the City's Sake, theſe four Men ſhould quietly ſubmit themſelves to the Tryal of the Law; if they refuſe, that they be delivered up to the Hands of Juſtice.

Mr. *Pym* told us, there was no Proof that my Lord Mayor, and the other Perſons named, were Countenancers of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries; Where ſhould this Proof be made? Do we not all know this to be true? Are they not all ſo much countenanced, as there is no Countenance left for any Body elſe? Did not my Lord Mayor firſt enter upon his Office, with a Speech againſt the Book of *Common-Prayer*? Hath the *Common-Prayer* ever been read before him? Hath not Captain *Venn* ſaid, that his Wife could make Prayers worth three of any in that Book? Oh! Maſters, there have been Times, that he, that ſhould ſpeak againſt the Book of *Common-Prayer* in this City, ſhould not have been put to the Patience of a legal Tryal; we were wont to look upon it as the greateſt Treaſure and Jewel of our Religion; and he that ſhould have told us he wiſhed well to our Religion, and yet would take away the Book of *Common Prayer*, would never have gotten Credit. I have been in all the Parts of *Chriſtendom*, and have converſed with Chriſtians in *Turkey*; why

in all the Reformed Churches there is not any Thing of more Reverence, than the *Engliſh* Liturgy, not our Royal *Exchange*, or the Name of Queen *Eliſabeth*, ſo famous. In *Geneva* itſelf I have heard it extolled to the Skies. I have been three Months together by Sea, not a Day without Hearing it read twice. The honeſt Mariners then deſpiſed all the World, but the King and the Common-Prayer Book; he, that ſhould have been ſuſpected to wiſh ill to either of them, would have made an ill Voyage. And let me tell you, they are ſhrewd Youths thoſe Seamen; if they once diſcern that the Perſon of the King is in Danger, or the true Proteſtant profeſſed Religion, they will ſhew themſelves mad Bodies, before you are aware of it; I would not be a *Browniſt*, or an *Anabaptiſt*, in their Way for ——— But we are told of an Army of Papiſts, who will root out our Religion; for my Part, I am ſure I am not ſuſpected for any Affection to Papiſts; yet I confeſs at this Time, I have not the leaſt Fear of Danger from them, and the Truth is, this Bugbear is grown leſs terrible to every Body. We know, from the Beginning of this Parliament, the continual Diſcovery of Plots by the Papiſts, and what thoſe Diſcoveries have coſt us, and yet, to this Day, not the leaſt probable Charge objected againſt them. When the King was at *York*, no Diſcourſe here, but of the Papiſts being there in Multitudes, when it is well known, his Majeſty took all poſſible Care to prevent the Reſort of any Papiſts to the Court, and I have been aſſured by very honeſt Men, that, in a Month, there was ſcarce the Face of one Papiſt there. When he firſt raiſed his Army, Did he not, by Proclamation, forbid any to come to him?——But hark you, Gentlemen, where would you have theſe Papiſts be? Can they live in the Air, or in the Water? Beyond Sea you will not ſuffer them to paſs; if they ſtay at their Houſes, they are plundered, it is a good Juſtification for Plundering, that they are Papiſts. Are they not the King's Subjects, and ſhould they not fly to him for Protection? Is there any Law, that ſays the Papiſts muſt not aſſiſt the King with Men, Arms, or Money, when he is in Diſtreſs, and when he conceives himſelf to be in Danger of his Life? Let us look about us, if this World hold, not only all the Papiſts, but all the Gentlemen of *England* will find it neceſſary to carry all they have to the King, and venture it in that Bottom.

But both Houſes have declared, that there hath been no Plundering by the Direction of Parliament. Here, I think, they would be willing to admit the King to be a Part of the Parliament, to ſave their Honour; otherwiſe, if Plundering ſignifies the Coming with Violence into one's Houſe, and Taking away his Goods againſt his Conſent, ſure there hath been much Plundering, even by the Direction of the Houſes; but have they ever puniſhed Plundering of the worſt Sort, if they have not directed it? Will a Declaration of both Houſes repair the fine Wainſcot and the goodly Leads of honeſt *George Binyon*'s Houſe? Let me tell you, the Time hath been, the Loſs of ſuch a Citizen would have been talked of in another Way. —— I wonder what Kind of Government is preparing for us, when they will not allow that the Impriſonment of our Perſons is the Taking away our Liberty, or, the Taking away the twentieth Part of our Eſtates is the Deſtruction of our Property; and did you mark what a notable Reaſon was given us for this? The ſame Law, that doth enable them to raiſe Forces, doth likewiſe enable them to require Contributions. It doth indeed, yet one might be without the other; but I would theſe Gentlemen had choſe another Auditory to have convinced with this Argument; the Country People will be no more couzened by the City, when they hear what Kind of Oratory prevails over us; we ſhall be ſhortly told, when they have a Mind to our Houſes, that the ſame Law, which gave them Authority to take away our Money, gave them likewiſe Power to do the other too.

The King tells us, if we ſhall hereafter contribute any Thing for the Maintenance of the Army, which, he ſays, is in Rebellion againſt him (he pardons what is paſt, mark that) he will deny us the Benefit of his Protection with foreign Princes, which he will ſignify to his foreign Miniſters; What Remedy have the Lords and Commons found for this now? Sufficient to do the Buſineſs, they declare, That this is an Exceſs of Rigour, and Injuſtice beyond Example, and therefore they hope his Majeſty will be induced, by better Counſel, to forbear the Execution. A very ſovereign Declaration; but it is Ten to One, if we do not obey his Majeſty in the Injunction he hath laid upon us, he will uſe this Exceſs of Rigour. I know not how little you, that trade only within the Kingdom, may think

yourſelves

yourſelves concerned in this; but I ſay, whoever underſtands the Trade Abroad, and the Benefit of being a Subject to the King of *England*, will not run this Hazard; for, let him be aſſured, in the Inſtant the King diſclaims him, he is ruined, and therefore, you who have Eſtates Abroad, look to it.

Gentlemen, I have troubled you very long, but, in good Faith, the Manner and the Matter of the laſt Day's Work hath lain ſo heavy upon my Heart, that I ſhould have thought I had forfeited this Gown, and this Chain, if I had been ſilent, and, that I had betrayed the Liberty of that famous City, which I am ſworn to defend. One Word I had forgotten to mention, the Caution which was given us of ſuch Meſſengers as his Majeſty ſhould ſend, that we ſhould obſerve them, that they might be dealt with, as Meſſengers of Sedition: God forbid we ſhould live to ſee any Meſſengers, ſent to us from our gracious King, evilly intreated, I would be loth myſelf to outlive ſuch a Diſhonour; if his Majeſty ſhall vouchſafe us the Honour of ſending to us, let us uſe and defend his Servants, as Perſons ſent to us for our Good; if it ſhall be otherwiſe, Fire from Heaven will conſume this City. Let us not be wrought upon, by fair Words, to contribute or lend more Money for the Maintenance of this civil, bloody Diſſenſion, or bring Deſolation and Confuſion upon this glorious City, for the Support of four Men, who, if innocent, will be ſafe; but let us remember the Happineſs and flouriſhing State we enjoyed, whilſt we yielded Obedience to our royal Sovereign. Let us not, upon the general Diſcourſe of evil Counſellers, rebel againſt a Prince, upon whoſe Perſon Malice and Treaſon cannot lay the leaſt Blemiſh, but muſt confeſs his Religion, Juſtice, and Charity to be ſo tranſcendent, that, if he were a Subject, would render him moſt amiable. Let us conſider, that, if he be oppreſſed, there can be no End of theſe Troubles, but we and our Children ſhall be perpetually weltering in a Sea of Blood; whereas, if his Enemies be overthrown, the whole Kingdom will, within a Moment, be reſtored to all the Calm, Pleaſure, and Plenty of Peace. And therefore, if we intend to enjoy what we have, and that the younger Men ſhall grow up to the ſame State we enjoy; if the Memory of our Forefathers, or the Hope of our Poſterity, can move any Thing with us, let us lay Hold on the King's Mercy, and ſubmit to every Propoſition in his Anſwer.

Whilſt the Alderman was ſpeaking this Speech, ſeveral great Interruptions were made with Hiſſing, and other ſuch Noiſes, ſome crying, *No more, No more*; others as importunately, *Hear him, Hear him, Hear him*; ſo that it was about an Hour after he began to ſpeak, before he ended: Whenever the Clamour began to ſtop him, he ſat down, without Shew of any Diſturbance, and, when that Noiſe was conquered, he began again, ſaying what he ſaid laſt, and ſo proceeded; only once, when Alderman *Bunce* ſaid, He ſpoke againſt the honourable Houſe of Commons, and that it was not to be endured; the Alderman replied, with a little Sharpneſs, That he had as much Liberty to ſpeak in that Place, as any Member of the Houſe of Commons had in the Houſe of Commons; and, if other Men were content to loſe their Privileges, it ſhould be remembered, that it was againſt his Will. At which there was a great Shout and Acclamation, *We will not loſe our Privileges*; and after that there was not the leaſt Interruption, but the Alderman was heard with great Patience and Attention. As ſoon as the Speech was done, and the great Shout and Hem ended (which ſome, in the Street, apprehended to be a Conſent to lend Money to the Parliament, and ran to *Weſtminſter*, and acquainted the Houſe of Commons with it, whereupon four Members were appointed to draw up a Declaration of Thanks to the City) the Lord-Mayor, trembling, and ſcarce able to ſpeak, aſked, What their Reſolution was concerning Aſſiſting the Parliament with Money, for the Payment of their Army? And, recovering his Voice by Degrees, offered them ſome Reaſons, and aſked them, Whether they would loſe all their Thanks for what they had done already? But the Cry was ſo great, *No Money, no Money, Peace, Peace*, that he could not be heard. One that ſtood near the Mayor anſwered, That he doubted not, whoever could make it appear he had deſerved Thanks, might call for it, and have it; that the Queſtion was not, upon Loſing of ſome, but Forfeiting of all; and whether the City would periſh, or quit four Men, for whom they had no Reaſon to [illegible]. The Voice was ſo great, one crying, *That they who ſet them to Work ſhould defend them:*

Another, *That, ſince theſe Troubles, none but Bankrupts and Knaves had proſpered*; a third, *That, if they had common Honeſty, they would rather run away, than endeavour to ſave themſelves, by bringing Deſtruction upon the whole City.* Then the Court roſe, and every Man departed; ſo great a Company going before, and following after Alderman *Garroway* to his Houſe, that the Streets were as full as at my Lord-Mayor's Show, ſome crying out, *Where's* Venn *and his* Myrmidons? Others, *When they ſhould meet?* To which a general Shout anſwered, *Now, Now:* One of good Credit with them wiſhed them to proceed with Diſcretion. *A Pox of Diſcretion,* ſaid a Butcher, *we ſhall be undone with it; let us proceed as theſe People have taught: When we aſked them, What we ſhould have in the Place of Biſhops? They told us, Biſhops were naught we all knew, and, when they were gone, we ſhould think of ſomewhat that is better in their Room; let us now take away what we know is naught, and we ſhall do well enough after. I owe them a good Turn, for the Honour they have done my Trade? Sayeſt thou ſo,* ſaid a ſturdy Mariner, *believe it, they who would perſuade the honeſt Sailors to turn Traitors to their good King, for all his Favours to them, ſhall repent it.* The good Alderman, being much troubled to hear the ſeveral Expreſſions, beſought them to depart every Man to his own Home, telling them, That, if at this Time they ſhould do any Thing, it would be imputed to him, and he hoped they wiſhed him no Harm; whereupon they were contented to part, promiſing one another that when they next met, they would do ſomething worth Speaking of, and agreed that the Word ſhould be, *Gurney*, in Honour of their good Lord Mayor.

The Humble Petition and Addreſs of *Edward*, Earl of *Clarendon.* MS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

I Cannot expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I ſuſtain, under the Apprehenſion of being miſrepreſented unto your Lordſhips; and when I hear how much of your Lordſhips Time hath been ſpent in the Mention of me, and is attended with more publick Conſequence; and of the Difference of Opinion, which is already, or may probably ariſe, betwixt your Lordſhips and the honourable Houſe of Commons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obſtructed, in a Time of ſo general Diſſatisfaction: I am very unfortunate to find myſelf ſuffer ſo much, under two very diſadvantageous Reflexions, which are in no Degree applicable to me.

The Firſt, from the Greatneſs of my Eſtate and Fortune, collected and made in ſo few Years; which, if it be proportionable to what it is reported, may very reaſonably cauſe my Integrity to be ſuſpected. The Second, That I have been the ſole Manager, and chief Miniſter, in all the Tranſactions of State, ſince the King's Return into *England*, to *Auguſt* laſt; and, therefore, that all Miſcarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my Counſels. Concerning my Eſtate, your Lordſhips will believe, that, after Malice and Envy have been ſo inquiſitive and ſo ſharp-ſighted, I will not offer any Thing to your Lordſhips, but what is really true; and I do aſſure your Lordſhips, in the firſt Place, That, excepting from the King's Bounty, I have never received, nor taken one Penny, but what was generally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perquiſite of my Office, by the conſtant Practice of the beſt Times; which I did, in my own Judgment, conceive to be that of my Lords *Coventry* and *Elſmore*; the Practice of which I conſtantly obſerved, although the Office, in both their Times, was lawfully worth double to what it was to me; and, I believe, now is: That all the Courteſies and Favours, which I have been able to obtain from the King for other Perſons, in Church, State, or *Weſtminſter-hall*, have never been

been worth, to me, five Pounds; ſo that your Lordſhips may be confident, I am as innocent from Corruption, as from any diſloyal Thought; which, after thirty Years Service of the Crown, in ſome Difficulties and Diſtreſs, I did never ſuſpect would have have been objected to me, in my Age. And I do aſſure your Lordſhips, and ſhall make it manifeſt, That the ſeveral Sums of Money and ſome Parcels of Land, which his Majeſty hath bountifully beſtowed upon me, ſince his laſt Return into *England*, are worth more, than all I have amounts unto. So far I am from advancing my Eſtate by indirect Means; and, though this Bounty of his Majeſty hath very far exceeded my Merit, or my Expectations, yet ſome others have been as fortunate, at leaſt, in the ſame Bounty, who have had as ſmall Pretence to it, and have no great Reaſon to envy my Condition.

Concerning the other Imputation, of the Credit and Power of being chief Miniſter, and cauſing all to be done, that I had any Mind to, I have no more to ſay, than that I had the good Fortune to ſerve a Maſter of very great Judgment and Underſtanding, and to be always joined with Perſons of great Abilities and Experience, without whoſe Advice and Concurrence never any Thing hath been done. Before his Majeſty's Coming over, he was conſtantly attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the late Lord *Culpepper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who were equally truſted with myſelf, and without whoſe joint Advice and Concurrence, when they were all preſent (as ſome of them always were) I never gave any Counſel. As ſoon as it pleaſed God to reſtore his Majeſty into *England*, he eſtabliſhed his Privy-council, and ſhortly, out of them, a Number of honourable Perſons of great Reputation, who for the moſt Part are alive ſtill, as a Committee for Foreign Affairs, and Conſideration of ſuch Things, as the Number of them required much Time and Deliberation, and with thoſe Perſons he vouchſafed to join me; and, I am confident, the Committee never tranſacted any Thing of Moment (his Majeſty being always preſent) without Preſenting the ſame firſt to the Council-board; and I muſt appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one Mind, in Matters of Importance. For more than two Years, I never knew any Difference in the Council, or that there were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I wholly impute to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, and the intire Concurrence of his Counſellors, without the Vanity of aſſuming any Thing to myſelf; and, therefore, I hope, I ſhall not be ſingly charged with any Thing, that has ſince fallen out amiſs: But, from the Time that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was removed from his Place, there were great Alterations; and whoſoever knows any Thing of the Court, or Councils, knows well how much my Credit hath ſince that Time been diminiſhed, although his Majeſty ſtill vouchſafed graciouſly to hear my Advice, in moſt of his Affairs. Nor hath there been, from that Time to this, above one or two Perſons brought to the Council, or preferred to any conſiderable Office in the Court, who have been of any intimate Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to have any Kindneſs for me; and moſt of them moſt notoriouſly known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgments and Principles from me, both in Church and State; and who have taken all Opportunities to leſſen my Credit with the King, and all other Perſons, by miſrepreſenting and miſinterpreting all that I ſaid, or did, and perſuading Men, that I had done them ſome Prejudice with his Majeſty, or croſſed them in ſome of their Pretenſions, though his Majeſty's Goodneſs and Juſtice were ſuch, that it made little Impreſſion upon him.

In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which, it was moſt notoriouſly known, that I was always moſt averſe: And I may, without Vanity, ſay, I did not only foreſee, but did declare the Miſchief, we ſhould run into, by entering into a War before any Alliances with neighbouring Princes; and, that it may not be imputed to his Majeſty's Want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counſellors, that no ſuch Alliances were entered into, I muſt ſay, that his Majeſty left nothing unattempted, in Order thereunto; and knowing very well, that *France* reſolved to begin War upon *Spain*, as ſoon as his Catholick Majeſty ſhould depart the World; which being much ſooner expected by them, they had, in two Winters, been at great Charge in providing plentiful Magazines of all Proviſions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War: His Majeſty uſed all Means poſſible to prepare and diſpoſe the *Spaniards* with that Apprehenſion, offering his Friendſhip to

that

that Degree, as might be for the Security and Benefit of both Crowns. But *Spain*, flattering itſelf, that *France* would not break with them, at leaſt, that they would not give them any Cauſe, by adminiſtering Matter of Jealouſy, never made any real Approach to make Friendſhip with his Majeſty, but, both by their Ambaſſadors here, and his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, always inſiſted, as Preliminaries, upon the Giving up of *Dunguirgue*, *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*.

Though *France* had an Ambaſſador here, to whom a Project for a Treaty was offered, and the Lord *Hollis*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, had uſed all Endeavours to perſue and proſecute the ſaid Treaty; yet it was quickly diſcerned, the principal Deſign of *France* was to draw his Majeſty into ſuch a new Alliance, as might advance their Deſign, without which, they had no Mind to enter into the Treaty propoſed; and this was the State of Affairs, when the War was entered into with the *Dutch*; from which Time, neither Crown continued the Making an Alliance with *England*. As I did, from my Soul, abhor the Entering into this War, ſo I never preſumed to give any Advice or Counſel for the Way of managing of it, but by oppoſing many Propoſitions, which ſeemed, by the late Lord Treaſurer and myſelf, to be unreaſonable, as the Payment of Seamen with Tickets, which added to the Expence.

My Enemies took all Occaſions to inveigh againſt me, and (making of Friendſhip with others out of the Council of more licentious Principles, and who knew well enough how much I diſliked and complained of the Liberty they took to themſelves, of rallying all Council and Counſellors, and turning all Things, ſerious and ſecret, into Ridicule) they took all Ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all Sorts of Men, whom I ſhall be compelled to name in my own Defence, perſuading thoſe that miſcarried, that it was the Chancellor's Doing, whereof I never knew any Thing: However, they could not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was ſtill pleaſed to uſe my Service with others; nor was there any Thing done, but upon the joint Advice of, at leaſt, the major Part of thoſe who were conſulted; and, as his Majeſty commanded my Service in the late Treaty, I never gave the leaſt Advice in Private, or wrote one Letter to any Perſon, in thoſe Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council, and after it was read in Council, or, at leaſt, by the King, [illegible] and ſome others; and if I prepared any Inſtructions, or Memorials, it was by the King's Command, and the Requeſt of the Secretaries, who deſired my Aſſiſtance; nor was it any Wiſh of my own, that any Ambaſſador ſhould give me any Account of the Tranſactions, but the Secretary, with whom I was always ready to adviſe; nor am I conſcious to myſelf, of ever having given Advice, that hath proved miſchievous, or inconvenient to his Majeſty; and I have been ſo far from being the whole Manager, that I have not, in the whole laſt Year, been above twice with his Majeſty in any Room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or three laſt Years preceding; and, ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very viſible, that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few Things have been hearkened to, that have been propoſed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, becauſe they were propoſed by me. I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, to remember the Office and Truſt I had for ſeven Years, in which Diſcharge of my Duty, I was obliged to ſtop and obſtruct many Men's Pretenſions, and refuſed to ſet the Seal to many Men's Pardons, and their Grants, which would have been profitable to them, which procured them, and many whereof, upon my Repreſentation to his Majeſty, were for ever ſtopped; which naturally hath cauſed many Enemies to me; and my frequently Concurring, upon the Deſires of my late Lord Treaſurer (with whom I had the Honour to have a long and faithful Friendſhip to his Death) in repreſenting ſeveral Exceſſes and Exorbitances, the yearly Iſſues ſo far exceeding the Revenue, provoked many Perſons concerned, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they could; and yet, I may faithfully ſay, I never meddled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Adminiſtration of it, but when I was deſired, by the late Lord Treaſurer, to give him my Aſſiſtance and Advice, having had the Honour to ſerve the Crown, as Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, which was, for the moſt Part, in his Majeſty's Preſence; nor have I been, in the leaſt Degree, concerned, in Point of Profit, in letting any Part of his Majeſty's Revenue, nor have ever treated, or debated it, but in his Majeſty's Preſence, in which my Opinion concurred always with the

major

major Part of the Council; all which, upon Examination, will be made manifeſt to your Lordſhips, how much ſoever my Integrity is blaſted, by the Malice of thoſe, who, I am confident, do not believe themſelves; nor have I, in all my Treaties, otherwiſe received the Value of one Shilling, from all the Kings and Princes in the World, except the Book of the *Louvre*, ſent by the Chancellor of *France*, by the King's Direction, but from my own Maſter, to whoſe intire Service, and to the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted. This being my preſent Condition, I do moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to retain a favourable Opinion of me, and believe me to be innocent from thoſe foul Aſperſions, until the Contrary ſhall be proved, which, I am ſure, can never be, by any Man worthy to be believed; and ſince the Temper of the Times, and the Difference between the two Houſes, in the preſent Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out, they ſhall prevail with his Majeſty to prorogue, or diſſolve the Parliament in Diſpleaſure (and threaten to expoſe me to the Rage and Fury of the People) may make me to be looked upon, as the Cauſe which obſtructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the Kingdom: I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that I may not forfeit your Lordſhip's Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myſelf from ſo powerful a Proſecution, in Hopes I may be able, by ſuch Withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my Defence, when his Majeſty's Juſtice, to which I ſhall always ſubmit, may not be obſtructed, or controuled, by the Power and Malice of thoſe, who have ſworn my Deſtruction.

Exit Clarendon.

The Parable of the Bear-baiting. *London*, Printed for *J. Johnſon*, 1691. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

THE Proceedings by, and againſt ſome Body of late, are not altogether unlike a certain Parable; which, though I cannot, at preſent, call to Mind where I read it, yet, I remember very well, the Subſtance of it was this: *Viz.*

Once upon a Time, there was a Bear-baiting appointed; a great over-grown *French* Bear, the greateſt in the World, to be baited by *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Maſtiffs, the beſt Maſtiffs in the Univerſe: The Match was made between the moſt Chriſtian Lion of *England* and *Holland*, on one Hand, and the moſt Antichriſtian Bear-ward of *France*, on the other Hand; and the Wager was no leſs, than the whole Intereſt of the *French* Crown, on one Side, and the whole remaining Intereſt of *Europe*, and the Liberty of all *Chriſtendom*, on the other, in Caſe of a total Deſtruction, either of the Bear, or of the Maſtiffs.

Whereupon, the great *French* Bear-ward, that apocalyptick Beaſt, *Ludovicus*, whoſe Name is the Number of the Beaſt in the *Revelations*, for the numerical Letters of his Name are Six-hundred, three-ſcore, and ſix: I ſay, this notorious Beaſt of a Man, this cruel Tyrant, who retains nothing in him of a King, but the Purple; this Bear-ward *le Grand* ſpared no Coſts, nor Pains, to hearten, cheriſh, and ſtrengthen his Bear, againſt the Time of Baiting; nay, he ſent as far as the *Levant* for ſtrengthening Cordials, and Reſtoratives for his Bear.

Hereupon, the wary Lion (who is, in his own Nature, as wiſe as a Serpent, and yet as innocent as a Dove) ſent out Force enough, to intercept all thoſe Reſtoratives at the *Streights* Mouth.

But you muſt know, the Lions having more than a good many Jackcalls about him, as all our Lions ever had, they over-perſuaded him to make a Jack-an-Apes Commander of that Force; who, when the Bear's Cordials and Reſtoratives came in Sight, ſat ſtill upon his Butt-end all the While, cracking of Nuts, and making of Monkey's Faces, and ſo let the ſtrengthening Cordials paſs by ſafe, juſt under his Noſe, without doing any Thing, beſides Gazing and Smelling at them.

After

After this, you muſt further know, theſe fooliſh head-ſtrong Jackcalls (being all great Favourites forſooth, and pretending to ten Times more Knowledge and Diſcretion, than ever they were, or ever will be Maſters of) prevailed likewiſe with the Lion, to make an old grifled Spaniel Commander in Chief over all his Maſtiffs, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

Wherefore, the Lion, at the earneſt Requeſt and Recommendation of the Jackcalls, called out old *Griſle* (a plaguy Dog at a Bitch; and therefore, in all Probability, well acquainted with the beſt Kennels) and ſpitted in his Mouth, and clapped him on the Back, and gave him all the Encouragement a Dog could have, and then bid him go, range about, ſeek out, and bring Home, ſixteen or eighteen Couple of ſtout, well-bred, true *Engliſh* Beagles with him, to hunt out the Bear, and conduct the Maſtiffs to their Sport.

But old *Griſle*, not obſerving his Maſter's Inſtructions, inſtead of procuring ſtrong-built, hearty, experienced Beagles, brought back a damned raw Pack of mere Whelps and Lap-dogs; and, by his and their Fawning, Crouching, Cringing, and Wheedling, as Spaniels, Whelps, and Lap-dogs uſe to do, and by the Interceſſion of the Jackcalls, who will recommend the Devil for a good Artiſt, if he has but the Art of feeding them ſecretly with forbidden Prey, they prevailed with the Lion to be commiſſioned under old *Griſle*, in order to lead and guide the Maſtiffs; which made the Maſtiffs growl moſt confoundedly, through mere Indignation.

However, out they went, under this wiſe Conduct; but, before they went out, old *Griſle*, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs (for I call them his, becauſe, as I told you but now, they were moſt of his own Getting) thought it convenient, for their better Security, to muzzle all the Maſtiffs, and tie them faſt in a ſtrong Line of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance; and, as ſoon as that was effectually done, then out they went all together.

And, all the Way they went, old *Griſle*, his Whelps, and his Lap-dogs, did friſk, and ſkip, and leap, and bounce, and yelp, being all over-joyed, that they ſhould ſee ſome Sport anon (for moſt of them had never ſeen a Bear before in their Lives) and Oh! how they whipped the Bear about, and ſwinged him off, all the Way, in their own Fancies!

Says old, proud, impotent, ſelf-conceited, empty *Griſle*: 'Gentlemen Whelps, and 'Gentlemen Lap-dogs, Courage! here is 'Confuſion to the Bear. Huzza! ſhew your-'ſelves to be but what you are, *viz.* true 'Whelps, and right Lap-dogs, and I deſire 'no more: for, by your Aſſiſtance, I have 'Power enough to beat all the Bears in *France*. 'I have been a Whelp and a Lap-dog myſelf 'in my Time, as well as the beſt of you all: 'And, to my certain Knowledge, an *Engliſh* 'Whelp, or Lap-dog, is able to grapple with 'a *French* Bear at any Time; wherefore, we 'need no Scouts to go before, to bring us 'Notice of the Bear's Approach; for, as ſoon 'as he comes within Hearing of your terrible 'Yelping, he will be glad to retire faſt e-'nough of his own Accord, I warrant you: 'Therefore, Courage my beloved Whelps 'and Lap-dogs! here's Confuſion once more 'to the Bear! — Huzza! yelp! yelp! 'yelp!'

But old *Griſle* had ſcarce ended theſe Words, nor was the Yelping quite ceaſed, when lo! all on a ſudden, the unexpected Roaring of the Bear quite ſurpriſed, daſhed, aſtoniſhed, and ſtunned the whole Pack of Mongrels; which made old *Griſle* ſhrink in his Tail between his Legs, and hang down his Head (and, if it had been hung up, not a Half-penny Damage) and made all the Whelps and Lap-dogs begin to whine and whimper about him, and fawn upon him, with wagging Tails, clapped in behind, lank Ears before, couchant Heads, and Tears in their Eyes. But, on the other Side, it made the brave Maſtiffs prick up their Ears, and drew Rage and Foam from their Mouths, and Fire from their very Eyes, to be at the Bear. Bleſs me! what a Difference there is, between right true-bred Maſtiffs, and whiffling Curs!

(For you muſt know, the great Bear was, by an unexpected Hurricane, driven to a Bay, freſh-water Bay, or elſe he had ſeized, and hugged old *Griſle*, and all his Whelps and Lap-dogs, juſt as the Devil hugs a Witch, before they had been aware of it, and was there confined in *Lob*'s Pound, and tied as a Bear to a Stake; which made him ſuck his Paws, and fret in his Greaſe, and roar after that hideous Manner.)

However,

However, old *Griſle* was forced, by the Rage and Importunity of the Maſtiffs, to go and ſhew them the Bear: And, to give the Devil his Due, he did ſhew them the Bear, and, that was all: For, when he plainly perceived, that the *French* were really there with their Bears, he immediately took all poſſible Care, to ſtand at a Diſtance enough, out of Harm's Way; and out of the Way of doing Harm to any, but the forward Maſtiffs.

But had the firſt, ſecond, and third-rate Maſtiffs been then let looſe, when they were freſh and untired; and when they had a ſtrong direct Gale to carry them, to the Bear's very Noſe; they would certainly have torn him to Pieces in a Trice: For he was ſo hemmed in, on every Side, that he could not ſtir one Way or other; neither could any of the Maſtiffs have been there loſt or ſunk, they being then, at the Mouth of the beſt Kennel, or Port, in *Europe*: When, at the ſame Time, the Bear was above a hundred Leagues from his Den: And beſides, there was another ſtrong Party, or two, of ſtout Third, Fourth, and Fifth-Rate Maſtiffs, out at the ſame Time, to have intercepted the Bear in his Way, if, after the firſt Maſtiffs tearing him, he ſhould have endeavoured to make his Eſcape Home. Here were all the Advantages, that Heaven and Earth could grant, at once; and all the favourable Opportunities, that Man could aſk, or that God need grant: And Nothing wanting but Courage, Conduct, Skill, and Honeſty, to accompliſh the utter Deſtruction of the Bear for evermore. Never had Spaniel ſuch an Opportunity of loſing his own Name, and gaining the Reputation of a Maſtiff; and never had Whelps and Lap-Dogs ſuch an Opportunity, to ingratiate themſelves with, and gain the Applauſe and Eſteem of all Mankind, as well as of Womankind and Children. But I find the Poet is in the Right on it, who ſays:

Naturam expellas furcâ licet, uſque recurret.

Nature recoils; and, though you hang the Dog,
Yet he will die, juſt as he liv'd, a Rogue.

For, as ſoon as old *Griſle*, his Whelps and his Lap-Dogs, eſpied the vaſt Bulk of the Bear's Body, the Wideneſs of his Jaws, the Largeneſs of his Paws, and the Length of his Claws, as if they had ſeen Raw-head and Bloody-bones, they turned all as white preſently, as my Lady's Night-trail.

But by the thundering Noiſe of the Maſtiffs, and by the powerful Help of Brandy, being ſomewhat rouſed out of their fainting Fit, they began at laſt, though it was long firſt, to recover a little out of their clammy Sweat: And then they called a Council, as they called it. And there, you might have ſeen all the Whelps and Lap-Dogs lying panting round old *Griſle*, and looking up to him, in this Time of Need, and he looking down upon them again, with moſt pitiful Countenances, on both Sides; and, all the While, making a moſt intolerable Stink, for Fear of the Bear: Nay, ſuch a ſtrange Stink, that I am forced to hold my Noſe, even now, whilſt I am ſpeaking of it; and to cry, Out, ye ſtinking Curs! Faw! Out, and be hanged! Faw! Out, for Shame, and make Room for the Maſtiffs!

However, at Long-run, old *Griſle* made a Shift to open his Jaws, and held them open, a long While, without ſpeaking ever a Word, for he well knew, they underſtood his Meaning by his Gaping: Yet, at laſt, with much ado, and with as much Heſitation, Trembling, and Shaking, as if he had been in the Houſe of Commons, he broke Silence, and ſnarled out theſe following Sentences, to the great Joy of the Whelps and Lap-Dogs; but to the deep Grief and Regret of the Maſtiffs, and to the everlaſting Stain, and eternal Reproach of the *Engliſh* Nation, *viz.*

'Gentlemen Whelps, and Gentlemen Lap-'Dogs, I lately ſaw, when I was ſo often 'and ſo long on Shore in *London*, and at '*Portſmouth* (that the very Watermen called 'me Lord *Tarry at-Home*, and Lord *Tarry in-*'*Town*) then I ſay, I ſaw a very good Book, 'nay, which is more, a Convocation-Book, 'in *Mall Hinton*'s Cloſet (or rather, Kennel) 'for, I muſt tell you, ſhe is a very devout 'Creature, a mighty Lover of Convocations, 'and no good Thing can come out, but ſhe, 'good Girl, will preſently take it in. And 'there in that Book I remember it is 'laid down, by the venerable Authority of 'a certain Kind of a certain Sort of a Con-'vocation, as an undoubted Principle of our 'Church (for I was never of any Church, that 'was for true Fighting, no more than you)

'*viz.* That, whatever Powers here below are 'ſettled and fixed, we ought to pay ample Al-'legiance, Non-Reſiſtance, and Paſſive Obe-'dience to them: And you know well enough, 'that our Maſter, the Lion, is not ſo very 'well ſettled and fixed at this Time; for he 'he is not yet paſſed the *Boyne*, and there is a 'deep Water for him to wade through up to the 'Chin, and ſeveral *French* Bears in his Way, 'before he can reach *Dublin*. But on the o-'ther Side you plainly ſee, That the great '*French* Bear, here, is ſettled and fixed before 'your Eyes: And, for my Part, I have often 'found great Civilities from *French* Bears; and 'ſo, I hope, I may again. Wherefore, Gen-'tlemen Whelps, and Gentlemen Lap-Dogs, 'though you are young, yet I am old; and it 'is high Time for me to follow the virtuous 'Example of *Mall Hinton*, and to walk by 'Convocation-Rules: And, therefore, I am 'clearly of the ſame Opinion with the venera-'ble Convocation, *viz.* That we ought, in 'the firſt Place, to keep our Diſtance, to con-'ſider where we are, and in whoſe Preſence 'we be, and to ſee who and who ſtand toge-'ther; and alſo, to keep to the ſaving Doctrine 'of Non-Aſſiſtance, till we hear a little better 'which Way Things go, and till we are 'fully ſatisfied what is become of the *Iriſh* 'Affairs: And yet, notwithſtanding, in the 'mean Time, to pay all dutiful Reſpects to 'the ſettled Power of the Bear (who was 'driven into the Bay by a Hurricane, and ſo 'has plainly God's Authority) and eſpecially, 'to keep cloſe to our Beloved-Church-Rules, 'and my old, natural, Spaniel-Rules, of Non-'Reſiſtance, and Paſſive-Obedience, during 'our whole Retreat.' At which periodical Snarl, all the Whelps and Lap-Dogs heaved up their drooping Heads, and cried, *Yelp, Yelp, Yelp*; but the inraged Maſtiffs ſwore, *Bow,—Wow,—Wow.*

This was the warlike Reſolution, the admi-rable, or Admiral-like Determination, and poſitive Injunction of old *Griſle*; whereunto all the Whelps and Lap-Dogs unanimouſly a-greed, and punctually obſerved it, like ſo ma-ny Dogs in a String; and hung down their Heads all the Way, like ſo many Sheep-biters; finding now, by ſad Experience, the great Difference between Bear-baiting, and Sheep-biting.

But, however, the Maſtiffs, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, could not endure to be held ſo long, ſix or ſeven Days together, by a Pack of ſhagreen Curs, in ſuch an unreaſonable Line, a Line of five or ſix Leagues Diſtance, at leaſt, from the Bear, the grand Enemy of Mankind, and from their Duty of attacking him.

Therefore, to be thus unjuſtly reſtrained in Spight of their Courage, nay, in Spight of their Teeth, by a Company of Whifflers, made the Maſtiffs rave, and grow almoſt ſtark-ſtaring mad, for Want of Sleep and Reſt; but eſpecially for Want of Fighting; for Fighting is their Meat and Drink: A true Tarpaulin fights only to eat, and eats only to fight a-gain: And there were enough with them to eat up the Bear; and Sharpers enough in every Thing elſe, but Fighting; and more by a great many (though not by a good many) than thoſe that devoured the great *Spaniſh* Bear in 1588.

Whereupon the Lioneſs, hearing the loud-mouthed Voice of her Maſtiffs, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, ſpeaking the ſame Thing, and, which is ſtrange, the ſame Language, and both Countries agreeing in the ſame Verdict, *viz.* That the Maſtiffs were abuſed, curbed, and muzzled by a Parcel of Mongrels; there-fore ſhe rouſed up her royal Wrath, and ſent poſitive Orders to the Curs, either to permit the Maſtiffs to fight, or elſe to come preſently themſelves to her Den in the *Tower*.

This royal Eccho ſtartled the Spaniel, the Whelps, and the Lap-Dogs worſe, if poſſible, than the Roaring of the Bear had done before: For now, being almoſt nine Days old in their Iniquity, the Whelps began to ſee, that there was another ſettled Power, beſides the Bears.

Thus old *Griſle*, his Whelps, and his Lap-Dogs, being reduced to a great Streight, for Fear of the Lioneſs on one Side, and of the Bear on the other; and, yet, being willing to curry Favour with both Sides, and to keep to the Convocation-Rules of Non-Re-ſiſtance of the ſettled Power of the Lioneſs, and of Paſſive Obedience to the fixed Power of the Bear: Therefore, they craftily and cunningly reſolved (as if they had been ſo many Schoolmen, or Doctors of Metaphy-ſical Notions and Diſtinctions) that they would ſacredly, or, rather curſedly, obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality on both Sides.

In Purſuance whereof, old *Griſle*, in the firſt Place, making his Honours, his Bows, and his profound Congees to the Bear; and, then, making his Obeiſance to the Lioneſs,

and

and, withal, making a Shew of Praying, but not Fighting, for King *William* and Queen *Mary:* He hung out the bloody Flag, as they uſe to do at the Bear-Garden, and proclaimed free Liberty for all to fight, that had a Mind to it. Fight Dog, fight Bear, for him, and his.

Whereupon, the brave *Tyrrell*, the undaunted *Dorrell*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh*, and above twenty *Dutch* Maſtiffs, all as good as ever run at a Bear (and, oh! that the courageous and victorious *Shovel* had been amongſt them!) though they were before almoſt quite throttled, ſpent, and ſtrangled by being held back ſo long from their Sport, in ſuch an unreaſonable Line, yet now took freſh Courage, and broke the Line, and left the Mongrels behind to their Due, the Line; and ran full Speed forwards, and made directly at the Bear with open Mouths; and ſtared Fire, and gaped Smoke, and ſpoke Thunder, and darted Thunderbolts, and hurled Whirlwinds at the Bear; and ſo ſcorched, blighted, blaſted, and twiſted him; and gave him ſuch Rents, ſuch Gaſhes, ſuch Breaches, and ſuch Shocks, that they made him groan, and reel backwards at their very firſt Onſet: And, had they been ſeconded, as they ought, we ſhould never have been troubled hereafter with any more *French*-dancing Bears again.

And though I will hold ten *Engliſh* Crowns to one *French* Crown at any Time, upon any of theſe Maſtiffs Heads, both *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, againſt any *French* Cub whatſoever of equal Size: And though I have great Reaſon always to lament my own Inſolvency, in that I am not able ever to pay ſufficient Expreſſions of Gratitude and Thankfulneſs to every one of theſe glorious Aſſailants; and particularly to the *Dutch*, becauſe I find, they had not ſo many Whelps and Lap-Dogs amongſt them, as we had; no, nor ſo many Jackcalls neither.

Yet, after all, I beſeech you, Gentlemen, bear with my Weakneſs, and pardon the Infirmity of my Judgment, if it be ſo, and give me Leave to ſay, That my main Bet is more eſpecially reſerved for, and fixed upon, the brave *Tyrrell*: A Hundred to One on his Head at any Time? His Name is *Wonder*, a right *Engliſh* Maſtiff, and a true-bred Tarpaulin; who never gave an Affront, and never brooked one; who is of ſuch ſtrange Humility, Goodneſs, and Modeſty; and yet, at the ſame Time, of ſuch unparalleled Courage, Knowledge, and Bravery, that, I proteſt, I have often gazed at the Man in Raptures of Admiration; and always thought him a great Bleſſing to this Nation, if we underſtood him; that is to ſay, at which I know all the Jackcalls will grin, if we underſtood how to employ true Virtue, true Honeſty, true Valour, true Skill, true Conduct, and true Merit to the beſt Advantage; and, if we underſtood how to pitch upon a Man, that can, by his own private Intereſt and Repute amongſt all true Tarpaulins, man out a whole Fleet at any Time without a Preſs.

But theſe, indeed, would be too many Bleſſings wrapped up in one; and the powerful Spirit of the ever-bleſſed Biſhop *Uſher*, ſtill ſurviving in his Grandſon, would make too good an Admiral for ſo bad an Age, as this is.

Neither would I have old envious *Griſle*, nor any of his malicious Whelps, or Lap-Dogs, think, that Captain *Tyrrell* is any Ways privy to this Commendation: No, good Man, he would have been the only Obſtacle againſt it, if he had known it; for he is neither for praiſing himſelf, nor diſpraiſing others.

But yet, I hope, my Lord *Griſle*, Maſter Whelps, and Maſter Lap-Dogs, you will give me Leave to ſpeak the Truth concerning your Worſhips; who was a Spectator and Stander-by all the While, as well as you; eſpecially, ſince you have made me, and all my Countrymen, pay ſo dear for our Standing at your ſpecial Bear-baiting; nay, methinks, you might out of Modeſty, if you had any, give us Leave to ſpeak, who are ſuch great Loſers by you: And more eſpecially, ſince you have brought Things to ſuch a Paſs, that, if we do not ſpeak now, we muſt for ever hereafter hold our Peace; for you have bid the laſt Bans of Matrimony between us and Deſtruction.

Wherefore, ſince I neither do, nor can, ſpeak Evil of the Rulers of the People, *viz.* King *William* and Queen *Mary*; of whom, by whom, and in whom, I know Nothing but good: And ſince our bleſſed Saviour called thoſe Men Dogs, that eat up the Children's Bread: And ſince you, Gentlemen Whelps, and Gentlemen Lap-Dogs, have given a pretty good Stroke already to our daily Bread; and are preparing, not only to devour the Remainder, but alſo to rob us of the Bread of Life; and to bring in the Abomination of Deſolation upon us, even that Abomination,

which

which maketh deſolate now at this very Day in *Flanders*, *Savoy*, and all the Frontiers of the Empire, *&c.* and would willingly do the like here amongſt us, with all his Heart; and ſo, I perceive, with all yours too: And ſince you have only the Name, the Salary, the Saſh, the Cravat-ſtring, the Feather, the Red, and the Blue of Commanders; without the true Heart, the Spirit, the Experience, the Honeſty, and the Bravery of true *Engliſh* Tarpaulins: And ſince you have acquitted old *Griſle* for his ill Service, and have ſnarled and ſnapped at my dearly beloved *Wonder*, and his wonderfully courageous Brethren's Heads, for their good Service: Therefore I will take upon me the Boldneſs, whether you give me Leave or no, to tell you, in plain *Engliſh*, without any Mixture of *French* in it, That you are a Pack of Curs and Mongrels; and ought to be turned off, and caſhiered, every one of you; for there is none amongſt you all, though you very well deſerve it, that is worth Hanging.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England* *, proved in a Dialogue between a Counſellor of State, and a Juſtice of Peace. Written by the worthy Knight, Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Dedicated to the King's Majeſty, and to the Houſe of Parliament now aſſembled. Preſerved to be now happily, in theſe diſtracted Times, publiſhed, and printed 1640. *Quarto*, containing Seventy-four Pages.

Counſellor.

NOW, Sir, what think you of Mr. *St. John*'s Trial in the *Star-Chamber*? I know that the Bruit ran that he was hardly dealt withal, becauſe he was impriſoned in the *Tower*, ſeeing his Diſſuaſion from granting a Benevolence to the King was warranted by the Law.

Juſtice.

Surely, Sir, it was made manifeſt at the Hearing, that Mr. *St. John* was rather in Love with his own Letter; he confeſſed he had ſeen your Lordſhip's Letter, before he wrote his to the Mayor of *Marlborough*, and in your Lordſhip's Letter, there was not a Word, whereto the Statutes, by Mr. *St. John* alledged, had Reference; for thoſe Statutes did condemn the Gathering of Money from the Subject, under Title of a free Gift; whereas a Fifth, a Sixth, a Tenth, *&c.* was ſet down, and required. But, my good Lord, though divers Shires have given to his Majeſty, ſome more, ſome leſs, What is this to the King's Debt?

Counſ. We know it well enough, but we have many other Projects.

Juſt. It is true, my good Lord; but your Lordſhip will find, that when by theſe you have drawn many petty Sums from the Subjects, and thoſe ſometimes ſpent, as faſt as they are gathered, his Majeſty being nothing enabled thereby, when you ſhall be forced to Demand your great Aid, the Country will excuſe itſelf, in Regard of their former Payments.

Counſ. What mean you by the great Aid?

Juſt. I mean the Aid of Parliament.

Counſ. By Parliament. I would fain know the Man, that durſt perſuade the King unto it, for if it ſhould ſucceed ill, In what Caſe were he?

Juſt. You ſay well for yourſelf, my Lord, and perchance, you that are Lovers of yourſelves, under Pardon, do follow the Advice of the late Duke of *Alva*, who was ever oppoſite to all Reſolution in Buſineſs of Importance; for if the Things enterpriſed ſucceeded well, the Advice never came in Queſtion: If ill, whereto great Undertakings are commonly ſubject, he then made his Advantage, by remembering his Country Council. But my good Lord, theſe reſerved Politicians are not

* This is the 287th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

the

the beſt Servants, for he that is bound to adventure his Life for his Maſter, is alſo bound to adventure his Advice: *Keep not back Counſel, ſaith Eccleſiaſticus, when it may do Good.*

Counſ. But, Sir, I ſpeak it not in other Reſpect, than I think it dangerous for the King to aſſemble the three Eſtates, for thereby have our former Kings always loſt ſomewhat of their Prerogatives. And, becauſe that you ſhall not think, that I ſpeak it at Random, I will begin with elder Times, wherein the firſt Contention began, betwixt the Kings of this Land, and their Subjects in Parliament.

Juſt. Your Lordſhip ſhall do me a ſingular Favour.

Counſ. You know that the King of *England* had no formal Parliament till above the eighteenth Year of *Henry the Firſt*, for in his ſeventeenth Year, for the Marriage of his Daughter, the King raiſed a Tax upon every Hide of Land by the Advice of his Privy-Council alone. But you may remember how the Subjects, ſoon after the Eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, began to ſtand upon Terms with the King, and drew from him by ſtrong Hand, and the Sword, the great Charter.

Juſt. Your Lordſhip ſays well, they drew from the King the great Charter by the Sword, and hereof the Parliament cannot be accuſed, but the Lords.

Counſ. You ſay well, but it was after the Eſtabliſhment of the Parliament, and by Colour of it, that they had ſo great Daring, for before that Time they could not endure to hear of St. *Edward*'s Laws, but reſiſted the Confirmation in all they could, although, by thoſe Laws, the Subjects of this Iſland were no leſs free than any of all *Europe*.

Juſt. My good Lord, the Reaſon is manifeſt; for while the *Normans*, and other of the *French* that followed the Conqueror, made Spoil of the *Engliſh*, they would not endure that any Thing but the Will of the Conqueror ſhould ſtand for Law; but after a Deſcent or two, when themſelves were become *Engliſh*, and found themſelves beaten with their own Rods, they then began to favour the Difference between Subjection and Slavery, and inſiſt upon the Law, *Meum & Tuum*; and to be able to ſay unto themſelves, *Hoc fac & vives*; yea, that the conquering *Engliſh* in *Ireland* did the like, your Lordſhip knows it better than I.

Counſ. I think you gueſs a-right: And to the End the Subject may know, that, being a faithful Servant to his Prince, he might enjoy his own Life, and, paying to his Prince what belongs to a Sovereign, the Remainder was his own to diſpoſe; *Henry the Firſt*, to content his Vaſſals, gave them the great Charter, and the Charter of Foreſts.

Juſt. What Reaſon then had King *John* to deny the Confirmation?

Counſ. He did not, but he on the contrary confirmed both the Charters with Additions, and required the Pope, whom he had then made his Superior, to ſtrengthen them with a golden Bull.

Juſt. But your Honour knows, that it was not long after, that he repented himſelf.

Counſ. It is true, and he had Reaſon ſo to do, for the Barons refuſed to follow him into *France*, as they ought to have done; and to ſay true, this great Charter, upon which you inſiſt ſo much, was not originally granted regally and freely; for *Henry the Firſt* did uſurp the Kingdom, and therefore, the better to aſſure himſelf againſt *Robert*, his eldeſt Brother, he flattered his Nobility and People, with thoſe Charters: Yea, King *John* that confirmed them had the like Reſpect; for *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, was the undoubted Heir of the Crown, upon whom *John* uſurped. And ſo to conclude, theſe Charters had their Original from Kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

Juſt. But King *John* confirmed the Charter, after the Death of his Nephew *Arthur*, when he was then *Rex de jure* alſo.

Counſ. It is true, for he durſt do no other, ſtanding accurſed, whereby few or none obeyed him, for his Nobility refuſed to follow him into *Scotland*; and he had ſo grieved the People by pulling down all the Park Pales before Harveſt, to the End his Deer might ſpoil the Corn; and by ſeizing the Temporalities of ſo many Biſhopricks into his Hands, and chiefly for practiſing the Death of the Duke of *Bretagne* his Nephew, as alſo having loſt *Normandy*, to the *French*, ſo as the Hearts of all Men were turned from him.

Juſt. Nay, by your Favour, my Lord, King *John* reſtored King *Edward*'s Laws, after his Abſolution, and wrote his Letters in the fifteenth of his Reign, to all Sheriffs, countermanding all former Oppreſſions; yea, this he did, notwithſtanding the Lords refuſed to follow him into *France*.

Counſ. Pardon me, he did not reſtore King *Edward*'s Laws then, nor yet confirmed the Charters, but he promiſed upon his Abſolution to do both: But after his Return out of *France*, in his ſixteenth Year he denied it, becauſe, without ſuch a Promiſe, he had not obtained Reſtitution, his Promiſe being conſtrained, and not voluntary.

Juſt. But what think you? Was he not bound in Honour to perform it?

Counſ. Certainly no, for it was determined in the Caſe of King *Francis the Firſt* of *France*, that all Promiſes by him made, whilſt he was in the Hands of *Charles the Fifth*, his Enemy, were void, by Reaſon, the Judge of Honour, which tells us he durſt do no other.

Juſt. But King *John* was not in Priſon.

Counſ. Yet, for all that, Reſtraint is an Impriſonment, yea, Fear itſelf is an Impriſonment, and the King was ſubject to both: I know there is nothing more kingly in a King, than the Performance of his Word; but, yet of a Word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the Charter of *Henry the Firſt* ſo publiſhed, that all Men might plead it for their Advantage; but a Charter was left, *in depoſito*, in the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the Time, and ſo to his Succeſſors. *Stephen Langton*, who was ever a Traitor to the King, produced this Charter, and ſhewed it to the Barons, thereby encouraging them to make War againſt the King. Neither was it the old Charter ſimply the Barons ſought to have confirmed, but they preſented unto the King other Articles and Orders, tending to the Alteration of the whole Commonweath; which when the King refuſed to ſign, the Barons preſently put themſelves into the Field, and in rebellious and outrageous Faſhion, ſent the King Word, except he confirmed them, they would not deſiſt from making War againſt him, till he had ſatisfied them therein. And in Concluſion, the King being betrayed of all his Nobility, in Effect, was forced to grant the Charter of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſtis*, at ſuch Time as he was invironed with an Army in the Meadows of *Staynes*; which Charters, being procured by Force, Pope *Innocent* afterwards diſavowed, and threatened to curſe the Barons, if they ſubmitted not themſelves, as they ought, to their Sovereign Lord; which when the Lords refuſed to obey, the King entertained an Army of Strangers, for his own Defence, wherewith having maſtered and beaten the Barons, they called *in Lewis* of *France*, a moſt unnatural Reſolution, to be their King. Neither was *Magna Charta* a Law in the nineteenth of *Henry the Third*, but ſimply a Charter, which he confirmed in the twenty-firſt of his Reign, and made it a Law in the twenty-fifth, according to *Littleton*'s Opinion. Thus much for the Beginning of the great Charter, which had firſt an obſcure Birth from Uſurpation, and was ſecondly foſtered and ſhewed to the World by Rebellion.

Juſt. I cannot deny but that all your Lordſhip hath ſaid is true; but, ſeeing the Charters were afterwards ſo many Times confirmed by Parliament and made Laws, and that there is nothing in them unequal or prejudicial to the King; Doth not your Honour think it Reaſon they ſhould be obſerved?

Counſ. Yes, and obſerved they are in all that the State of a King can permit, for no Man is deſtroyed, but by the Laws of the Land, no Man diſſeized of his Inheritance, but by the Laws of the Land; impriſoned they are by the Prerogative where the King hath Cauſe to ſuſpect their Loyalty; for were it otherwiſe, the King ſhould never come to the Knowledge of any Conſpiracy or Treaſon, againſt his Perſon or State, and being impriſoned, yet doth not any Man ſuffer Death, but by the Law of the Land.

Juſt. But may it pleaſe your Lordſhip, Were not *Cornwallis*, *Sharp*, and *Hoskins* impriſoned, there being no Suſpicion of Treaſon there?

Counſ. They were, but it coſt them nothing.

Juſt. And what got the King by it? For in the Concluſion, beſides the Murmur of the People, *Cornwallis*, *Sharp*, and *Hoſkins* having greatly overſhot themſelves, and repented them, a Fine of Five or ſix-hundred Pounds was laid on his Majeſty, for their Offences, for ſo much their Diet coſt his Majeſty.

Counſ. I know who gave the Advice, ſure I am that it was none of mine: But thus I ſay, if you conſult your Memory, you ſhall find, that thoſe Kings, which did in their own Times, confirm the *Magna Charta*, did not only impriſon, but they cauſed of their Nobility, and others, to be ſlain, without Hearing or Trial.

Juſt. My good Lord, if you will give me Leave to ſpeak freely, I ſay, that they are not well-

well advised, that perſuade the King, not to admit the *Magna Charta*, with the former Reſervations. For as the King can never loſe a Farthing by it, as I ſhall prove anon; ſo except *England* were as *Naples* is, and kept by Garriſons of another Nation, it is impoſſible for a King of *England* to greaten and inrich himſelf by any Way ſo aſſuredly, as by the Love of his People. For by one Rebellion the King hath more Loſs, than by a hundred Years Obſervance of *Magna Charta*: For therein have our Kings been forced to compound with Rogues and Rebels, and to pardon them, yea, the State of the King, the Monarchy, the Nobility have been endangered by them.

Counſ. Well, Sir, let that paſs, Why ſhould not our Kings raiſe Money, as the Kings of *France* do, by their Letters and Edicts only? For, ſince the Time of *Lewis the Eleventh*, of whom it is ſaid, that he freed the *French* Kings of their Wardſhip, the *French* Kings have ſeldom aſſembled the States, for any Contribution.

Juſt. I will tell you why; the Strength of *England* doth conſiſt of the People and Yeomanry; the Peaſants of *France* have no Courage nor Arms: In *France*, every Village and Borough hath a Caſtle, which the *French* call *Chaſticau Villina*; every good City hath a good Cittadel; the King hath the Regiments of his Guards, and his Men at Arms always in Pay; yea, the Nobility of *France*, in whom, the Strength of *France* conſiſts, do always aſſiſt their King in thoſe Levies upon their Tenants. But, my Lord, if you mark it, *France* was never free, in Effect, from Civil Wars; and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the *Spaniard*, or to be cantoniſed by the rebellious *French* themſelves, ſince that Freedom of Wardſhip. But, my good Lord, to leave this Digreſſion, that, wherein I would willingly ſatisfy your Lordſhip, is, that the Kings of *England* have never received Loſs, by Parliament, or Prejudice.

Counſ. No, Sir, you ſhall find that the Subjects in Parliament have decreed great Things, to the Diſadvantage and Diſhonour of our Kings in former Times.

Juſt. My good Lord, to avoid Confuſion, I will make a ſhort Report of them all, and then your Lordſhip may object, where you ſee Cauſe: And I doubt not but to give your Lordſhip Satisfaction. In the ſixth Year of *Henry the Third*, there was no Diſpute, the Houſe gave the King two Shillings of every Plough-land within *England*; and, in the End of the ſame Year, he had Eſcuage paid him, to wit, for every Knight's Fee, two Marks in Silver. In the fifth Year of that King, the Lords demanded the Confirmation of the Great Charter, which the King's Council, for that Time preſent, excuſed, alledging that thoſe Privileges were extorted by Force, during the King's Minority; and yet the King was pleaſed to ſend forth his Writ to the Sheriffs of every County, requiring them to certify, what thoſe Liberties were, and how uſed; and in Exchange of the Lords Demand, becauſe they preſſed him ſo violently, the King required all the Caſtles and Places, which the Lords held of his, and had held in the Time of his Father, with thoſe Manors and Lordſhips, which they had heretofore wreſted from the Crown; which at that Time, the King being provided of Forces, they durſt not deny. In the fourteenth Year, he had the fifteenth Penny of all Goods given him, upon Condition to confirm the Great Charter: For, by Reaſon of the Wars in *France*, and the Loſs of *Rochelle*, he was then forced to conſent to the Lords, in all they demanded. In the tenth Year of his Reign, he fined the City of *London*, at fifty-thouſand Marks, becauſe they had received *Lewis* of *France*. In the eleventh Year, in the Parliament at *Oxford*, he revoked the Great Charter being granted, when he was under Age, and governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. In his eleventh Year, the Earls of *Cornwall* and *Cheſter*, Marſhal, *Edward* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrars*, and *Warwick*, and others rebelled againſt the King, and conſtrained him to yield unto them in what they demanded for their particular Intereſt; which Rebellion being appeaſed, he ſailed into *France*; and, in his fifteenth Year, he had a Fifteenth of the Temporality, and a Diſm and a Half of the Spirituality, and withal, Eſcuage of every Knight's Fee.

Counſ. But what ſay you to the Parliament of *Weſtminſter*, in the ſixteenth Year of the King; where, notwithſtanding the Wars of [illegible], and his great Charge in Repulſing the *Welch* Rebels, he was flatly denied the Subſidy demanded?

Juſt. I confeſs, my Lord, that the Houſe excuſed themſelves, by Reaſon of their Poverty, and the Lords Taking of Arms; in the next Year, it was manifeſt that the Houſe was practiſed againſt the King: And was it not ſo, my good Lord, think you, in our two laſt Parliaments, for, in the firſt, even thoſe, whom his Majeſty truſted moſt, betrayed him in the Union; and in the ſecond, there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your Lordſhip ſpoke of Dangers of Parliaments; in this, my Lord, there was a Denial, but there was no Danger at all: But to return where I left, What got the Lords, by Practiſing the Houſe at that Time? I ſay, that thoſe, that broke this Staff upon the King, were overturned with the Counterbuff, for he refuſed all thoſe Lands which he had given in his Minority; he called all his exacting Officers to Account, he found them all faulty; he examined the Corruption of other Magiſtrates, and, from all theſe, he drew ſufficient Money to ſatisfy his preſent Neceſſity; whereby, he not only ſpared his People, but highly contented them with an Act of ſo great Juſtice: Yea, *Hubert*, Earl of *Kent*, the Chief Juſtice, whom he had moſt truſted, and moſt advanced, was found as falſe to the King, as any one of the reſt; and, for Concluſion, in the End of that Year, at the Aſſembly of the States at *Lambeth*, the King had the fortieth Part of every Man's Goods given him freely towards his Debts; for the People, who, the ſame Year, had refuſed to give the King any Thing, when they ſaw he had ſqueeſed thoſe Sponges of the Commonwealth, they willingly yielded to give him Satisfaction.

Counſ. But, I pray you, what became of this *Hubert*, whom the King had favoured above all Men, betraying his Majeſty as he did?

Juſt. There were many that perſuaded the King to put him to Death, but he could not be drawn to conſent, but the King ſeized upon his Eſtate, which was great; yet, in the End, he left him a ſufficient Portion, and gave him his Life, becauſe he had done great Service in former Times: For his Majeſty, though he took Advantage of his Vice, yet he forgot not to have Conſideration of his Virtue. And upon this Occaſion it was, that the King, betrayed by thoſe whom he moſt truſted, entertained Strangers, and gave them their Offices, and the Charge of his Caſtles and ſtrong Places in *England*.

Counſ. But the Drawing in of thoſe Strangers was the Cauſe, that the Marſhal, Earl of *Pembroke*, moved War againſt the King.

Juſt. It is true, my good Lord, but he was ſoon after ſlain in *Ireland*, and his whole maſculine Race, ten Years extinguiſhed, though there were five Sons of them; and, the Marſhal being dead, who was the Mover and Ring-leader of that War, the King pardoned the reſt of the Lords that had aſſiſted the Marſhal.

Counſ. What Reaſon had the King ſo to do?

Juſt. Becauſe he was ſo perſuaded, that they loved his Perſon, and only hated thoſe corrupt Counſellors, that then bore the greateſt Sway under him, as alſo, becauſe they were the beſt Men of War he had, whom, if he deſtroyed, having War with the *French*, he had wanted Commanders to have ſerved him.

Counſ. But what Reaſon had the Lords to take Arms?

Juſt. Becauſe the King entertained the *Poictovins*: Were not they the King's Vaſſals alſo? Should the *Spaniards* rebel, becauſe the *Spaniſh* King truſts to the *Neapolitans*, *Portugueſe*, *Milaneſe*, and other Nations, his Vaſſals; ſeeing thoſe, that are governed by the Viceroys and Deputies, are, in Policy, to be well entertained, and to be employed, who would otherwiſe deviſe how to free themſelves; whereas, being truſted and employed by their Prince, they entertained themſelves with the Hopes, that others the King's Vaſſals do. If the King had called in the *Spaniards*, or other Nations, not his Subjects, the Nobility of *England* had Reaſon of Grief.

Counſ. But what People did ever ſerve the King of *England* more faithfully than the *Gaſcoignes* did, even to the laſt of the Conqueſt of that Duchy?

Juſt. Your Lordſhip ſays well, and I am of that Opinion, that, if it had pleaſed the Queen of *England*, to have drawn ſome of the chief of the *Iriſh* Nobility into *England*, and, by Exchange, to have made them good Freeholders in *England*, ſhe had ſaved above two Millions of Pounds, which were conſumed in Times of thoſe Rebellions. For what

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held the *Gaſcoignes* firm to the Crown of *England*, of whom the Duke of *Eſpernon* married the Inheritix, but his Earldom of *Kendal* in *England*, whereof the Duke of *Eſpernon*, in Right of his Wife, bears the Title to this Day. And, to the ſame End I take it, hath *James*, our ſovereign Lord, given Lands to divers of the Nobility of *Scotland*; and, if I were worthy to adviſe your Lordſhip, I ſhould think that your Lordſhip ſhould do the King great Service, to put him in Mind to prohibit all the *Scotiſh* Nation, to alienate and ſell away their Inheritance here; for, by the Selling, they not only give Cauſe to the *Engliſh* to complain, that the Treaſure of *England* is tranſported into *Scotland*, but his Majeſty is, thereby, alſo fruſtrated of making both Nations one, and of aſſuring the Service and Obedience of the *Scots* in the Future.

Counſ. You ſay well; for, though thoſe of *Scotland*, that are advanced and inriched by the King's Majeſty, will, no Doubt, ſerve him faithfully; yet, how their Heirs and Succeſſors, having no Inheritance to loſe in *England*, may be ſeduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our Parliament. And what ſay you to the Denial in the twenty-ſixth Year of his Reign, even when the King was invited to come into *France* by the Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, and who promiſed to aſſiſt the King in the Conqueſt of many Places loſt?

Juſt. It is true, my good Lord, that a Subſidy was then denied, and the Reaſons are delivered in *Engliſh* Hiſtories; and indeed, the King, not long before, had ſpent much Treaſure, in aiding the Duke of *Bretagne* to no Purpoſe, for he drew over the King, but to draw on good Conditions for himſelf, as the Earl of *March*, his Father-in-Law, now did; as the *Engliſh* Barons did invite *Lewis* of *France*, not long before, as, in elder Times, all the Kings and States had done, and, in late Years, the Leaguers of *France* entertained the *Spaniards*, and the *French* Proteſtants and *Netherlands*, Queen *Eliſabeth*; not with any Purpoſe to greaten thoſe that aid them, but to purchaſe to themſelves an advantageous Peace. But what ſay the Hiſtories to this Denial? They ſay, with a World of Paym^nts there mentioned, that the King had d^wn the Nobility dry; and, beſides that, whereas, not long before, great Sums of Money were given, and the ſame appointed to be kept in four Caſtles, and not to be expended, but by the Advice of the Peers: It was believed that the ſame Treaſure was yet unſpent.

Counſ. Good Sir, you have ſaid enough? Judge you, whether it were not a Diſhonour to the King, to be ſo tied, as not to expend his Treaſure, but by other Men's Advice, as it were, by their Licence.

Juſt. Surely, my Lord, the King was well adviſed, to take the Money upon any Condition, and they were Fools that propounded the Reſtraint; for it doth not appear, that the King took any great Heed to thoſe Overſeers; Kings are bound by their Piety, and by no other Obligation. In Queen *Mary*'s Time, when it was thought ſhe was with Child, it was propounded in Parliament, that the Rule of the Realm ſhould be given to King *Philip*, during the Minority of the hoped Prince or Princeſs; and the King offered his Aſſurance, in great Sums of Money, to relinquiſh the Government, at ſuch Time as the Prince or Princeſs ſhould be of Age: At which Motion, when all elſe were ſilent in the Houſe, Lord *Dacres*, who was none of the wiſeſt, aſked who ſhall ſue the King's Bond, which ended the Diſpute: For what Bond is between a King and his Vaſſals, but the Bond of the King's Faith? But, my good Lord, the King, notwithſtanding the Denial at that Time, was, with Gifts from particular Perſons, and otherwiſe, ſupplied for proceeding on his Journey, for that Time, into *France*; he took with him thirty Caſks, filled with Silver and Coin, which was a great Treaſure in thoſe Days. And, *Laſtly*, notwithſtanding the firſt Denial, in the King's Abſence, he had Eſcuage granted him, to wit, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee.

Counſ. What ſay you then to the twenty-eighth Year of that King, in which when the King demanded Relief, the States would not conſent, except the ſame Order had been taken for the appointing of four Overſeers for the Treaſure? As alſo that the Lord Chief Juſtice and the Lord Chancellor ſhould be choſen by the States, with ſome Barons of the *Exchequer*, and other Officers.

Juſt. My good Lord, admit the King had yielded their Demands, then whatſoever had been ordained by thoſe Magiſtrates to the Diſlike of the Commonwealth, the People had

been without Remedy; whereas, while the King made them, they had their Appeal, and other Remedies. But thoſe Demands vaniſhed, and, in the End, the King had Eſcuage given him, without any of their Conditions. It is an excellent Virtue in a King to have Patience, and to give Way to the Fury of Men's Paſſions. The Whale, when he is ſtruck by the Fiſherman, grows in that Fury, that he cannot be reſiſted, but will overthrow all the Ships and Barques that come in his Way, but, when he hath tumbled a While, he is drawn to the Shore with a Twine-thread.

Counſ. What ſay you then to the Parliament in the twenty-ninth Year of that King?

Juſt. I ſay, that, the Commons being unable to pay, the King relieves himſelf upon the richer Sort; and ſo it likewiſe happened in the thirty-third Year of the King, in which he was relieved chiefly by the City of *London*. But, my good Lord, in the Parliament in *London*, in the thirty-eighth Year, he had given him the Tenth of all the Revenues of the Church for three Years, and three Marks of every Knight's Fee throughout the Kingdom, upon his Promiſe and Oath for the Obſerving of *Magna Charta*; but, in the End of the ſame Year, the King being then in *France*, he was denied the Aids which he required. What is this to the Danger of a Parliament? Eſpecially at this Time they had Reaſon to refuſe, they had given ſo great a Sum in the Beginning of the ſame Year; and again, becauſe it was known that the King had but pretended War with the King of *Caſtile*, with whom he had ſecretly contracted an Alliance, and concluded a Marriage between his Son *Edward* and the Lady *Eleanor*. Theſe falſe Fires do but fright Children; and it commonly falls out, that, when the Cauſe given is known to be falſe, the Neceſſity pretended is thought to be feigned; Royal Dealing hath evermore Royal Succeſs; and, as the King was denied in the thirty-eighth Year, ſo was he denied in the thirty-ninth Year, becauſe the Nobility and the People ſaw it plainly, that the King was abuſed by the Pope, who, as well in Deſpite to *Manfred*, Baſtard Son to the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, as to couſen the King, and to waſte him, would needs beſtow on the King the Kingdom of *Sicily*; to recover which, the King ſent all the Treaſure he could borrow or ſcrape to the Pope, and withal gave him Letters of Credence, for to take up what he could in *Italy*, the King binding himſelf for the Payment. Now, my good Lord, the Wiſdom of Princes is ſeen in nothing more than in their Enterpriſes. So how unpleaſing it was to the State of *England* to conſume the Treaſure of the Land, and in the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, ſo far of, and otherwiſe, for that the *Engliſh* had loſt *Normandy* under their Noſes, and ſo many goodly Parts of *France* of their own proper Inheritance: The Reaſon of the Denial is as well to be conſidered as the Denial.

Counſ. Was not the King alſo denied a Subſidy in the forty-firſt Year of his Reign?

Juſt. No, my Lord, for, although the King required Money, as before, for the impoſſible Conqueſt of *Sicily*, yet the Houſe offered to give Fifty-two-thouſand Marks, which, whether he refuſed or accepted, is uncertain; and, whilſt the King dreamed of *Sicily*, the *Welch* invaded and ſpoiled the Borders of *England*, for, in the Parliament of *London*, when the King urged the Houſe for proſecuting the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, the Lords, utterly diſliking the Attempt, urged the Proſecuting of the *Welchmen*; which Parliament, being prorogued, did aſſemble at *Oxford*, and was called the Mad-Parliament, which was no other than an Aſſembly of Rebels; for the Royal Aſſent of the King, which gives Life to all Laws, formed by the three Eſtates, was not a Royal Aſſent, when both the King and the Prince were conſtrained to yield to the Lords. A conſtrained Conſent is the Conſent of a Captive, and not of a King, and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For, if it be not properly a Parliament where the Subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the King is bound, for all kingly Rule was taken from the King, and twelve Peers appointed, and, as ſome Writers have it, twenty-four Peers to govern the Realm; and therefore the Aſſembly made by *Jack Straw*, and other Rebels, may as well be called a Parliament as that of *Oxford*. *Principis nomen habere, non eſt eſſe Princeps*; for thereby was the King driven not only to compound all Quarrels with the *French*, but to have Means to be revenged on the rebel Lords; but he quitted his Right to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*.

Counſ. But, Sir, what needed this Extremity, ſeeing the Lords require but the Confirmation of the former Charter, which was not prejudicial to the King to grant?

Juſt.

Juſt. Yes, my good Lord, but they inſulted upon the King, and would not ſuffer him to enter into his own Caſtles; they put down the Purveyor of the Meat for the Maintenance of his Houſe, as if the King had been a Bankrupt, and gave Order that, without ready Money, he ſhould not take up a Chicken. And altho' there is nothing againſt the Royalty of a King in theſe Charters (the Kings of *England* being Kings of Freemen and not of Slaves) yet it is ſo contrary to the Nature of a King to be forced even to thoſe Things which may be to his Advantage, as the King had ſome Reaſon to ſeek the Diſpenſation of his Oath from the Pope, and to draw in Strangers for his own Defence; yea, *Jure ſalvo Coronæ noſtræ* is intended incluſively in all Oaths and Promiſes exacted from a Sovereign.

Counſ. But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a Thing it is to call in other Nations, both for the Spoil they make, as alſo, becauſe they have often held the Poſſeſſion of the beſt Places with which they have been truſted.

Juſt. It is true, my good Lord, that there is nothing ſo dangerous for a King as to be conſtrained and held as Priſoner to his Vaſſals, for by that *Edward the Second* and *Richard the Second* loſt their Kingdoms and their Lives. And for Calling in of Strangers, Was not King *Edward the Sixth* driven to call in Strangers againſt the Rebels in *Norfolk*, *Cornwall*, *Oxfordſhire*, and elſewhere? Have not the Kings of *Scotland* been oftentimes conſtrained to entertain Strangers againſt the Kings of *England*? And the King of *England* at this Time, had he not been divers Times aſſiſted by the Kings of *Scotland*, had been endangered to have been expelled for ever.

Counſ. But yet you know thoſe Kings were depoſed by Parliament.

Juſt. Yea, my good Lord, being Priſoners, being out of Poſſeſſion, and being in their Hands that were Princes of the Blood, and Pretenders. It is an old Country Proverb, *That Might overcomes Right*: A weak Title, that wears a ſtrong Sword, commonly prevails againſt a ſtrong Title that wears but a weak one, otherwiſe *Philip the Second* had never been Duke of *Portugal*, nor Duke of *Milan*, nor King of *Naples* and *Sicily*. But, good Lord, *Errores non ſunt trahendi in exemplum*: I ſpeak of regal, peaceable, and lawful Parliaments. The King, at this Time, was but a King in Name, for *Glouceſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Chicheſter* made Choice of other nine, to whom the Rule of the Realm was committed, and the Prince was forced to purchaſe his Liberty from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, by giving for his Ranſom the County Palatine of *Cheſter*. But, my Lord, let us judge of thoſe Occaſions by their Events: What became of this proud Earl? Was he not ſoon after ſlain in *Eveſham*? Was he not left naked in the Field, and left a ſhameful Spectacle, his Head being cut off from his Shoulders, his Privy-Parts from his Body, and laid on each Side of his Noſe? And did not God extinguiſh his Race? After which, in a lawful Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, confirmed in a following Parliament of *Weſtminſter*, Were not all the Lords that followed *Leiceſter* diſinherited? And when that Fool *Glouceſter*, after the Death of *Leiceſter*, whom he had formerly forſaken, made himſelf the Head of a ſecond Rebellion, and called in Strangers, for which, not long before, he had cried out againſt the King, Was not he in the End, after that he had ſeen the Slaughter of ſo many of the Barons, the Spoil of their Caſtles and Lordſhips, conſtrained to ſubmit himſelf, as all the Survivors did, of which they, that ſped beſt, paid their Fines and Ranſoms, the King reſerving to his younger Son the Earldoms of *Leiceſter* and *Darby*.

Counſ. Well, Sir, we have diſputed this King to his Grave; though it be true, that he outlived all his Enemies, and brought them to Confuſion; yet thoſe Examples did not terrify their Succeſſors, but the Earl Marſhal, and *Hereford*, threatened King *Edward the Firſt* with a new War.

Juſt. They did ſo; but, after the Death of *Hereford*, the Earl Marſhal repented himſelf, and, to gain the King's Favour, he made him Heir of all his Lands. But what is this to the Parliament? For there was never a King of this Land had more given him for the Time of his Reign, than *Edward* the Son of *Henry the Third* had.

Counſ. How doth it appear?

Juſt. In this Sort, my good Lord; in this King's third Year, he had given him the fifteenth Part of all Goods. In his ſixth Year, a twentieth; in his twelfth Year, a twentieth; in his fourteenth Year he had Eſcuage, to wit, forty Shillings of every Knight's Fee; in his eighteenth Year, he had the eleventh Part of all

moveable Goods within the Kingdom; in his nineteenth Year, the tenth Part of all Church Livings in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for ſix Years, by Agreement from the Pope; in his three and twentieth Year, he raiſed a Tax upon Wool and Fells, and, on a Day, cauſed all the Religious Houſes to be ſearched, and all the Treaſure in them to be ſeized and brought to his Coffers, excuſing himſelf, by laying the Fault upon his Treaſurer; he had alſo, in the End of the ſame Year, of all Goods, of all Burgeſſes, and of the Commons, the tenth Part; in the twenty-fifth Year of the Parliament of St. *Edmundsbury*, he had an eighteenth Part of the Goods of the Burgeſſes, and of the People in general, the tenth Part. He had alſo the ſame Year, by putting the Clergy out of his Protection, a fifth Part of their Goods; and, in the ſame Year, he ſet a great Tax upon Wools, to wit, from half a Mark to forty Shillings upon every Sack; whereupon the Earl Marſhal and the Earl of *Hereford*, refuſing to attend the King into *Flanders*, pretended the Grievances of the People. But, in the End, the King having pardoned them, and confirmed the Great Charter, he had the ninth Penny of all Goods, from the Lords and Commons of the Clergy; in the South he had the tenth Penny, and in the North the fifth Penny. In the two and thirtieth Year, he had a Subſidy freely granted: In the three and thirtieth Year, he confirmed the Great Charter of his own Royal Diſpoſition, and the States, to ſhew their Thankfulneſs, gave the King, for one Year, the ſixth Part of their Goods. And the ſame Year the King uſed the Inquiſition, called *Traile Baſton*: By which all Juſtices and other Magiſtrates were grievouſly fined, that had uſed Extortion, or Bribery, or had otherwiſe miſdemeaned themſelves, to the great Contentation of the People. This Commiſſion likewiſe did enquire of Intruders, Barrators, and all other the like Vermin, whereby the King gathered a great Maſs of Treaſure, with a great deal of Love. Now, for the whole Reign of this King, who governed *England* thirty-five Years, there was not any Parliament to Prejudice.

Counſ. But there was Taking of Arms by the Earl Marſhal and *Hereford*.

Juſt. That is true, but why was that? Becauſe the King, notwithſtanding all that was given him by Parliament, did lay the greateſt Taxes that ever King did without their Conſent. But what loſt the King by thoſe Lords? One of them gave the King all his Lands, the other died in Diſgrace.

Counſ. But what ſay you to the Parliament in *Edward the Second's* Time, his Succeſſor? Did not the Houſe of Parliament baniſh *Pierce Gaveſton*, whom the King favoured?

Juſt. But what was this *Gaveſton*, but an Eſquire of *Gaſcoigne*, formerly baniſhed the Realm by King *Edward the Firſt*, for corrupting the Prince *Edward*, now reigning? And, the whole Kingdom fearing and deteſting his venomous Diſpoſition, they beſought his Majeſty to caſt him off; which the King performed by an Act of his own, and not by Act of Parliament; yea, *Gaveſton's* own Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, was one of the chiefeſt Lords that procured it. And yet, finding the King's Affection to follow him ſo ſtrongly, they all conſented to have him recalled. After which, when his Credit ſo increaſed, that he deſpiſed and ſet at nought all the antient Nobility, and not only perſuaded the King to all Manner of Outrages and Riots, but withal tranſported what he lifted of the King's Treaſure, and Jewels, the Lords urged his Baniſhment the ſecond Time; but neither was the firſt, nor the ſecond Baniſhment forced by Act of Parliament, but by the forceable Lords his Enemies. Laſtly, He being recalled by the King, the Earl of *Lancaſter* cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off, when thoſe of his Party had taken him Priſoner. By which preſumptuous Act, the Earl and the reſt of his Company committed Treaſon and Murder; Treaſon, by raiſing an Army without Warrant; Murder, by taking away the Life of the King's Subject. After which, *Gaveſton* being dead, the *Spencer's* got Poſſeſſion of the King's Favour, though the younger of them was placed about the King by the Lords themſelves.

Counſ. What ſay you, then, to the Parliament, held at *London* about the ſixth Year of that King?

Juſt. I ſay, that King was not bound to perform the Acts of this Parliament, becauſe the Lords, being too ſtrong for the King, forced his Conſent; for theſe be the Words of our own Hiſtory: 'They wreſted too much 'beyond the Bounds of Reaſon.'

Counſ. What ſay you to the Parliaments of the White Wands, in the three-and-thirtieth Year of the King?

Juſt.

Juſt. I ſay, the Lords, that were ſo moved, came with an Army, and, by ſtrong Hand, ſurpriſed the King. 'They conſtrained (ſaith 'the Story) the reſt of the Lords, and compelled many of the Biſhops to conſent unto 'them.' Yea, it ſaith further, That the King durſt not but grant all that they required, to wit, for the Baniſhment of the *Spencers*. Yea, they were ſo inſolent, that they refuſed to lodge the Queen, coming through *Kent*, in the Caſtle of *Leeds*, and ſent her to provide her Lodging where ſhe could get it, late in the Night; for which, notwithſtanding, ſome, that kept her out, were ſoon after taken and hanged, and therefore your Lordſhip cannot call this a Parliament, for the Reaſons before alledged. But, my Lord, What became of theſe Lawgivers to the King? Even when they were greateſt, a Knight of the North, called *Andrew Herkeley*, aſſembled the Forces of the Country; overthrew them and their Army; ſlew the Earl of *Hereford*, and other Barons; took their General, *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the King's Couſin-german, at that Time poſſeſſed of five Earldoms; the Lords *Clifford*, *Talbot*, *Mowbray*, *Maudint*, *Willington*, *Warren*; Lords *Darcy*, *Withers*, *Knevil*, *Leybourne*, *Bekes*, *Lovell*, *Fitzwilliams*, *Watervild*, and divers other Barons, Knights, and Eſquires; and, ſoon after, the Lord *Percy* and the Lord *Warren* took the Lord *Baldſemere* and the Lord *Audley*, the Lords *Teis*, *Gifford*, *Tutchet*, and many others, that fled from the Battle; the moſt of which paſſed under the Hands of the Hangman, for Conſtraining the King under the Colour and Name of a Parliament. By this your good Lordſhip may judge, to whom thoſe tumultuous Aſſemblies, which our Hiſtories falſely call *Parliaments*, have been dangerous; the Kings in the End ever prevailed, and the Lords loſt their Lives and Eſtates; after which, the *Spencers*, in their Baniſhment at *York*, in the fifteenth Year of the King, were reſtored to their Honours and Eſtates; and therein the King had a Subſidy given him, the ſixth Penny of Goods throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*.

Counſ. Yet, you ſee, the *Spencers* were ſoon after diſſolved.

Juſt. It is true, my Lord, but that is nothing to our Subject of Parliament; they may thank their own Inſolency, for they branded and deſpiſed the Queen, whom they ought to have honoured as the King's Wife; they were alſo exceeding greedy, and built themſelves upon other Men's Ruins; they were ambitious, and exceeding malicious; whereupon that came, that, when Chamberlain *Spencer* was hanged in *Hereford*, a Part of the four-and-twentieth Pſalm was written over his Head: *Quid gloriaris in malitia, potens?*

Counſ. Well, Sir; you have all this While excuſed yourſelf upon the Strength and Rebellions of the Lords; but what ſay you now to King *Edward the Third?* In whoſe Time (and during the Time of this victorious King, no Man durſt take Arms, or rebel) the three Eſtates did him the greateſt Affront, that ever King received or endured; therefore I conclude where I began, that theſe Parliaments are dangerous for a King.

Juſt. To anſwer your Lordſhip in Order: May it pleaſe you firſt to call to Mind what was given this great King, by his Subjects, before the Diſpute betwixt him and the Houſe happened, which was in his latter Days. From his firſt Year to his fifth Year, there was nothing given the King by his Subjects; in the eighth Year, at the Parliament at *London*, a Tenth and a Fifteenth was granted. In his tenth Year, he ſeized upon the *Italians* Goods here in *England* to his own Uſe, with all the Goods of the Monks *Cluniacks*, and others of the Order of the *Ciſtertians*. In the eleventh Year, he had given him by Parliament a notable Relief, the one Half of the Wools throughout *England*, and, of the Clergy, all their Wools; after which, in the End of the Year, he had granted, in this Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, forty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool, and, for every thirty Wool-fells, forty Shillings; for every Laſt of Leather as much, and for all other Merchandiſes after the ſame Rate. The King promiſing, that, this Year's Gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himſelf with the old Cuſtom, he had, over and above this great Aid, the eighth Part of all Goods of all Citizens and Burgeſſes, and others, as of foreign Merchants; and, of ſuch as lived not of the Gain of Breeding of Sheep and Cattle, the Fifteenth of their Goods. Nay, my Lord, this was not all, though more than ever was granted to any King; for the ſame Parliament beſtowed on the King the ninth Sheaf of all the Corn within the Land, the ninth Fleece, and the ninth Lamb, for two Years next following:

Now, What thinks your Lordſhip of this Parliament?

Counſ. I ſay, they were honeſt Men.

Juſt. And I ſay, the People are as loving to their King now, as ever they were, if they be honeſtly and wiſely dealt withal; and ſo his Majeſty had found them in his laſt two Parliaments, if his Majeſty had not been betrayed by thoſe whom he moſt truſted.

Counſ. But, I pray you, Sir, Whom ſhall a King truſt, if he may not truſt thoſe, whom he hath ſo greatly advanced?

Juſt. I will tell your Lordſhip whom the King may truſt.

Counſ. Who are they?

Juſt. His own Reaſon, and his own excellent Judgment, which have not deceived him in any Thing, wherein his Majeſty hath been pleaſed to exerciſe them. 'Take Counſel of 'thine Heart, ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*, for 'there is none more faithful unto thee, than 'it.'

Counſ. It is true; but his Majeſty found, that thoſe wanted no Judgment, whom he truſted; and how could his Majeſty divine of their Honeſties?

Juſt. Will you pardon me, if I ſpeak freely? For I ſpeak out of Love, which, as *Solomon* ſaith, *covereth all Treſpaſſes*. The Truth is, That his Majeſty would never believe any Man that ſpoke againſt them, and they knew it well enough; which gave them Boldneſs to do what they did.

Counſ. What was that?

Juſt. Even, my good Lord, to ruin the King's Eſtate, ſo far as the Eſtate of ſo great a King may be ruined by Men ambitious and greedy without Proportion. It had been a brave Increaſe of Revenue, my Lord, to have raiſed five-hundred thouſand Pounds in Land of the King's to twenty-thouſand Pounds Revenue, and to raiſe the Revenue of Wards to twenty-thouſand Pounds more: Forty-thouſand Pounds, added to the reſt of his Majeſty's Eſtate, had ſo enabled his Majeſty, that he could never have wanted; and, my good Lord, it had been an honeſt Service to the King, to have added ſeven-thouſand Pounds in Lands of the Lord *Cobham*'s Woods and Goods, being worth thirty-thouſand Pounds more.

Counſ. I know not the Reaſon why it was not done.

Juſt. Neither doth your Lordſhip, perchance, know the Reaſon why the ten-thouſand Pounds, offered by *Swinnerton*, for a Fine of the *French* Wines, was, by the then Lord Treaſurer, conferred on *Devonſhire* and his Miſtreſs.

Counſ. What moved the Treaſurer to reject and croſs that Raiſing of the King's Lands?

Juſt. The Reaſon, my good Lord, is manifeſt; for, had the Land been raiſed, then had the King known, when he had given or exchanged Land, what he had given or exchanged.

Counſ. What Hurt had that been to the Treaſurer? Whoſe Office is truly to inform the King of the Value of all that he giveth.

Juſt. So he did, when it did not concern himſelf, nor his Particular; for he could never admit any one Piece of a good Manor to paſs in my Lord *Aubigne*'s Book of a thouſand Pounds Land, till he himſelf had bought, and then all the remaining Flowers of the Crown were culled out. Now, had the Treaſurer ſuffered the King's Lands to have been raiſed, How could his Lordſhip have made Choice of the old Rents, as well in that Book of my Lord *Aubigne*, as in Exchange of *Theobalds*; for which he took *Hatfield* in it, which the greateſt Subject, or Favourite, Queen *Eliſabeth* had, never durſt have named unto her, by Way of Gift or Exchange? Nay, my Lord, ſo many other goodly Manors have paſſed from his Majeſty, that the very Heart of the Kingdom mourneth to remember it, and the Eyes of the Kingdom ſhed Tears continually at the Beholding it; yea, the Soul of the Kingdom is heavy unto Death with the Conſideration thereof, that ſo magnanimous a Prince ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſo abuſed.

Counſ. But, Sir, you know, that *Cobham*'s Lands were intailed upon his Couſins.

Juſt. Yea, my Lord; but, during the Lives and Races of *George Brooke*'s Children, it had been the King's, that is to ſay, for ever in Effect; but, to wreſt the King, and to draw the Inheritance upon himſelf, he perſuaded his Majeſty to relinquiſh his Intereſt for a petty Sum of Money; and, that there might be no Counterworking, he ſent *Brooke* ſix-thouſand Pounds to make Friends; whereof himſelf had two-thouſand Pounds back again, *Buckhurſt* and *Berwick* had the other four-thouſand Pounds, and the Treaſurer and his Heirs the Maſs of Land for ever.

Counſ.

Counſ. What then, I pray you, came to the King, by this great Confiſcation?

Juſt. My Lord, the King's Majeſty, by all thoſe goodly Poſſeſſions, Woods, and Goods, loſeth five-hundred Pounds by the Year, which he giveth in Penſion to *Cobham*, to maintain him in Priſon.

Counſ. Certainly, even in Conſcience, they ſhould have reſerved ſo much of the Land in the Crown, as to have given *Cobham* Meat and Apparel, and not made themſelves ſo great Gainers, and the King five-hundred Pounds *per Annum* Loſer by the Bargain: But it is paſt; 'Conſilium non eſt eorum, quæ 'fieri nequeunt.'

Juſt. Take the reſt of the Sentence, my Lord: 'Sed conſilium verſatur in iis, quæ 'ſunt in noſtra poteſtate.' It is yet, my good Lord, *in poteſtate Regis* to right himſelf. But this is not all, my Lord; and, I fear, knowing your Lordſhip's Love to the King, it would put you into a Fever to hear all; I will, therefore, go on with my Parliaments.

Counſ. I pray do ſo; and, amongſt the reſt, I pray you, What think you of the Parliament holden at *London* in the fifteenth Year of King *Edward the Third?*

Juſt. I ſay, there was nothing concluded therein to the Prejudice of the King: It is true, that, a little before the Sitting of the Houſe, the King diſplaced his Chancellor, and his Treaſurers, and moſt of all his Judges, and Officers of the *Exchequer*, and committed many of them to Priſon, becauſe they did not ſupply him with Money, being beyond the Seas: For the reſt, the States aſſembled beſought the King, that the Laws of the two Charters might be obſerved, and that the great Officers of the Crown might be choſen by Parliament.

Counſ. But what Succeſs had theſe Petitions?

Juſt. The Charters were obſerved, as before, and ſo they will be ever; and the other Petition was rejected, the King being pleaſed, notwithſtanding, that the great Officers ſhould take an Oath in Parliament to do Juſtice. Now for the Parliament of *Weſtminſter*: In the ſeventeenth Year of the King, the King had three Marks and a Half for every Sack of Wool tranſported; and, in his Eighteenth, he had a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, for one Year. His Majeſty forbore, after this, to charge his Subjects with any more Payments, until the Twenty-ninth of his Reign, when there was given the King, by Parliament, fifty Shillings for every Sack of Wool tranſported, for ſix Years, by which Grant, the King received a thouſand Marks a Day, a greater Matter than a thouſand Pounds in theſe Days; and a thouſand Pounds a Day amounts to three-hundred ſixty-five-thouſand Pounds a Year, which was one of the greateſt Preſents that ever was given to a King of this Land. For, beſides the Cheapneſs of all Things in that Age, the King's Soldiers had but Three-pence a Day Wages, a Man at Arms Six-pence, and a Knight but two Shillings. In the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in the thirty-third Year, he had twenty-ſix Shillings and Eight-pence for every Sack of Wool tranſported; and, in the forty-ſecond Year, three Diſms and three Fifteenths. In his forty-fifth Year, he had fifty-thouſand Pounds of the Laity; and, becauſe the Spiritualty diſputed it, and did not pay ſo much, the King changed his Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Privy-Seal, being Biſhops, and placed Laymen in their Room.

Counſ. It ſeems, that, in thoſe Days, the Kings were no longer in Love with their great Chancellors, than when they deſerved well of them.

Juſt. No, my Lord, they were not, and that was the Reaſon they were well ſerved; and it was the Cuſtom then, and in many Ages after, to change the Treaſurer and the Chancellor every three Years, and withal, to hear all Men's Complaints againſt them.

Counſ. But, by this often Change, the Saying is verified, That there is no Inheritance in the Favour of Kings. *He that keepeth the Fig-tree*, ſaith *Solomon*, *ſhall eat the Fruit thereof*; for Reaſon it is, that the Servant live by the Maſter.

Juſt. My Lord, you ſay well in both; but, had the Subject an Inheritance in the Prince's Favour, where the Prince had no Inheritance in the Subject's Fidelity, then were Kings in a more unhappy State than common Perſons. For the reſt, *Solomon* meaneth not, That he, that *keepeth the Fig-tree*, ſhould ſurfeit; though he meaneth, he ſhould eat, he meaneth not he ſhould break the Branches in Gathering the Figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the Owner of the Tree; for what ſaith he in the following Chapter, he ſaith, That *he, that maketh Haſte to be Rich, cannot be innocent.* And, before that, he ſaith, That *the End of an Inheritance, haſtily gotten, cannot be bleſſed.*

Your Lordſhip hath heard of few, or none, great with Kings, that have not uſed their Power to oppreſs, that have not grown inſolent and hateful to the People; yea, inſolent towards thoſe Princes that advanced them.

Counſ. Yet you ſee that Princes can change their Fancies.

Juſt. Yea, my Lord, when Favourites change their Faith, when they forget, that, how familiar ſoever Kings make themſelves with their Vaſſals, yet they are Kings: *He that provoketh a King to Anger*, ſaith *Solomon*, *ſinneth againſt his own Soul.* And he further ſaith, That *Pride goeth before Deſtruction, and a high Mind before a Fall.* I ſay therefore, that in diſcharging thoſe *Lucifers*, how dear ſoever they have been, Kings make the World know, that they have more of Judgment than of Paſſion; yea, they thereby offer a ſatisfactory Sacrifice to all their People; too great Benefits of Subjects to their King, where the Mind is blown up with their own Deſervings, and too great Benefits of Kings conferred upon their Subjects, where the Mind is not qualified with a great Deal of Modeſty, are equally dangerous. Of this latter, and inſolenter, had King *Richard the Second* delivered up to Juſtice but three or four, he had ſtill held the Love of the People, and thereby his Life and Eſtate.

Counſ. Well, I pray you go on with your Parliaments.

Juſt. The Life of this great King *Edward* draws to an End, ſo do the Parliaments of this Time, where, in fifty Years Reign, he never received any Affront; for, in his forty-ninth Year, he had a Diſm and a Fifteen granted him freely.

Counſ. But, Sir, it is an old Saying, That all is well that ends well; judge you, whether, that, in his fiftieth Year in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he received not an Affront, when the Houſe urged the King to remove and diſcharge from his Preſence the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer* his Chamberlain, Sir *Richard Sturry*, and others, whom the King favoured and truſted. Nay, they preſſed the King to thruſt a certain Lady out of the Court, which at that Time bore the greateſt Sway therein.

Juſt. I will with Patience anſwer your Lordſhip to the full; and, Firſt, your Lordſhip may remember by that which I even now ſaid, that never King had ſo many Gifts, as this King had from his Subjects, and it hath never grieved the Subjects of *England* to give to their King; but when they knew there was a devouring Lady, that had her Share in all Things that paſſed, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* was as ſcraping as ſhe; that the Chancellor did eat up the People as faſt as either of them both: It grieved the Subjects to feed theſe Cormorants. But, my Lord, there are two Things by which the Kings of *England* have been preſſed, to wit, by their Subjects, and by their own Neceſſities. The Lords in former Times were far ſtronger, more warlike, and better followed, living in their Countries, than now they are. Your Lordſhip may remember in your Reading, that there were many Earls could bring into the Field a thouſand barbed Horſes, and many a Baron five or ſix-hundred barbed Horſes; whereas, now, very few of them can furniſh twenty fit to ſerve the King. But to ſay the Truth, my Lord, the Juſtices of Peace in *England* have oppoſed the Injuſticers of War in *England*; the King's Writ runs over all, and the great Seal of *England*, with that of the next Conſtables, will ſerve the Turn to affront the greateſt Lords in *England*, that ſhall move againſt the King. The Force, therefore, by which our Kings in former Times were troubled, is vaniſhed away: But the Neceſſities remain. The People, therefore, in theſe latter Ages, are no leſs to be pleaſed than the Peers; for, as the latter are become leſs, ſo, by reaſon of the Training through *England*, the Commons have all the Weapons in their Hands.

Counſ. And was it not ſo ever?

Juſt. No, my good Lord, for the Noblemen had in their Armories to furniſh ſome of them a thouſand, ſome two-thouſand, and ſome three-thouſand Men; whereas, now, there are not many that can arm fifty.

Counſ. Can you blame them? But I will only anſwer for myſelf, between you and me be it ſpoken, I hold it not ſafe to maintain ſo great an Armory, or Stable; it might cauſe me, or any other Nobleman, to be ſuſpected, as to the Preparing of ſome Innovation.

Juſt. Why ſo, my Lord? Rather to be commended, as preparing againſt all Danger of Innovation.

Counſ. It ſhould be ſo; but call your Obſervation to Account, and you ſhall find it as I ſay; for, indeed, ſuch a Jealouſy hath been held, ever ſince the Time of the Civil Wars, over the military Greatneſs of our Nobles, as

made them have little Will to bend their Studies that Way; wherefore, let every Man provide according as he is rated in the Muſter-Book; you underſtand me.

Juſt. Very well, my Lord, as what might be replied in the Perceiving ſo much; I have ever, to deal plainly and freely with your Lordſhip, more feared at Home popular Violence, than all the foreign that can be made, for it can never be in the Power of any foreign Prince, without a Papiſtical Party, either to diſorder or endanger his Majeſty's Eſtate.

Counſ. By this it ſeems, it is no leſs dangerous to leave the Power in the People, than in the Nobility.

Juſt. My good Lord, the Wiſdom of our own Age is the Fooliſhneſs of another; the Time preſent ought not to be preferred to the Policy that was, but the Policy that was, to the Time preſent. So that, the Power of the Nobility being now withered, and the Power of the People in the Flower, the Care to content them ſhould not be neglected, the Way to win them often practiſed, or, at leaſt, to defend them from Oppreſſion. The Motive of all Dangers, that ever this Monarchy hath undergone, ſhould be carefully heeded, for this Maxim hath no Poſtern, *Poteſtas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum.* And now, my Lord, for King *Edward*; it is true, he was not ſubject to Force, yet he was ſubject to Neceſſity, which, becauſe it was violent, he gave Way unto it: *Poteſtas*, ſaith *Pythagoras*, *juxta neceſſitatem habitat.* And it is true, that, at the Requeſt of the Houſe, he diſcharged and put from him thoſe beforenamed; which done, he had the greateſt Gift, but one, that he received in all his Days, to wit, from every Perſon, Man, and Woman, above the Age of fourteen Years, Four-pence of old Money, which made many Millions of Groats, worth Six-pence of our Money. This he had in general; beſides, he had, of every beneficed Prieſt, Twelve-pence: And, of the Nobility and Gentry, I know not how much, for it is not ſet down. Now, my good Lord, What loſt the King by ſatisfying the Deſires of the Parliament-Houſe? For, as ſoon as he had the Money in Purſe, he recalled the Lords, and reſtored them, and who durſt call the King to Account, when the Aſſembly were diſſolved? *Where the Word of a King is, there is Power*, ſaith *Eccleſiaſticus*. *Who ſhall ſay unto him, What doeſt thou?* ſaith the ſame Author; for to every Purpoſe there is a Time and Judgment; the King gave Way to the Time, and his Judgment perſuaded him to yield to Neceſſity, *Conſularius nemo melior eſt quàm tempus.*

Counſ. But yet, you ſee the King was forced to yield to their Demands?

Juſt. Doth your Lordſhip remember the Saying of Monſieur *de Lange*, That he, that hath the Profit of the War, hath alſo the Honour of the War, whether it be by Battle or Retreat; the King, you ſee, had the Profit of the Parliament, and therefore the Honour alſo: What other End had the King than to ſupply his Wants? A wiſe Man hath evermore Reſpect unto his Ends: And the King alſo knew, that it was the Love that the People bore him, that they urged the Removing of thoſe Lords; there was no Man amongſt them, that ſought himſelf in that Deſire, but they all ſought the King, as, by the Succeſs, it appeared. My good Lord, Hath it not been ordinary in *England*, and in *France*, to yield to the Demands of Rebels? Did not King *Richard the Second* grant Pardon to the outrageous Rogues and Murderers, that followed *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tiler*, after they had murdered his Chancellor, his Treaſurer, Chief Juſtice, and others, broke open his Exchequer, and committed all Manner of Outrages and Villainies? And why did he do it? But to avoid a greater Danger: I ſay, the Kings have then yielded to thoſe that hated them and their Eſtates, to wit, to pernicious Rebels. And yet, without Diſhonour, ſhall it be called Diſhonour for the King to yield to honeſt Deſires of his Subjects? No, my Lord, thoſe, that tell the King thoſe Tales, fear their own Diſhonour, and not the King's; for the Honour of the King is ſupreme, and, being guarded by Juſtice and Piety, it cannot receive neither Wound nor Stain.

Counſ. But, Sir, what Cauſe have any, under our King, to fear a Parliament?

Juſt. The ſame Cauſe that the Earl of *Suffolk* had in *Richard the Second*'s Time, and the Treaſurer *Fartham*, with others; for theſe great Officers, being generally hated for Abuſing both the King and the Subject, at the Requeſt of the States were diſcharged, and others put in their Rooms.

Counſ. And was not this a Diſhonour to the King?

Juſt. Certainly, no; for King *Richard* knew that his Grandfather had done the like, and,

and, though the King was, in his Heart, utterly againſt it, yet had he the Profit of his Exchange; for *Suffolk* was fined at twenty-thouſand Marks, and one-thouſand Pounds Lands.

Counſ. Well, Sir, we will ſpeak of thoſe that fear the Parliament ſome other Time; but I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troubleſome Reign of *Richard the Second* who ſucceeded, the Grandfather being dead.

Juſt. That King, my good Lord, was one of the moſt unfortunate Princes that ever *England* had; he was cruel, extreme prodigal, and wholly carried away with his two Minions, *Suffolk* and the Duke of *Ireland*, by whoſe ill Advice, and others, he was in Danger to have loſt his Eſtate, which, in the End, being led by Men of the like Temper, he miſerably loſt. But for his Subſidies he had given him in his firſt Year, being under Age, two Tenths and two Fifteenths: In which Parliament *Alice Pierce*, who was removed in King *Edward*'s Time, with *Lancaſter*, *Latimer*, and *Sturry*, were confiſcated and baniſhed. In his ſecond Year, at the Parliament at *Glouceſter*, the King had a Mark upon every Sack of Wool, and Sixpence the Pound upon Wards. In his third Year, at the Parliament at *Wincheſter*, the Commons were ſpared, and a Subſidy given by the better Sort; the Dukes gave twenty Marks, and Earls ſix Marks; Biſhops and Abbots with Mitres ſix Marks, every Mark three Shillings four-pence; and every Knight, Juſtice, Eſquire, Sheriff, Parſon, Vicar, and Chaplain paid proportionably, according to their Eſtates.

Counſ. This, methinks, was no great Matter.

Juſt. It is true, my Lord, but a little Money went far in thoſe Days: I myſelf once moved it in Parliament in the Time of Queen *Eliſabeth*, who deſired much to ſpare the common People, and I did it by her Commandment; but when we caſt up the Subſidy Books, we found the Sum but ſmall, when the thirty Pounds Men were left out. In the Beginning of his fourth Year, a Tenth with a Fifteenth were granted, upon Condition, that for one whole Year no Subſidies ſhould be demanded; but this Promiſe was as ſuddenly forgotten as made, for, in the End of that Year, the great Subſidy of Poll-Money was granted in the Parliament at *Northampton*.

Counſ. Yea, but there followed the terrible Rebellion of *Baker*, *Straw*, and others, *Leiceſter*, *Wrais*, and others.

Juſt. That was not the Fault of the Parliament, my Lord, it is manifeſt that the Subſidy given was not the Cauſe; for it is plain, that the Bondmen of *England* began it, becauſe they were grievouſly preſſed by their Lords in their Tenure of Villenage, as alſo for the Hatred they bore to the Lawyers and Attornies; for the Story of thoſe Times ſay, that they deſtroyed the Houſes and Manors of Men of Law, and ſuch Lawyers, as they caught, ſlew them, and beheaded the Lord Chief Juſtice; which Commotion being once begun, the Head Money was by other Rebels pretended. A Fire is often kindled with a little Straw, which oftentimes takes Hold of greater Timber, and conſumes the whole Building: And that this Rebellion was begun by the diſcontented Slaves, whereof there have been many in elder Times the like, is manifeſt by the Charter of Manumiſſion, which the King granted *in hæc verba*, Rich. *Dei Gratia, &c. ſciatis quod de gratia noſtra ſpirituali manumiſimus*, &c. To which, ſeeing the King was conſtrained by Force of Arms, he revoked the Letters Patents, and made them void, the ſame Revocation being ſtrengthened by the Parliament enſuing. In which the King had given him a Subſidy upon Wools, called a *Maletot*. In the ſame fourth Year was the Lord Treaſurer diſcharged of his Office, and *Hales*, Lord of St. *John*'s, choſen in his Place. In his fifth Year was the Treaſurer again changed, and the Staff given to *Segrave*, and the Lord Chancellor was alſo changed, and the Staff given to the Lord *Scroope*: Which Lord *Scroope* was again, in the Beginning of his ſixth Year, turned out; and the King, after that he had for a While kept the Seal in his own Hand, gave it to the Biſhop of *London*, from whom it was ſoon after taken and beſtowed on the Earl of *Suffolk*, who, they ſay, had abuſed the King, and converted the King's Treaſure to his own Uſe. To this the King condeſcended; and though, ſaith *Walſingham*, he deſerved to loſe his Life and Goods, yet he had the Favour to go at Liberty upon good Sureties; and becauſe the King was but young, and that the Relief granted was committed to the Truſt of the Earl of *Arundel*, for the Furniſhing of the King's Navy againſt the *French*.

Counſ. Yet you ſee it was a Diſhonour to the King to have his beloved Chancellor removed.

Juſt.

Juſt. Truly, no, for the King had both his Fine, one-thouſand Pound Lands, and a Subſidy to boot. And though, for the preſent, it pleaſed the King to fancy a Man all the World hated, the King's Paſſion overcoming his Judgment, yet it cannot be called a Diſhonour, for the King is to believe the General Council of the Kingdom, and to prefer it before his Affection, eſpecially when *Suffolk* was proved to be falſe, even to the King; for, were it otherwiſe, Love and Affection might be called a Frenzy and a Madneſs, for it is the Nature of human Paſſions, that the Love, bred by Fidelity, doth change itſelf into Hatred, when the Fidelity is firſt changed into Falſehood.

Counſ. But, you ſee, there were thirteen Lords choſen in Parliament, to have the Overſight of the Government under the King.

Juſt. No, my Lord, it was to have the Overſight of thoſe Officers, which, ſaith the Story, had imbezzled, lewdly waſted, and prodigally ſpent the King's Treaſure; for to grant the Commiſſion to thoſe Lords, or to any ſix of them, joined with the King's Council, was one of the moſt royal and moſt profitable Things he ever did, if he had been conſtant to himſelf. But, my good Lord, Man is the Cauſe of his own Miſery; for I will repeat the Subſtance of the Commiſſion granted by the King, and confirmed by a Parliament, which, whether it had been profitable for the King to have proſecuted, your Lordſhip may judge.

The Preamble hath theſe Words:

'Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King 'perceiveth, by the grievous Complaints of the 'Lords and Commons of this Realm, that the 'Rents, Profits, and Revenues of this Realm, 'by the ſingular and inſufficient Counſel and 'evil Government, as well of ſome his late 'great Officers, *&c.* are ſo much withdrawn, 'waſted, eloined, given, granted, alienated, 'deſtroyed, and evil diſpended, that he is ſo 'much impoveriſhed and void of Treaſure and 'Goods, and the Subſtance of the Crown ſo 'much diminiſhed and deſtroyed, that his Eſtate 'may not honourably be ſuſtained as apper-'taineth: The King, of his Free-will, at the 'Requeſt of the Lords and Commons, hath or-'dained *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 'and others with his Chancellor, Treaſurer, 'Keeper of his Privy-Seal, to ſurvey and exa-'mine as well the Eſtate and Governance of 'his Houſe, *&c.* as of all the Rents, and 'Profits, and Revenues that to him appertain, 'and to be due, or ought to appertain and 'be due, *&c.* And all Manner of Gifts, 'Grants, Alienations and Confirmations made 'by him of Lands, Tenements, Rents, *&c.* 'bargained and ſold to the Prejudice of him and 'his Crown, *&c.* And of his Jewels and 'Goods which were his Grandfather's at the 'Time of his Death, *&c.* and where they be 'become.'

This is, in Effect, the Subſtance of the Commiſſion, which your Lordſhip may read at large in the Book of Statutes, this Commiſſion being enacted in the tenth Year of the King's Reign. Now, if ſuch a Commiſſion were in theſe Days granted to the faithful Men, that have no Intereſt in the Sales, Gifts, nor Purchaſes, nor in the Keeping of the Jewels at the Queen's Death, nor in the Obtaining Grants of the King's beſt Lands, I cannot ſay what may be recovered, and juſtly recovered; and, what ſays your Lordſhip, Was not this a noble Act for the King, if it had been followed to Effect?

Counſ. I cannot tell whether it were or no; for it gave Power to the Commiſſioners to examine all the Grants.

Juſt. Why, my Lord, doth the King grant any thing that ſhames at the Examination? Are not the King's Grants on Record?

Counſ. But, by your Leave, it is ſome Diſhonour to a King, to have his Judgment called in Queſtion.

Juſt. That is true, my Lord, but in this, or whenſoever the like ſhall be granted in the future, the King's Judgment is not examined, but their Knavery that abuſed the King. Nay, by your Favour, the contrary is true, that when a King will ſuffer himſelf to be eaten up by a Company of petty Fellows, by himſelf raiſed, therein both the Judgment and Courage is diſputed. And, if your Lordſhip will diſdain it at your own Servants Hands, much more ought the great Heart of a King to diſdain it. And ſurely, my Lord, it is a greater Treaſon, though it undercreep the Law, to tear from the Crown the Ornaments thereof: And it is an infallible Maxim, that he,

that

that loves not his Majeſty's Eſtate, loves not his Perſon.

Counſ. How came it then that the Act was not executed?

Juſt. Becauſe theſe, againſt whom it was granted, perſuaded the King to the contrary, as the Duke of *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, the Chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, and others; yea, that which was lawfully done by the King, and the Great Council of the Kingdom, was, by the Maſtery which *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and *Treſilian* had over the King's Affections, broken and diſavowed. Thoſe that deviſed to relieve the King not by any private Invention, but by a General Council, were, by a private and partial Aſſembly, adjudged Traitors, and the moſt honeſt Judges of the Land forced to ſubſcribe to that Judgment. Inſomuch, that Judge *Belknap* plainly told the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, when he was conſtrained to ſet to his Hand, that he wanted but a Rope, that he might therewith receive a Reward for his Subſcription. And in this Council of *Nottingham* was hatched the Ruin of thoſe which governed the King, of the Judges by them conſtrained, of the Lords that loved the King, and ſought a Reformation, and of the King himſelf; for though the King found by all the Sheriffs of the Shires, that the People would not fight againſt the Lords, whom they thought to be moſt faithful unto the King; when the Citizens of *London* made the ſame Anſwer, being at that Time able to arm fifty-thouſand Men, and told the Mayor, that they would never fight againſt the King's Friends, and Defenders of the Realm; when the Lord *Ralph Baſſet*, who was near the King, told the King boldly, that he would not adventure to have his Head broken for the Duke of *Ireland*'s Pleaſure; when the Lord of *London* told the Earl of *Suffolk* in the King's Preſence, that he was not worthy to live, *&c.* yet would the King, in the Defence of the Deſtroyers of his Eſtate, lay Ambuſhes to intrap the Lords, when they came upon his Faith; yea, when all was pacified, and that the King, by his Proclamation, had cleared the Lords, and promiſed to produce *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Treſilian* and *Bramber*, to anſwer at the next Parliament: Theſe Men confeſſed, that they durſt not appear; and when *Suffolk* fled to *Calais*, and the Duke of *Ireland* to *Cheſter*, the King cauſed an Army to be levied in *Lancaſhire*, for the ſafe Conduct of the Duke of *Ireland* to his Preſence, whenas the Duke, being encountered by the Lords, ran like a Coward from his Company, and fled into *Holland*. After this was holden a Parliament, which was called That Wrought Wonders; in the eleventh Year of this King, wherein the forenamed Lords, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt, were condemned and confiſcated, the Chief Juſtice hanged, with many others, the reſt of the Judges condemned and baniſhed, and a Tenth and Fifteenth given to the King.

Counſ. But, good Sir, the King was firſt beſieged in the *Tower* of *London*, and the Lords came to the Parliament, and no Man durſt contradict them.

Juſt. Certainly, in raiſing an Army, they committed Treaſon; and though it did appear, that they all loved the King, for they did him no Harm, having him in their Power, yet our Law doth conſtrue all Levying of War without the King's Commiſſion, and all Force raiſed to be intended for the Death and Deſtruction of the King, not attending the Sequel. And it is ſo judged upon good Reaſon, for every unlawful and ill Action is ſuppoſed to be accompanied with an ill Intent. And beſides, thoſe Lords uſed too great Cruelty, in procuring the Sentence of Death againſt divers of the King's Servants, who were bound to follow and obey their Maſter and Sovereign Lord, in that he commanded.

Counſ. It is true, and they were alſo greatly to blame to cauſe then ſo many Seconds to be put to Death, ſeeing the Principals, *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and *York*, had eſcaped them. And what Reaſon had they to ſeek to inform the State by ſtrong Hand? Was not the King's Eſtate as dear to himſelf, as to them? He that maketh a King know his Error mannerly and private, and gives him the beſt Advice, he is diſcharged before God and his own Conſcience. The Lords might have retired themſelves, when they ſaw they could not prevail, and have left the King to his own Ways, who had more to loſe than they had.

Juſt. My Lord, the Taking of Arms cannot be excuſed in reſpect of the Law; but this might be ſaid for the Lords, that the King being under Years, and being wholly governed by their Enemies, and the Enemies of the Kingdom; and becauſe, by thoſe evil Men's

Perſuaſions,

Perſuaſions, it was adviſed, how the Lords ſhould have been murdered at a Feaſt in in *London*, they were excuſable, during the King's Minority, to ſtand upon their Guards againſt their particular Enemies. But we will paſs it over, and go on with our Parliaments that followeth, whereof that of *Cambridge* in the King's twelfth Year was the next; therein the King had given him a Tenth and a Fifteenth; after which, being twenty Years of Age, he rechanged, ſaith *H. Knighton*, his Treaſurer, his Chancellor, the Juſtices of either Bench, the Clerk of the Privy-Seal, and others, and retook the Government into his own Hands. He alſo took the Admiral's Place from the Earl of *Arundel*, and, in his Room, he placed the Earl of *Huntingdon*; in the Year following, which was the thirteenth Year of the King, in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, there was given to the King upon every Sack of Wool fourteen Shillings, and Sixpence in the Pound upon other Merchandiſe,

Counſ. But, by your Leave, the King was reſtrained this Parliament, that he might not diſpoſe of, but a third Part of the Money gathered.

Juſt. No, my Lord, by your Favour. But true it is, that Part of this Money was, by the King's Conſent, aſſigned towards the Wars, but yet left in the Lord Treaſurer's Hands. And my Lord, it would be a great Eaſe, and a great Saving to his Majeſty, our Lord and Maſter, if it pleaſed him to make his Aſſignations, upon ſome Part of his Revenues, by which he might have one-thouſand Pounds, upon every ten-thouſand Pounds, and ſave himſelf a great Deal of Clamour: For ſeeing, of Neceſſity, the Navy muſt be maintained, and that thoſe poor Men, as well Carpenters, as Ship-keepers, muſt be paid, it were better for his Majeſty, to give an Aſſignation to the Treaſurer of his Navy, for the receiving of ſo much as is called *ordinary*, than to diſcontent thoſe poor Men, who being made deſperate Beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them that lie in wait to deſtroy the King's Eſtate. And if his Majeſty did the like in all other Payments, eſpecially, where the Neceſſity of ſuch, as are to receive, cannot poſſibly give Days; his Majeſty might then, in a little Roll, behold his Receipts and Expences; he might quiet his Heart, when all Neceſſaries were provided for, and then diſpoſe the reſt at his Pleaſure. And my good Lord, how excellently, and eaſily, might this have been done, if the Four-hundred thouſand Pounds had been raiſed, as aforeſaid, upon the King's Lands, and Wards; I ſay, that his Majeſty's Houſe, his Navy, his Guards, his Penſioners, his Ammunition, his Ambaſſadors, and all elſe of ordinary Charge, might have been defrayed, and a great Sum left for his Majeſty's caſual Expences, and Rewards; I will not ſay, they were not in Love with the King's Eſtate, but I ſay, they were unfortunately born, for the King, that croſſed it.

Counſ. Well, Sir, I would it had been otherwiſe. But for the Aſſignments, there are among us, that will not willingly endure it; Charity begins with itſelf, Shall we hinder ourſelves of fifty-thouſand Pounds, *per Annum*, to ſave the King Twenty? Nay, Sir, what will become of our New-years Gifts, our Preſents, and Gratuities? We can now ſay to thoſe, that have Warrants for Money, that there is not a Penny in the *Exchequer*, but the King gives it away unto the *Scots*, faſter than it comes in.

Juſt. My Lord, you ſay well, at leaſt you ſay the Truth, that ſuch are ſome of our Anſwers, and hence comes that general Murmur to all Men, that have Money to receive; I ſay, that there is not a Penny given to that Nation, be it for Service, or otherwiſe, but it is ſpread over all the Kingdom; yea, they gather Notes, and take Copies of all the Privy-Seals, and Warrants, that his Majeſty hath given for the Money for the *Scots*, that they may ſhew them in Parliament. But of his Majeſty's Gifts to the *Engliſh*, there is no Bruit, though they may be ten Times as much as the *Scots*. And, yet my good Lord, howſoever they be thus anſwered, that to them ſue for Money out of the *Exchequer*, it is due to them for Ten, or Twelve, or Twenty in the Hundred abated, according to their Qualities that ſhew, they are always furniſhed. For Concluſion, if it would pleaſe God to put into the King's Heart, to make their Aſſignations, it would ſave him many a Pound, and gain him many a Prayer, and a great Deal of Love, for it grieveth every honeſt Man's Heart, to ſee the Abundance which even the petty Officers in the *Exchequer* and others gather both from the King and Subject, and to ſee a World of poor Men run after the King for their ordinary Wages.

Counſ. Well, well, did you never hear this old Tale, that when there was a great Contention about the Weather, the Seamen complaining of contrary Winds, when thoſe of the high Countries deſired Rain, and thoſe of the Vallies, Sun-ſhining Days, *Jupiter* ſent them Word by *Mercury*, then, when they had all done, the Weather ſhould be as it had been; and it ſhall ever fall out ſo with them that complain, the Courſe of Payments ſhall be as they have been. What care we, what petty Fellows ſay? Or what care we for your Papers? Have not we the King's Ears, who dares conteſt with us? Though we cannot be revenged on ſuch as you are, for telling the Truth, yet upon ſome other Pretence, we will clap you up, and you ſhall ſue to us, before you get out. Nay, we will make you confeſs, that you were deceived in your Projects, and eat your own Words; learn this of me Sir, that as a little good Fortune is better than a great Deal of Virtue; ſo the leaſt Authority hath Advantage over the greateſt Wit. Was he not the wiſeſt Man that ſaid, 'The Battle was not to the Strongeſt, nor yet 'Bread for the Wiſe; nor Riches to Men of 'Underſtanding, nor Favour to Men of Know-'ledge;' but that Time and Chance came to them all.

Juſt. It is well for your Lordſhip that it is ſo. But Queen *Eliſabeth* would ſet the Reaſon of a mean Man, before the Authority of the greateſt Counſellor ſhe had, and by her Patience therein, ſhe raiſed upon the uſual and ordinary Cuſtoms of *London*, without any new Impoſition, above Fifty-thouſand Pounds a Year; for though the Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and Secretary *Walſingham*, all three Penſioners to Cuſtomer *Smith*, did ſet themſelves againſt a poor Waiter, of the Cuſtom-houſe, called *Carwarden*; and commanded the Grooms of the Privy-Chamber, not to give him Acceſs; yet the Queen ſent for him, and gave him Countenance againſt them all. It would not ſerve the Turn, my Lord, with her, when your Lordſhips would tell her, that the Diſgracing her great Officers, by hearing the Complaints of buſy Heads, was a Diſhonour to herſelf; but ſhe had always this Anſwer, 'That if a Man 'complain unjuſtly againſt a Magiſtrate, it 'were Reaſon he ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; 'if juſtly, ſhe was Queen of the Small, as well 'as of the Great, and would hear their Com-'plaints.' For my good Lord, a Prince, that ſuffereth himſelf to be beſieged, forſaketh one of the greateſt Regalities, belonging to a Monarchy; to wit, the laſt Appeal, or as the *French* call it, *le dernier reſort.*

Counſ. Well, Sir, this from the Matter, I pray you go on.

Juſt. Then my Lord, in the King's fifteenth Year, he had a Tenth, and a Fifteenth granted in the Parliament of *London*. And the ſame Year, there was a great Council called at *Stamford*, to which divers Men were ſent for, of divers Counties, beſides the Nobility, of whom the King took Advice, Whether he ſhould continue the War, or make a final End with the *French?*

Counſ. What needed the King to take the Advice of any, but of his own Council, in Matter of Peace and War?

Juſt. Yea, my Lord, for it is ſaid in the *Proverbs*, *Where are many Counſellors, there is Health.* And if the King had made the War, by a general Conſent, the Kingdom in general were bound to maintain the War, and they could not then ſay, when the King required Aid, that he undertook a needleſs War.

Counſ. You ſay well, but I pray you go on.

Juſt. After the Subſidy in the fifteenth Year, the King deſired to borrow Ten-thouſand Pounds of the *Londoners*, which they refuſed to lend.

Counſ. And was not the King greatly troubled therewith?

Juſt. Yea, but the King troubled the *Londoners* ſoon after, for the King took the Advantage of a Riot, made upon the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Men; ſent for the Mayor, and other the ableſt Citizens; committed the Mayor to Priſon, in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and others, to other Caſtles, and made a Lord Warden of this City, till in the End, what with Ten-thouſand Pounds, ready Money, and other rich Preſents, inſtead of lending Ten-thouſand Pounds, it coſt them Twenty-thouſand Pounds. Between the fifteenth Year and twentieth Year, he had two Aids given him in the Parliaments of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*; and this latter was given to furniſh the King's Journey into *Ireland*, to eſtabliſh that Eſtate which was greatly ſhaken, ſince the Death of the King's Grandfather, wh received

thence,

thence yearly, thirty-thouſand Pounds; and during the King's Stay in *Ireland*, he had a Tenth and a Fifteenth granted.

Counſ. And good Reaſon, for the King had in his Army four-thouſand Horſe, and thirty-thouſand Foot.

Juſt. That by your Favour, was the King's Error; for great Armies do rather devour themſelves, than deſtroy Enemies. Such an Army, whereof the fourth Part would have conquered all *Ireland*, was in Reſpect of *Ireland*, ſuch an Army as *Xerxes* led into *Greece*; in his twentieth Year, wherein he had a Tenth of the Clergy, was the great Conſpiracy of the King's Uncle, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and of *Mowbray*, *Arundel*, *Nottingham*, and *Warwick*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and others, who, in the twenty-firſt Year of the King, were all redeemed by Parliament. And what thinks your Lordſhip, was not this Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, for the King's Eſtate, wherein he ſo prevailed, that he not only overthrew thoſe popular Lords, but, beſides, the *Engliſh* Chronicle ſaith, the King ſo wrought and brought Things about, that he obtained the Power of both Houſes to be granted to certain Perſons, to fifteen Noblemen and Gentlemen, or to Seven of them?

Counſ. Sir, whether the King wrought well or ill, I cannot judge; but our Chronicles ſay, that many Things were done in this Parliament, to the Diſpleaſure of no ſmall Number of People, to wit, for that divers rightful Heirs were diſinherited of their Lands and Livings, with which wrongful Doings, the People were much offended; ſo that the King, with thoſe that were about him, and chief in Council, came into great Infamy and Slander.

Juſt. My good Lord, if your Lordſhip will pardon me, I am of Opinion, that thoſe Parliaments, wherein the Kings of this Land have ſatisfied the People, as they have been ever proſperous, ſo, where the King hath reſtrained the Houſe, the Contrary hath happened; for the King's Atchievements, in this Parliament, were the ready Preparations to his Ruin.

Counſ. You mean by the general Diſcontentment that followed, and becauſe the King did not proceed legally with *Glouceſter* and others. Why, Sir, this was not the firſt Time that the Kings of *England* have done Things, without the Council of the Land; yea, contrary to the Law.

Juſt. It is true my Lord, in ſome Particulars, as even at this Time the Duke of *Glouceſter* was made away at *Calais* by a ſtrong Hand, without any lawful Trial; for he was a Man ſo beloved of the People, and ſo allied, having the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, his Brethren, the Duke of *Aumarle* and the Duke of *Hereford* his Nephews, the great Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with divers others of his Part, in the Conſpiracy, as the King durſt not try him, according to the Law; for at the Trial of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the King was forced to entertain a petty Army about him. And though the Duke was greatly lamented, yet, it cannot be denied, but that he was then a Traytor to the King; and was it not ſo, my Lord, with the Duke of *Guiſe*? Your Lordſhip doth remember the ſpur-gauled Proverb, that *Neceſſity hath no Law*; and my good Lord, it is the Practice of doing Wrong, and of general Wrongs done, that brings Danger, and not where Kings are preſſed, in this, or that Particular, for there is great Difference between natural Cruelty, and accidental. And therefore it was *Machiavel*'s Advice, that, 'All 'that a King did in that Kind, he ſhould do at 'once, and by his Mercies afterwards, make 'the World know, that his Cruelty was not 'affected.' And, my Lord, take this for a general Rule, that the immortal Policy of a State cannot admit any Law or Privilege whatſoever, but in ſome Particular, or other, the ſame is neceſſarily broken; yea, in a *Ariſtocratia*, or popular Eſtate, which vaunts ſo much of Equality, and common Right, more Outrage hath been committed, than in any Chriſtian Monarchy.

Counſ. But whence came this Hatred, between the Duke, and the King his Nephew.

Juſt. My Lord, the Duke's Conſtraining the King, when he was young, ſtuck in the King's Heart, and now the Duke's proud Speech to the King, when he had ſurrendered *Breſt*, formerly engaged to the Duke of *Bretaigne*, kindled again theſe Coals, that were not altogether extinguiſhed, for he uſed theſe Words: 'Your Grace ought to put your Body 'in great Pain, to win a Strong-hold or Town, 'by Feats of Arms, before you take upon 'you to ſell or deliver any Town, gotten 'by the Manhood, and ſtrong Hand, and Poli-'cy of your noble Progenitors.' Whereat,

ſaith the Story, the King changed his Countenance, *&c.* and to ſay Truth, it was a proud and maſterly Speech of the Duke; beſides, that incluſively, he taxed him of Sloth and Cowardice, as if he had never put himſelf to the Adventure of winning ſuch a Place; undutiful Words of a Subject do often take deeper Root, than the Memory of ill Deeds does: The Duke of *Biron* found it, when the King had him at Advantage. Yea, the late Earl of *Eſſex* told Queen *Eliſabeth*, that her Conditions were as crooked as her Carcaſs, but it coſt him his Head; which his Inſurrection had not coſt him, but for that Speech: *Who will ſay unto a King*, ſaith *Joſh.* *thou art wicked.* Certainly, it is the ſame Thing to ſay unto a Lady, thou art crooked, and perchance more, as to ſay unto a King, he is wicked, and to ſay, that he is a Coward, or to uſe any other Words of Diſgrace; it is one and the ſame Error.

Counſ. But what ſay you for *Arundel*, a brave and valiant Man, who had the King's Pardon of his Contempt, during his Minority?

Juſt. My good Lord, the Parliament which, you ſay, diſputes the King's Prerogative, did quite contrary, and deſtroyed the King's Charter and Pardon formerly given to *Arundel.* And, my good Lord, do you remember, that, at the Parliament, that wrought Wonders, when theſe Lords compounded that Parliament, as the King did this, they were ſo mercileſs towards all, that they thought their Enemies, as the Earl of *Arundel* moſt inſolently ſuffered the Queen to kneel unto him, three Hours, for the Saving of one of her Servants; and that Scorn of his *manebat alta mente repoſtum.* And, to ſay the Truth, it is more barbarous and unpardonable than any Act, that ever he did, to permit the Wife of his Sovereign to kneel to him, being the King's Vaſſal. For, if he had ſaved the Lord's Servant freely at her firſt Requeſt, as it is like enough, that the Queen would alſo have ſaved him, *Miſeris ſuccurréns paria obtinebis aliquando:* For your Lordſhip ſees, that the Earl of *Warwick*, who was as far in the Treaſon, as any of the reſt, was pardoned. It was alſo, at this Parliament, that the Duke of *Hereford* accuſed *Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*; and that the Duke of *Hereford*, Son to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, was baniſhed to the King's Confuſion, as your Lordſhip well knows.

Counſ. I know it well, and God knows, that the King had, then, a ſilly and weak Council about him, that perſuaded him to baniſh a Prince of the Blood, a moſt valiant Man, and the beſt beloved of the People in General, of any Man living; eſpecially, conſidering that the King gave every Day, more than other, Offence to his Subjects. For, beſides that he fined the Inhabitants, that aſſiſted the Lords in his Minority, of the ſeventeen Shires, which Offence he had long before pardoned; his blank Charters, and letting the Realm to Farm, to mean Perſons, by whom he was wholly adviſed, increaſed the People's Hatred towards the preſent Government.

Juſt. You ſay well, my Lord, Princes of an ill Deſtiny do always follow the worſt Counſel, or, at leaſt, embrace the beſt, after Opportunity is loſt: *Qui conſilia non ex ſuo corde ſed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo ſed auribus cogitant.* And this was not the leaſt Grief of the Subjects in General, that thoſe Men had the greateſt Part of the Spoil of the Commonwealth, which, neither by Virtue, Valour, or Counſel, could add any Thing unto it: *Nihil eſt ſordidius, nihil crudelius,* ſaith *Antoninus Pius, quam Remp. ab iis arrodi, qui nihil in eam ſuo labore conferent.*

Counſ. Indeed, the Letting to Farm the Realm was very grievous to the Subject.

Juſt. Will your Lordſhip pardon me, if I tell you that the Letting to Farm of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, the greateſt Revenue of the Realm, is not very pleaſing.

Counſ. And why, I pray you, Doth not the King thereby raiſe his Profits every third Year, and one Farmer outbid another to the King's Advantage?

Juſt. It is true, my Lord, but it grieves the Subject to pay Cuſtom to the Subject; for what mighty Men are thoſe Farmers become, and if thoſe Farmers get many Thouſands every Year, as the World knows they do, why ſhould they not now, being Men of infinite Wealth, declare unto the King, upon an Oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the King's Collectors of his Cuſtoms? Did not Queen *Eliſabeth*, who was reputed both a wiſe and juſt Princeſs, after ſhe had brought Cuſtomer *Smith*, from fourteen-thouſand Pounds a Year, to Forty-two Thouſand a Year, make him lay down a Recompence for that which he had gotten? And, if theſe Farmers do give

no Recompenſe, let them yet preſent the King with the Truth of their Receivings and Profits. But, my Lord, for Concluſion, after *Bolingbrook* arriving in *England*, with a ſmall Troop: Notwithſtanding the King, at his Landing out of *Ireland*, had a ſufficient and willing Army: Yet he, wanting Courage to defend his Right, gave Leave to all his Soldiers to depart, and put himſelf into his Hands that caſt him into his Grave.

Counſ. Yet you ſee, he was depoſed by Parliament.

Juſt. As well may your Lordſhip ſay, he was knocked in the Head by Parliament, for your Lordſhip knows, that, if King *Richard* had ever eſcaped out of their Fingers that depoſed him, the next Parliament would have made all the Depoſers Traytors and Rebels, and that juſtly. In which Parliament, or rather unlawful Aſſembly, there appeared but one honeſt Man, to-wit, the Biſhop of *Carliſle* who ſcorned his Life, and Eſtate, in Reſpect of Right and his Allegiance, and defended the Right of his Sovereign Lord, againſt the King Elect and his Partakers.

Counſ. Well, I pray go on with the Parliaments held, in the Time of his Succeſſor *Henry the Fourth*.

Juſt. This King had, in his third Year, a Subſidy, and, in his Fifth, a Tenth of the Clergy, without a Parliament: In his ſixth Year, he had ſo great a Subſidy, that the Houſe required, there might be no Record thereof left to Poſterity, for the Houſe gave him twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and of every twenty Pounds, Land, Twenty-pence, and Twelve-pence the Pound, for Goods.

Counſ. Yea, in the End of this Year, the Parliament preſſed the King, to annex unto the Crown all temporal Poſſeſſions belonging to Church-men, within the Land; which, at that Time, was the third Foot of all *England*. But the Biſhops made Friends, and in the End ſaved their Eſtates.

Juſt. By this you ſee, my Lord, that *Cromwell* was not the firſt that thought on ſuch a Buſineſs. And, if King *Henry the Eighth* had reſerved the Abbies, and other Church-lands, which he had given at that Time, the Revenue of the Crown of *England* had exceeded the Revenue of the Crown of *Spain*, with both the *Indies*; whereas, uſed as it was, a little inriching the Crown, it ſerved but to make a Number of Pettifoggers, and other Gentlemen.

Counſ. But what had the King, inſtead of his great Revenue?

Juſt. He had a Fifteenth of the Commons, and a Tenth, and a Half of the Clergy; and withal, all Penſions granted by King *Edward*, and King *Richard*, were made void. It was alſo moved, that all Crown Lands formerly given, at leaſt given by King *Edward*, and King *Richard*, ſhould be taken back.

Counſ. What think you of that, Sir? Would it not have been a Diſhonour to the King? And would not his Succeſſors have done the like to thoſe, that the King had advanced?

Juſt. I cannot anſwer your Lordſhip, but by diſtinguiſhing, for, where the Kings had given Land for Services, and had not been over-reached in his Gifts, there it had been a Diſhonour to the King to have made void the Grants of his Predeceſſors, or his Grants; but all thoſe Grants of the Kings, wherein they were deceived, the very Cuſtom and Policy of *England* makes them void, at this Day.

Counſ. How mean you that, for his Majeſty hath given a great Deal of Land among us, ſince he came into *England*, and would it ſtand with the King's Honour, to take it from us again?

Juſt. Yea, my Lord, very well with the King's Honour; if your Lordſhip, or any Lord elſe, have, under the Name of a hundred Pounds Land a Year, gotten five-hundred Pounds Land, and ſo after that Rate.

Counſ. I will never believe, that his Majeſty will ever do any ſuch Thing.

Juſt. And I believe, as your Lordſhip doth, but we ſpoke before, of thoſe that diſſuaded the King from Calling it a Parliament: And your Lordſhip asked me the Reaſon, Why any Man ſhould diſſuade it, to fear it? To which, this Place gives me an Opportunity to make your Lordſhip an Anſwer; for though his Majeſty will, of himſelf, never queſtion thoſe Grants; yet, when the Commons ſhall make humble Petition to the King in Parliament, that it will pleaſe his Majeſty to aſſiſt them in his Relief, with that which ought to be his own; which, if it will pleaſe his Majeſty to yield unto, the Houſe will moſt willingly furniſh and ſupply the reſt; With what Grace, can his Majeſty deny that honeſt Suit

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of theirs, the like having been done in many Kings Times before? This Proceeding, my good Lord, may perchance prove all your Phraſes of the King's Honour falſe *Engliſh*.

Counſ. But this cannot concern many, and, for myſelf, I am ſure it concerns me little.

Juſt. It is true, my Lord, and there are not many that diſſuade his Majeſty from a Parliament.

Counſ. But they are great ones, a few of which will ſerve the Turn well enough.

Juſt. But, my Lord, be they never ſo great, as great as Giants, yet, if they diſſuade the King from his ready and aſſured Way of his Subſiſtence, they muſt deviſe how the King may be elſewhere ſupplied, for they otherwiſe run into a dangerous Fortune.

Counſ. Hold you contented, Sir, the King needs no great Diſſuaſion.

Juſt. My Lord, learn of me, that there is none of you all, that can pierce the King. It is an eſſential Property of a Man truly wiſe, not to open all the Boxes of his Boſom, even to thoſe, that are neareſt and deareſt unto him; for, when a Man is diſcovered to the very Bottom, he is after the leſs eſteemed. I dare undertake, that, when your Lordſhip hath ſerved the King twice twelve Years more, you will find, that his Majeſty hath reſerved ſomewhat beyond all your Capacities; his Majeſty hath great Reaſon to put off the Parliament, at his laſt Refuge; and in the mean Time, to make Trial of all your Loves to ſerve him; for his Majeſty hath had good Experience, how well you can ſerve yourſelves: But when the King finds, that the Building of your own Fortunes and Factions hath been the diligent Studies, and the Service of his Majeſty, but the Exerciſes of your Leiſures: He may then perchance caſt himſelf upon the general Love of his People; of which, I truſt, he ſhall never be deceived, and leave as many of your Lordſhips, as have pilfered from the Crown, to their Examination.

Counſ. Well, Sir, I take no great Pleaſure in this Diſpute, go on I pray.

Juſt. In that King's fifth Year, he had alſo a Subſidy, which is got by holding the Houſe together, from *Eaſter* to *Chriſtmas*, and would not ſuffer them to depart. He had alſo a Subſidy, in his ninth Year. In his eleventh Year, the Commons did again preſs the King, to take all the Temporalities of the Churchmen into his Hands, which they proved ſufficient to maintain a hundred and fifty Earls, fifteen-hundred Knights, and ſix-thouſand four-hundred Eſquires, with a hundred Hoſpitals; but they, not prevailing, gave the King a Subſidy.

As for the notorious Prince, *Henry the Fifth*, I find that he had given him, in his ſecond Year, three-hundred thouſand Marks, and, after that, two other Subſidies; one, in his fifth Year, another in his Ninth, without any Diſputes.

In the Time of his Succeſſor, *Henry the Sixth*, there were not many Subſidies. In his third Year, he had a Subſidy of a Tonnage and Poundage. And here, ſaith *John Stow*, began thoſe Payments, which we call Cuſtoms, becauſe the Payment was continued; whereas, before that Time, it was granted, but for a Year, two, or three, according to the King's Occaſions. He had alſo an Aid and Gathering of Money, in his fourth Year; and the like in his tenth Year, and, in his thirteenth Year, a Fifteenth. He had alſo a Fifteenth, for the Conveying of the Queen out of *France*, into *England*. In the twenty-eighth Year of that King, was the Act of Reſumption of all Honours, Towns, Caſtles, Signiories, Villages, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Fees, &c. But becauſe the Wages of the King's Servants were, by the Strictneſs of the Act, alſo reſtrained, this Act of Reſumption was expounded in the Parliament, at *Reading*, the thirty-firſt Year of the King's Reign.

Counſ. I perceive that thoſe Acts of Reſumption were ordinary in former Times; for King *Stephen* reſumed the Lands, which, in former Times, he had given to make Friends, during the Civil Wars; and *Henry the Second* reſumed all, without Exception, which King *Stephen* had not reſumed; for, though King *Stephen* took back a great Deal, yet he ſuffered his truſtieſt Servants to enjoy his Gift.

Juſt. Yes, my Lord, and in after Times alſo, for this was not the laſt, nor ſhall be the laſt I hope. And judge you, my Lord, whether the Parliaments do not only ſerve the King, whatſoever is ſaid to the Contrary; for as all King *Henry the Sixth*'s Gifts and Grants were made void, by the Duke of *York*, when he was in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom by Parliament; ſo, in the Time of King

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Henry, when King *Edward* was beaten out again, the Parliament of *Weſtminſter* made all his Acts void, and him and all his Followers Traytors, and gave the King many of their Heads and Lands. The Parliaments of *England* do always ſerve the King in Poſſeſſion; it ſerved *Richard the Second* to condemn the popular Lords; it ſerved *Bollingbroke* to depoſe *Richard*. When *Edward the Fourth* had the Scepter, it made them all Beggars, that had followed *Henry the Sixth*; and it did the like for *Henry*, when *Edward* was driven out. The Parliaments are, as the Friendſhip of this World is, which always followeth Proſperity; for King *Edward the Fourth*, after that he was poſſeſſed of the Crown, he had, in his thirteenth Year, a Subſidy freely given him, and, in the Year following, he took a Benevolence through *England*; which arbitrary Taking from the People ſerved that ambitious Traytor, the Duke of *Bucks*. After the King's Death, it was a plauſible Argument to perſuade the Multitude, that they ſhould not permit, ſaith Sir *Thomas Moore*, his Line to reign any longer upon them.

Counſ. Well, Sir, what ſay you to the Parliament of *Richard the Third*'s Time?

Juſt. I find but one, and therein he made divers good Laws; for King *Henry the Seventh*, in the Beginning of his third Year, had, by Parliament, an Aid granted unto him, towards the Relief of the Duke of *Bretagne*, then aſſailed by the *French* King. And although the King did not enter into the War, but by the Advice of the three Eſtates, who did willingly contribute; yet thoſe Northern Men, which loved *Richard the Third*, raiſed Rebellion, under Colour of the Money impoſed, and murdered the Earl of *Northumberland*, whom the King employed in that Collection. By which your Lordſhip ſees, that it hath not been for Taxes and Impoſitions alone, that the Ill-diſpoſed have taken Arms, but even for thoſe Payments which have been appointed by Parliament.

Counſ. And what became of theſe Rebels?

Juſt. They were fairly hanged, and the Money levied notwithſtanding; in the King's firſt Year, he gathered a marvellous great Maſs of Money, by a Benevolence, taking Pattern, by this Kind of Levy, from *Edward the Fourth*; but the King cauſed it firſt to be moved in Parliament, where it was allowed, becauſe the poorer Sort were therein ſpared. Yet it is true, that the King uſed ſome Art; for, in his Letters, he declared, that he would meaſure every Man's Affections by his Gifts. In the thirteenth Year, he had alſo a Subſidy, whereupon the *Corniſh* Men took Arms, as the Northern Men of the Biſhoprick of *Durham* had done, in the third Year of the King.

Counſ. It is without Example, that ever the People have rebelled, for any Thing granted by Parliament, ſave in this King's Days.

Juſt. Your Lordſhip muſt conſider, that he was not over-much beloved, for he took many Advantages, both upon the People and the Nobility.

Counſ. And I pray you, What ſay they now of the new Impoſitions lately laid by the King's Majeſty? Do they ſay they are juſtly or unjuſtly laid?

Juſt. To impoſe upon all Things brought into the Kingdom is very antient; which Impoſing, when it hath been continued a certain Time, is then called Cuſtoms, becauſe the Subjects are accuſtomed to pay it; and yet the great Tax upon Wine is ſtill called Impoſt, becauſe it was impoſed after the ordinary Rate of Payment had laſted many Years. But we do, now-a-days, underſtand thoſe Things to be Impoſitions, which are raiſed by the Command of Princes, without the Advice of the Commonwealth; though, as I take it, much of that, which is now called Cuſtom, was, at the firſt, impoſed by Prerogative Royal: Now, whether it be Time or Conſent that makes them juſt, I cannot define; Were they juſt, becauſe new, or not juſtified yet by Time, or unjuſt, becauſe they want a general Conſent? Yet is this Rule of *Ariſtotle* verified, in Reſpect of his Majeſty: 'Minus timent homines injuſtum pati a prin-'cipe, quem cultorem Dei putant.' Yea, my Lord, they are alſo the more willingly borne, becauſe all the World knows, they are no new Invention of the King's; and if thoſe, that adviſed his Majeſty to impoſe them, had raiſed his Lands, as it was offered them, to twenty-thouſand Pounds more than it was, and his Wards to as much as aforeſaid, they had done him far more acceptable Service. But they had their own Ends, in refuſing

refuſing the one, and accepting the other. If the Land had been raiſed, they could not have ſelected the beſt of it for themſelves; if the Impoſitions had not been laid, ſome of them could not have their Silks, others Pieces in Farm; which, indeed, grieved the Subject ten Times more, than that which his Majeſty enjoyeth. But certainly they made a great Advantage, that were the Adviſers; for, if any Tumult had followed his Majeſty, a ready Way had been to have delivered them over to the People.

Counſ. But think you, that the King would have delivered them, if any Troubles had followed?

Juſt. I know not, my Lord, it was *Machiavel*'s Counſel to *Cæſar Borgia* to do it; and King *Henry the Eighth* delivered *Empſon* and *Dudley*; yea the ſame King, when the great Cardinal *Wolſey*, who governed the King, and all his Eſtate, had, by requiring the ſixth Part of every Man's Goods for the King, raiſed Rebellion; the King, I ſay, diſavowed him abſolutely, that, had not the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* appeaſed the People, the Cardinal had ſung no more Maſs; for theſe are the Words of our Story: The King then came to *Weſtminſter*, to the Cardinal's Palace, and aſſembled there a great Council, in which he proteſted, That his Mind was never to aſk any Thing of his Commons, which might ſound to the Breach of his Laws; wherefore, he then willed them to know, by whoſe Means they were ſo ſtrictly given forth. Now, my Lord, how the Cardinal would have ſhifted himſelf, by ſaying, I had the Opinion of the Judges, had not the Rebellion been appeaſed, I greatly doubt.

Counſ. But, good Sir, you blanch my Queſtion, and anſwer me by Examples. I aſk you, Whether or no, in any ſuch Tumult, the People pretending againſt one or two great Officers, the King ſhould deliver them, or defend them?

Juſt. My good Lord, the People have not ſtaid for the King's Delivery, neither in *England*, nor in *France*: Your Lordſhip knows how the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Chief Juſtice, with many others, at ſeveral Times, have been uſed by the Rebels; and the Marſhals, Conſtables, and Treaſurers in *France* have been cut in Pieces, in *Charles the Sixth*'s Time. Now to your Lordſhip's Queſtion, I ſay, that where any Man ſhall give a King perilous Advice, as may either cauſe a Rebellion, or draw the People's Love from the King; I ſay, that a King ſhall be adviſed to baniſh him; but if the King do abſolutely command his Servant to do any Thing, diſpleaſing to the Commonwealth, and to his own Peril, there is the King bound in Honour to defend him. But, my good Lord, for Concluſion; there is no Man in *England*, that will lay any Invention, either grievous, or againſt Law, upon the King's Majeſty; and, therefore, your Lordſhips muſt ſhare it amongſt you.

Counſ. For my Part, I had no Hand in it, I think *Ingram* was he that propounded it to the Treaſurer.

Juſt. Alas! my good Lord, every poor Waiter in the *Cuſtom-houſe*, or every Promoter might have done it, there is no Invention in theſe Things. To lay Impoſitions, and ſell the King's Lands, are poor and common Devices. It is true, that *Ingram*, and his Fellows, are odious Men, and therefore his Majeſty pleaſed the People greatly, to put him from the Cofferſhip. It is better for a Prince to uſe ſuch Kind of Men, than to countenance them; Hang-men are neceſſary in a Commonwealth; yet, in the *Netherlands*, none but a Hangman's Son will marry a Hangman's Daughter. Now, my Lord, the laſt Gathering, which *Henry the Seventh* made, was in his twentieth Year, wherein he had another Benevolence, both of the Clergy and Laity, a Part of which, taken of the poorer Sort, he ordained, by his Teſtament, that it ſhould be reſtored. And for King *Henry the Eighth*, although he was left in a moſt plentiful Eſtate, yet he wonderfully preſſed his People with great Payments; for, in the Beginning of his Time, it was infinite, that he ſpent in Maſking and Tilting, Banqueting, and other Vanities, before he was entered into the moſt conſuming Expence of the moſt fond and fruitleſs War, that ever King undertook. In his fourth Year, he had one of the greateſt Subſidies, that ever was granted; for, beſides Two-fifteenths, and two Diſms, he uſed *David*'s Law of Capitation, or Head-money, and had, of every Duke, ten Marks; of every Earl, five Pounds; of every Lord, four Pounds; of every Knight, four Marks, and every Man rated at eight

Pounds, in Goods four Marks, and ſo after the Rate; yea, every Man, that was valued but at forty Shillings, paid Twelve-pence, and every Man and Woman, above fifteen Years old, Four-pence; he had alſo, in his ſixth Year, divers Subſidies granted him. In his Fourteenth, there was a Tenth demanded of every Man's Goods, but it was moderated. In the Parliament following, the Clergy gave the King the Half of their ſpiritual Livings for one Year, and, of the Laity, there was demanded eight-hundred Thouſand Pounds, which could not be levied in *England*; but it was a marvellous great Gift, that the King had given him at that Time. In the King's ſeventeenth Year, was the Rebellion before ſpoken of, wherein the King diſavowed the Cardinal; in his ſeventeenth Year, he had the Tenth and Fifteenth given by Parliament, which were, before that Time, paid to the Pope; and, before that Time alſo, the Monies, that the King borrowed in his fifteenth Year, were forgiven him, by Parliament, in his ſeventeenth Year. In his thirty-fifth Year, a Subſidy was granted of Four-pence the Pound, of every Man worth, in Goods, from twenty Shillings to five Pounds, from five Pounds to ten Pounds, and upwards, of every Pound two Shillings. And all Strangers, Deniſens, and others, doubled this Sum; Strangers, not being Inhabitants above ſixteen Years, Four-pence a Head. All that had Lands, Fees, and Annuities, from Twenty to Five, and ſo double, as they did for Goods: And the Clergy gave Six-pence the Pound. In the thirty-ſeventh Year, a Benevolence was taken, not voluntary, but rated by Commiſſioners, which, becauſe one of the Aldermen refuſed to pay, he was ſent for a Soldier into *Scotland*. He had alſo another great Subſidy, of ſix Shillings the Pound, of the Clergy, and two Shillings and Eight-pence of the Goods of the Laity, and four Shillings the Pound upon Lands.

In the ſecond Year of *Edward the Sixth*, the Parliament gave the King an Aid of Twelve-pence the Pound of Goods, of his natural Subjects, and two Shillings the Pound of Strangers, and this to continue for three Years; and, by the Statute of the Second and Third of *Edward the Sixth*, it may appear, the ſame Parliament did alſo give a ſecond Aid, as followeth, to wit, of every Ewe, kept in ſeveral Paſtures, Three-pence; of every Wether, kept as aforeſaid, Two-pence; of every Sheep, kept in the Common, One-penny. Obſervation. The Houſe gave the King alſo Eight-pence the Pound, of every Woollen-cloth, made for Sale, throughout *England*, for three Years. In the Third and Fourth of the King, by Reaſon of the troubleſome Gathering of the Poll-money upon Sheep, and the Tax upon Cloth, this Act of Subſidy was repealed, and other Relief given the King, and, in the King's ſeventh Year, he had a Subſidy, and Two-fifteenths.

In the firſt Year of Queen *Mary*, Tonnage and Poundage were granted; in the ſecond Year, a Subſidy was given to King *Philip*, and to the Queen; ſhe had alſo a third Subſidy, *in Annis* 4 & 5.

Now, my Lord, for the Parliaments of the late Queen's [*Eliſabeth*'s] Time, in which there was nothing new, neither Head-money, nor Sheep-money, nor Eſcuage, nor any of theſe Kinds of Payments was required, but only the ordinary Subſidies, and thoſe as eaſily granted as demanded. I ſhall not need to trouble your Lordſhip with any of them; neither can I inform your Lordſhip of all the Paſſages and Acts which have paſſed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

Counſ. No, it were but Time loſt to ſpeak of the latter; and, by thoſe that are already remembered, we may judge of the reſt; for thoſe of the greateſt Importance are publick: But, I pray you, deal freely with me; What think you would be done for his Majeſty, if he ſhould call a Parliament at this Time? Or what would be required at his Majeſty's Hands?

Juſt. The firſt Thing, that would be required, would be the ſame that was required by the Commons in the thirteenth Year of *Henry the Eighth*; to wit, That, if any Man of the Commons Houſe ſhould ſpeak more largely, than of Duty he ought to do, all ſuch Offences to be pardoned, and that to be of Record.

Counſ. So might every Companion ſpeak of the King what they liſt.

Juſt. No, my Lord; the Reverence, which a Vaſſal oweth to his Sovereign, is always intended for every Speech; howſoever, it muſt import the Good of the King, and his Eſtate, and ſo long it may be eaſily pardoned, otherwiſe not: For, in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time, who gave Freedom of Speech in all Parliaments,

ments, when *Wentworth* made thoſe Motions, that were but ſuppoſed dangerous to the Queen's Eſtate, he was impriſoned in the *Tower*, notwithſtanding the Privilege of the Houſe, and there died.

Counſ. What ſay you to the *Sicilian Veſpers*, remembered in the laſt Parliament?

Juſt. I ſay, he repented him heartily that uſed that Speech; and indeed, beſides that it was ſeditious, this Example held not: The *French* in *Sicily* uſurped that Kingdom; they kept neither Law nor Faith; they took away the Inheritance of the Inhabitants; they took from them their Wives, and raviſhed their Daughters, committing all other Inſolencies that could be imagined. The King's Majeſty is the natural Lord of *England*; his Vaſſals of *Scotland* obey the *Engliſh* Laws; if they break them, they are puniſhed without Reſpect: Yea, his Majeſty put one of his Barons to a ſhameful Death, for being conſenting only to the Death of a common Fencer; and which of theſe ever did, or durſt commit any Outrage in *England*? But, to ſay the Truth, the Opinion of packing the laſt was the Cauſe of the Contention and Diſorder that happened.

Counſ. Why, Sir, do you not think it beſt to compound a Parliament of the King's Servants and others, that ſhall in all obey the King's Deſires?

Juſt. Certainly no; for it hath never ſucceeded well, neither on the King's Part, nor on the Subjects, as by the Parliament before-remembered your Lordſhip may gather; for, from ſuch a Compoſition, do ariſe all Jealouſies and all Contentions. It was practiſed in elder Times, to the great Trouble of the Kingdom, and to the Loſs and Ruin of Many. It was of later Time uſed by King *Henry the Eighth*, but every Way to his Diſadvantage. When the King leaves himſelf to his People, they aſſure themſelves, that they are truſted and beloved of their King; and there was never any Aſſembly ſo barbarous, as not to anſwer the Love and Truſt of their King. *Henry the Sixth*, when his Eſtate was in Effect utterly overthrown, and utterly impoveriſhed, at the humble Requeſt of his Treaſurer, made the ſame known to the Houſe: Or otherwiſe, uſing the Treaſurer's own Words, 'He humbly deſired the King to take his Staff, that 'he might ſave his Wardſhip.'

Counſ. But, you know, they will preſently be in Hand with thoſe Impoſitions, which the King hath laid by his own Royal Prerogative.

Juſt. Perchance not, my Lord, but rather with thoſe Impoſitions, that have been by ſome of your Lordſhips laid upon the King; which did not ſome of your Lordſhips fear, more than you do the Impoſitions laid upon the Subjects, you would never diſſuade his Majeſty from a Parliament; for no Man doubted, but that his Majeſty was adviſed to lay thoſe Impoſitions by his Council; and, for particular Things, on which they were laid, the Advice came from petty Fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the *Cuſtom-houſe*. Now, my Lord, What Prejudice hath his Majeſty, his Revenue being kept up, if the Impoſitions, that were laid by the Advice of a few, be in Parliament laid by the general Council of the Kingdom, which takes off all Grudging and Complaint?

Counſ. Yea, Sir; but that, which is done by the King, with the Advice of his private or Privy-council, is done by the King's abſolute Power?

Juſt. And by whoſe Power is it done in Parliament, but by the King's abſolute Power? Miſtake it not, my Lord: The three Eſtates do but adviſe, as the prime Council doth; which Advice, if the King embrace it, becomes the King's own Act in the one, and the King's Law in the other; for, without the King's Acceptation, both the publick and private Advices are but as empty Egg-ſhells. And what doth his Majeſty loſe, if ſome of thoſe Things, which concern the poorer Sort, be made free again; and the Revenue kept up upon that which is ſuperfluous? Is it a Loſs to the King to be beloved of the Commons? If it be Revenue, which the King ſeeks, Is it not better to take it of thoſe that laugh, than of thoſe that cry? Yea, if all be content to pay, upon Moderation and Change of the Species, Is it not more honourable, and more ſafe for the King, that the Subjects pay by Perſuaſion, than to have them conſtrained? If they be contented to whip themſelves for the King, Were it not better to give them the Rod into their own Hands, than to commit them to the Executioner? Certainly, it is far more happy for a ſovereign Prince, that a Subject open his Purſe willingly, than that the ſame be opened by Violence. Beſides that, when Impoſitions are laid by Parliament, they are gathered by the Authority of the Law, which, as aforeſaid, rejecteth all Complaints,

and ſtoppeth every mutinous Mouth. It ſhall ever be my Prayer, That the King embrace the Counſel of Honour and Safety; and let other Princes embrace that of Force.

Counſ. But, good Sir, it is his Prerogative, which the King ſtands upon; and it is the Prerogative of the Kings, that the Parliaments do all diminiſh.

Juſt. If your Lordſhip would pardon me, I would ſay then, That your Lordſhip's Objection againſt Parliaments is ridiculous. In former Parliaments, three Things have been ſuppoſed Diſhonour of the King: The *firſt*, That the Subjects have conditioned with the King, when the King hath needed them, to have the great Charter confirmed. The *ſecond*, That the Eſtates have made Treaſurers, for the neceſſary and profitable Diſburſing of thoſe Sums by them given, to the End that the Kings, to whom they were given, ſhould expend them for their own Defence, and for the Defence of the Commonwealth. The *third*, That theſe have preſſed the King to diſcharge ſome great Officers of the Crown, and to elect others. As touching the *firſt*, my Lord, I would fain learn what Diſadvantage the Kings of this Land have had by confirming the great Charter; the Breach of which hath ſerved only Men of your Lordſhip's Rank to aſſiſt their own Paſſions, and to puniſh and impriſon, at their own Diſcretion, the King's poor Subjects, concerning their private Hatred, with the Colour of the King's Service; for the King's Majeſty takes no Man's Inheritance, as I have ſaid before, nor any Man's Life, but by the Law of the Land, according to the Charter: Neither doth his Majeſty impriſon any Man (Matter of Practice, which concerns the Preſervation of his Eſtate, excepted) but by the Law of the Land, and yet he uſeth his Prerogative, as all the Kings of *England* have ever uſed it; for the ſupreme Reaſon cauſes to practiſe many Things without the Advice of the Law; as, in Inſurrections and Rebellions, it uſeth the Martial, and not the Common Law, without any Breach of the Charter, the Intent of the Charter conſidered truly. Neither hath any Subject made Complaint, or been grieved, in that the Kings of this Land, for their own Safeties, and Preſervation of their Eſtates, have uſed their Prerogatives, the great Enſign, on which there is written *Soli Deo*. And, my good Lord, Was not *Buckingham* in *England*, and *Byron* in *France* condemned, their Peers uncalled? And, withal, Was not *Byron* utterly (contrary to the Cuſtoms and Privileges of the *French*) denied an Advocate to aſſiſt his Defence? For, where Law's Forecaſt cannot provide Remedies for future Dangers, Princes are forced to aſſiſt themſelves by their Prerogatives. But that, which hath been ever grievous, and the Cauſe of many Troubles very dangerous, is, That your Lordſhips, abuſing the Reaſons of State, do puniſh and impriſon the King's Subjects at your Pleaſure: It is you, my Lords, that, when Subjects have ſometimes Need of the King's Prerogative, do then uſe the Strength of the Law; and, when they require the Law, you afflict them with the Prerogative, and tread the great Charter, which hath been confirmed by ſixteen Acts of Parliament, under your Feet, as a torn Parchment, or Waſte-paper.

Counſ. Good Sir, which of us do, in this Sort, break the great Charter? Perchance you mean, that we have adviſed the King to lay the new Impoſitions.

Juſt. No, my Lord, there is Nothing in the great Charter againſt Impoſitions; and, beſides that, Neceſſity doth perſuade them: And if Neceſſity do, in ſomewhat, excuſe a private Man, *à fortiori*, it may then excuſe a Prince. Again, The King's Majeſty hath Profit and Increaſe of Revenue by the Impoſitions. But there are of your Lordſhips, contrary to the direct Letter of the Charter, that impriſon the King's Subjects, and deny them the Benefit of the Law, to the King's Diſprofit. And, What do you do otherwiſe thereby, if the Impoſitions be in any Sort grievous, but *Renovare dolores?* And, withal, dig out of the Duſt the long-buried Memory of the Subjects former Intentions, with their Kings.

Counſ. What mean you by that?

Juſt. I will tell your Lordſhip, when I dare: In the mean Time, it is enough for me, to put your Lordſhip in Mind, That all the Eſtates in the World, in the Offence of the People, have either had Profit or Neceſſity to perſuade them to adventure it; of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the Subject exceedingly grieved, your Lordſhip may conjecture, that the Houſe will be humble Suitors for a Redreſs. And, if it be a Maxim in Policy to pleaſe the People in all Things indifferent, and never ſuffer them to be beaten, but for the King's Benefit (for there are no Blows

forgotten with the Smart, but thoſe) then I ſay, to make them Vaſſals to Vaſſals, is but to batter down thoſe maſtering Buildings, erected by King *Henry the Seventh*, and fortified by his Son, by which the People and Gentry of *England* were brought to depend upon the King alone. Yea, my good Lord, our late dear Sovereign kept them up, and to their Advantage, as well repaired as ever Prince did. *Defend me, and ſpend me*, ſaith the *Iriſh* Churl.

Counſ. Then you think, that this violent Breach of the Charter will be the Cauſe of Seeking the Confirmation of it in the next Parliament, which otherwiſe could never have been moved?

Juſt. I know not, my good Lord, perchance not; for, if the Houſe preſs the King to grant unto them all that is theirs by the Law, they cannot, in Juſtice, refuſe the King all that is his by the Law. And where will be the Iſſue of ſuch a Contention? I dare not divine, but ſure I am, that it will tend to the Prejudice both of the King and Subject.

Counſ. If they diſpute not their own Liberties, Why ſhould they then diſpute the King's Liberties, which we call his Prerogative?

Juſt. Amongſt ſo many and ſo divers Spirits, no Man can foretel what may be propounded; but howſoever, if the Matter be not ſlightly handled on the King's Behalf, theſe Diſputes will ſoon diſſolve; for the King hath ſo little Need of his Prerogative, and ſo great Advantage by the Laws, as the Fear of Impairing the one, to wit, the Prerogative, is ſo impoſſible; and the Burthen of the other, to wit, the Law ſo weighty, as but by a Branch of the King's Prerogative, namely, of his Remiſſion and Pardon, the Subject is no Way able to undergo it. This, my Lord, is no Matter of Flouriſh that I have ſaid, but it is the Truth, and unanſwerable.

Counſ. But to execute the Laws very ſeverely would be very grievous?

Juſt. Why, my Lord, are the Laws grievous, which ourſelves have required of our Kings? And are the Prerogatives alſo, which our Kings have reſerved to themſelves, alſo grievous? How can ſuch a People then be well pleaſed? And if your Lordſhip confeſs that the Laws give too much, Why does your Lordſhip urge the Prerogative that gives more? Nay, I will be bold to ſay it, that, except the Laws were better obſerved, the Prerogative of a religious Prince hath manifold leſs Perils, than the Letter of the Law hath. Now, my Lord, for the Second and Third, to wit, for the Appointing of Treaſurers, and Removing of Counſellors, our Kings have evermore laughed them to Scorn that have preſſed either of theſe; and, after the Parliament diſſolved, took the Money of the Treaſurers of the Parliament, and recalled and reſtored the Officers diſcharged; or elſe they have been contented, that ſome ſuch Perſons ſhould be removed at the Requeſt of the whole Kingdom, which they themſelves, out of their noble Natures, would not ſeem willing to remove.

Counſ. Well, Sir, Would you, notwithſtanding all theſe Arguments, adviſe his Majeſty to call a Parliament?

Juſt. It belongs to your Lordſhips, who enjoy the King's Favours, and are choſen for your able Wiſdom, to adviſe the King. It were a ſtrange Boldneſs in a poor and private Perſon, to adviſe Kings, attended with ſo underſtanding a Council. But, belike your Lordſhips have conceived ſome other Way, how Money may be gotten otherwiſe. If any Trouble ſhould happen, your Lordſhip knows, that then there were Nothing ſo dangerous for a King, as to be without Money: A Parliament cannot aſſemble in Haſte, but preſent Dangers require haſty Remedies. It will be no Time then to diſcontent the Subjects, by uſing any inordinate Ways.

Counſ. Well, Sir, all this notwithſtanding, we dare not adviſe the King to call a Parliament, for, if it ſhould ſucceed ill, we, that adviſe, ſhould fall into the King's Diſgrace. And, if the King be driven into any Extremity, we can ſay to the King, that, becauſe we found it extremely unpleaſing to his Majeſty to hear of a Parliament, we thought it no good Manners to make ſuch a Motion.

Juſt. My Lord, to the Firſt let me tell you, that there was never any juſt Prince that hath taken any Advantage of the Succeſs of Counſels, which have been founded on Reaſon. To fear that were to fear the Loſs of the Bell, more than the Loſs of the Steeple, and were alſo the Way to beat all Men from the Studies of the King's Service. But for the Second, where you ſay you can excuſe yourſelves upon the King's own Proteſting againſt a Parliament; the King, upon better Conſideration, may encounter that Fineneſs of yours.

Counſ. How, I pray you?

Juſt.

Juſt. Even by declaring himſelf to be indifferent, by calling your Lordſhips together, and by delivering unto you, that he hears how his loving Subjects in general are willing to ſupply him, if it pleaſe him to call a Parliament, for that was the common Anſwer to all the Sheriffs in *England*, when the late Benevolence was commanded. In which Reſpect, and becauſe you came ſhort in all your Projects, and becauſe it is a Thing moſt dangerous for a King to be without Treaſure, he requires ſuch of you, as either miſlike, or rather, fear a Parliament, to ſet down your Reaſons in Writing, why you either miſliked, or feared it. And, ſuch as I wiſh and deſire it, to ſet down Anſwers to your Objections. And ſo ſhall the King prevent the Calling, or not Calling, on his Majeſty, as ſome of your great Counſellors have done in many other Things, ſhrinking up their Shoulders, and ſaying, *The King will have it ſo.*

Counſ. Well, Sir, it grows late, and I will bid you Farewell, only you ſhall take well with you this Advice of mine: That, in all that you have ſaid againſt our Greateſt, thoſe Men, in the End, ſhall be your Judges in their own Cauſe; you, that trouble yourſelf with Reformation, are like to be well rewarded; for hereof you may aſſure yourſelf, that we will never allow of any Invention, how profitable ſoever, unleſs it proceed, or ſeem to proceed, from ourſelves.

Juſt. If then, my Lord, we may preſume to ſay, that Princes may be unhappy in any Thing, certainly they are unhappy in Nothing more, than in ſuffering themſelves to be ſo incloſed. Again, if we may believe *Pliny*, who tells us, 'That it is an ill Sign of Proſperity 'in any Kingdom or State, where ſuch, as de'ſerve well, find no other Recompence 'than the Contentment of their own Con'ſciences;' a far worſe Sign is it, where the juſtly Accuſed ſhall take Revenge of the juſt Accuſer. But, my good Lord, there is this Hope remaining, that, ſeeing he hath been abuſed by them he truſted moſt, he will not, for the future Diſhonour of his Judgment, ſo well informed by his own Experience, expoſe ſuch of his Vaſſals (as have had no other Motives to ſerve him, than ſimply the Love of his Perſon and his Eſtate) to their Revenge, who have only been moved by the Love of their own Fortunes, and their Glory.

Counſ. But, good Sir, the King hath not been deceived by all?

Juſt. No, my Lord, neither have all been truſted, neither doth the World accuſe all, but believe, that there be amongſt your Lordſhips very juſt and worthy Men, as well of the Nobility, as others, but thoſe, though moſt honoured in the Commonwealth, yet, have they not been moſt employed: Your Lordſhip knows it well enough, that three or four of your Lordſhips have thought your Hands ſtrong enough to bear up alone the weightieſt Affairs in the Commonwealth, and ſtrong enough all the Land have found them to bear down whom they pleaſed.

Counſ. I underſtand you: But how ſhall it appear, that they have only ſought themſelves?

Juſt. There needs no Perſpective-Glaſs to diſcern it, for neither in the Treaties of Peace and War, in Matters of Revenue, and Matters of Trade, any Thing hath happened either of Love or Judgment. No, my Lord, there is not any one Action of theirs eminent, great or ſmall, the Greatneſs of themſelves only excepted.

Counſ. It is all one; your Papers can neither anſwer nor reply, we can. Beſides, you tell the King no News in delivering theſe Complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

Juſt. For the Firſt, my Lord, whereas he hath once the Reaſons of Things delivered him, your Lordſhips ſhall need to be well adviſed; in their Anſwers, there is no Sophiſtry will ſerve their Turn, where the Judge and the Underſtanding are both ſupreme. For the Second, to ſay that his Majeſty knows, and cares not, that, my Lord, were but to deſpair all his faithful Subjects. But by your Favour, my Lord, we ſee it is contrary; we find now, that there is no ſuch ſingular Power as there hath been; Juſtice is deſcribed with a Balance in her Hand, holding it even; and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any King's Days; for ſingular Authority begets but general Oppreſſion.

Counſ. Howſoever it be, that is Nothing to you, that have no Intereſt in the King's Favour, nor perchance, in his Opinion; and, concerning ſuch a one, the Miſliking, or but Miſconceiving of any one hard Word, Phraſe, or Sentence, will give Argument to the King, either to condemn, or reject the whole Diſcourſe. And, howſoever his Majeſty may

neglect

neglect your Informations, you may be ſure that others, at whom you point, will not neglect their Revenges; you will therefore confeſs it, when it is too late, that you are exceeding ſorry that you have not followed my Advice. Remember Cardinal *Wolſey*, who loſt all Men for the King's Service, and, when their Malice, whom he grieved, had not outlived the King's Affection, you know what became of him as well as I.

Juſt. Yea, my Lord, I know it well, that Malice hath a longer Life, than either Love or Thankfulneſs hath, for as we always take more Care to put off Pain, than to enjoy Pleaſure; becauſe the one hath no Intermiſſion, and with the other we are often ſatisfied; ſo it is in the Smart of Injury and the Memory of good Turns: Wrongs are written in Marble: Benefits are, ſometimes, acknowledged, rarely requited. But my Lord, we ſhall do the King great Wrong, to judge him by common Rules, or ordinary Examples, for ſeeing his Majeſty hath greatly inriched and advanced thoſe that have but pretended his Service, no Man needs to doubt of his Goodneſs, towards thoſe that ſhall perform any Thing worthy Reward. Nay, the not Taking Knowledge of thoſe of his own Vaſſals, that have done him Wrong, is more to be lamented, than the Relinquiſhing of thoſe, that do him Right, is to be ſuſpected. I am therefore, my good Lord, held to my Reſolution, by theſe two, beſides the former: The *Firſt*, that God would never have bleſſed him with ſo many Years, and in ſo many Actions, yea, in all his Actions, had he paid his honeſt Servants with Evil for Good. The *Second*, where your Lordſhip tells me, that I will be ſorry for not following your Advice, I pray your Lordſhip to believe, that I am no Way ſubject to the common Sorrowing of worldly Men, this Maxim of *Plato* being true: *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus naſcuntur.* But, for my Body, my Mind values it at nothing.

Counſ. What is it then you hope for, or ſeek?

Juſt. Neither Riches, nor Honour, or Thanks, but I only ſeek to ſatisfy his Majeſty (which I would have been glad to have done in Matters of more Importance) that I have lived, and will die an honeſt Man.

The Author's Epitaph, made by himſelf.

EVEN ſuch is Time, which takes in Truſt
Our Youth, and Joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with Age and Duſt;
Which in the dark and ſilent Grave,
When we have wander'd all our Ways,
Shuts up the Story of our Days:
And from which Earth, and Grave, and Duſt,
The Lord ſhall raiſe me up I truſt.

The Method of paſſing Bills in Parliament. Written by *Henry Elſinge*, Cler. Parl. Now printed from the original Manuſcript, under theſe Heads, *viz.* 1. Proceedings upon Bills. 2. The Commitment of Bills. 3. Manner how Committees are named. 4. Who may not be of a Committee, and who ought to be. 5. Council heard at the Committee. 6. A Bill recommitted. 7. The third Reading. 8. *Nova Billa.* 9. Amendments and Additions, or Proviſo's added afterwards, how lawful. 10. Amendments of Amendments how lawful. 11. A Proviſo added after a third Reading, not

uſual. 12. A Proviſo added by the one Houſe, and deſired to be taken by the other Houſe, whether lawful. *London*, printed by *F. L.* for *Matt. Gilliflower*, at the *Spread-Eagle* and *Crown* in *Weſtminſter-hall*, 1685. *Twelves*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

Proceedings upon Bills.

The firſt Reading.

THE Clerk reads the Bill, ſtanding at the Table, and then delivers the ſame, kneeling unto the Lord Chancellor, together with a Brief of the Bill.

The Lord Chancellor reads the Title of the Bill, and then reports the Effect of the ſame out of the Brief, and concludes, This is the firſt Time of the Reading of this Bill.

At the firſt Reading, the Bill is ſeldom now ſpoken againſt.

There are Precedents to the contrary, *prout A.* 1 *H.* VIII. 11 *de Parliamenti Billa de actionibus*, brought from the Commons, *lecta* 1 *vice & Domini diſputando cenſuerunt reformandum; quod regia Majeſtas haberet* 3 *vel* 4 *annos, pars vero contra partem, niſi unum annum.*

And a Bill hath been received at the firſt Reading, *prout.*

Anno 3 *E.* VI. 14 *Nov. Billa pro Juriſdictione Epiſcoporum* rejected, and a Committee appointed to draw a new Bill.

The Subſidy Bill, and the King's general Pardon, were uſed to be read but once, and ſo were expedited at the firſt Reading.

Yet if a Proviſo be added to the Subſidy Bill, that hath been read three Times, *prout.*

So if a Proviſo be added to the general Pardon, that is to be read three Times, *V.* 3. *E.* VI. 1 *Febr.*

Anno 35 *H.* VIII. 4 *die Martii* 1 *Vice lecta eſt Billa*, concerning the Kings Majeſty's Award, between the Lord *Dacres*, and the Heirs general of Sir *James Strangwiſh* the Younger, *cui quidem Billæ Proceres aſſenſerunt.*

Bills alſo have been committed at the firſt Reading.

Anno 6 *Hen.* VIII. 14 *Febr. recepta eſt Billa in papyro concernens apparatum, & lecta eſt jam primo, & deliberata Magiſtro Pigott reformanda.*

Anno 1 *E.* VI. 21 *Nov. allata eſt a communi Domo Billa*, for Benefices, common Preachers, and Reſidence. *Quæ* 1 *vice lecta eſt, & commiſſa eſt Archiepiſcopo Cant. Epiſcopis Elien. Dunelm. Roffen. & Lincoln. Marchioni Northampton. Domino St. John Comiti Arundel Domino Admiral, & Domino Wentworth.*

Anno 5 *E.* VI. 16 *Febr. Hodie* 1 *vice lecta eſt Billa*, to avoid Regrating, Foreſtalling *&c. & commiſſa Magiſtro Hales, Magiſtro Molineux, Magiſtro Saunders, & Sollicitatori Regis.*

And there are very many Precedents, that Bills have been committed at the firſt Reading, in the Times of *Henry the Eighth*, and *Edward the Sixth*, as may appear by the Committees of thoſe Times.

The like Precedents I find in moſt of the Journals of Queen *Eliſabeth*, *prout*, &c.

Anno 8 *Eliſ.* 3 *Oct. Billa*, for the better Executing of certain Statutes, *&c.*

Eodem Anno 5 *Oct.* touching Fines and Recoveries, *&c.*

Anno 13 *Eliſ.* 20 *April.* againſt fraudulent Conveyances, *&c.*

Anno 14 *Eliſ.* 12 *May.* for Preſervation of Wood, *&c.*

Eodem Anno & Die, for the Puniſhment of Vagabonds, *&c.*

And ſo in many other Parliaments of *Eliſ.* &c.

The ſecond Reading.

In the ſame Manner, the Clerk reads the Bill the ſecond Time, and delivers the ſame without a Brief to the Lord Chancellor.

His Lordſhip recites the Title thereof only, and ſaith, This is the ſecond Reading.

Then if no Man ſpeaks againſt the Bill, it is ordered to be engroſſed, if begun with the Lords; or to have a third Reading, if brought from the Commons.

If any Doubt be conceived, which is often *pro forma tantum*, the Bill is committed.

V. inter ordines, &c. An. 18 *Jacobi.*

Bills are commonly let paſs at the firſt Reading, and committed at the ſecond.

Yet it appears by many Precedents of *Henry the Eighth*, and *Edward the Sixth*, and Queen *Eliſabeth*, that if the Lords did apprehend any Diſlike or Doubt in the Bill at the firſt Reading, it was then committed immediately, *prout antea.*

The Commitment of Bills.

AT the ſecond Reading, if the Bill be required to be committed, the Lord Chancellor demands of the Lords, how many of each Bench ſhall be of the Committee.

Which being agreed on to three, five, or ſix, *&c.* the Earls are firſt named, then the Biſhops, then the Barons.

The like Order is obſerved in the Naming of Committees for any other Buſineſs.

And if there be five Earls, then five Biſhops, and ten Barons; the Reaſon whereof I know not. *Neque fuit ſic a principio.*

Anno 3 *E.* VI. 14 *Nov.* the Committees, to frame a Bill for the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, were the Marquis of *Dorſet*, four Biſhops, and two Barons.

Eodem Anno 2 *Januarii*, the Committee, ſent to the Duke of *Somerſet*, were, one Earl, five Biſhops, and two Barons.

Anno 27 *Eliſ.* 4 *Decemb.* the Bill for the Clothiers of *Boxſted*, &c. was committed unto three Earls, one Viſcount, one Biſhop, and three Barons.

Eodem Anno 3 *Dec.* the Bill for the Landing of Merchandiſe, *&c.* was committed unto eight Earls, two Biſhops, and four Barons.

Eodem Anno 27 *Eliſ.* the firſt Bill, for Increaſe of Mariners, was committed unto two Earls, and ſix Barons, and no Biſhops.

Eodem Anno & Die, the Bill, for the Sabbath-Day, is committed unto ſix Earls, one Viſcount, five Biſhops, and ſeven Barons.

The Precedents thereof are infinite, that no ſuch Order was obſerved to name a ſet Number of each Bench, or to double the Number of Barons until in the latter Parliaments of our late King *James:* Neither was this conſtantly obſerved, until the Parliament of 12 *Jacobi Regis*, and afterwards. For in the fourth Seſſion of the Parliament, *Anno* 1 *Jacobi Regis*, ſometimes the Number of each is equal, and ſometimes the Barons are the greater Number. But they ſeldom double the Number of the other Bench, unleſs in the Committees of a ſmall Number.

But here may be a Queſtion (*viz.*) Whether a Bill may be committed by the Orders of the Houſe, if no Lord move any Doubt, or Imperfection in the ſame?

And I am of Opinion that it may not, neither is it neceſſary.

My Reaſon is, for that I find many Bills to paſs without Commitment, and ſome at the ſecond Reading in the Times of *Henry the Eighth*, *Edward the Sixth*, and Queen *Eliſabeth.*

But now the conſtant Order is to read every Bill, ſave the Pardon, three Times.

And the general Voice, to commit the Bill at the ſecond Reading, ſhews that the Lords do conceive ſome Doubt thereof, though none move any.

The Manner how Committees are named.

THE Number of each Bench being agreed, they are named, *promiſcue*, by any of the Lords, but the Clerk is to be careful to ſet down thoſe whom he hears firſt named; which is done in this Manner:

Firſt, the Earls are named, and thoſe that ſit on that Bench.

The

The Clerk, having written them, ſtands up and reads their Names.

Then the Biſhops, and then the Barons, in like Manner.

And, if the Clerk happen to ſet down more than the Number agreed on, it is in the Liberty of the Houſe to take out the latter, and ſo to leave the juſt Number, or to admit them.

Then, the Houſe names the Attendants, which are of the Judges, the King's learned Council, and the Maſters of the Chancery.

The Clerk reads their Names alſo.

The laſt is the Time and Place, where to meet; which being agreed on, and ſet down, the Clerk reads that alſo.

Who may not be Committees, and who ought to be.

IF any Lord ſpeak againſt the Body of the Bill, he is not to be named of the Committee of the ſame Bill.

No abſent Lord is to be of any Committee, unleſs Officers of State, when the Bill or Buſineſs concerns their Offices. And, then, they are to be named, and to have Notice ſent them thereof.

V. Anno 1 *Jac.* 14 *Junii*, Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage.

That Lord, which moveth any Doubt, concerning the Bill, ought alſo to be named, and to be of the Committee, if he be preſent.

This is alſo a received Opinion, and often in Practice; and the Clerk ought to be attentive, and hearken after the Names of ſuch Lords.

The Number of the Committees being agreed on, named, and read; the Clerk delivers the Bill, with a Note of the Committee affixed, unto the firſt of the Committee then preſent.

The Committees being met, though not all, yet if the better Half, they may proceed.

Anno 18 *&* 19 *Jac.* 30 *Nov.* It is ordered that, if ten or upwards of any Committee do meet, though not the one Half of their Number, they may proceed notwithſtanding.

At the Committee, the Judges and other Attendants do neither ſit, nor are covered, unleſs it be out of Favour; and then they ſit behind, but are never covered.

One of the Attendants reads the Bill, and writes the Amendments, if any, in Paper, with Directions to the Places to be amended.

And, if any Addition or Proviſo be conceived, he writes the ſame in Paper alſo, with Directions, where they are to be placed.

Any other Member of the Houſe may be preſent at this Committee; but they may not vote: And muſt give Place to all of the Committee, and ſit below them.

If the Buſineſs be not diſpatched, at the firſt Meeting, the Committees themſelves may appoint another Day.

V. An. 4 *Jac.* 26 *Febr.*

But this muſt be done, before their Departure.

Council heard at the Committee.

AT this Committee, if it be a private Bill, they will not only call both Parties before them, but hear their Council.

Wherein this Order is obſerved, that the Council, who ſpeaks againſt the Bill, is heard firſt, for it is already underſtood, what the Bill deſires.

And either Part may deſire to have their Council heard in the Houſe; which, being reported by the Committee, is ſo ordered.

There alſo the Council, againſt the Bill, ſpeaks firſt.

And, for publick Bills, Council is alſo heard, if any oppoſe it.

And, if a publick Bill concern any Officer, Corporation, or particular Perſon, or any Artificers, they are uſually ſent for to attend the Committee.

The Bill reported by a Committee to the Houſe.

THE Committee, or greater Part, being agreed, what Report to make to the Houſe.

The firſt of the Committees, that was preſent, makes Report thereof ſtanding, and uncovered, with the Bill in his Hand.

And all the reſt of that Committee, then preſent, ſtand up, and are uncovered; whereby, they ſignify their *Aſſent* unto the ſaid Report.

The Report being ended, he delivers the Bill and the Amendments, Addition and Proviſo, if any, unto the Clerk, who goes from his Seat, and receives the ſame from his Lordſhip.

If the Report be for the Bill to ſleep, it is ſo ordered and entered by the Clerk in the Journal Book, and endorſed *on the Bill alſo.*

If Amendments, Additions, or Proviſo's be reported, when the Houſe orders the ſame to be read, they are read on this Manner, by the Clerk, *viz.* The Amendments of the Bill, *&c.* reciting the Title thereof, or the Additions or Proviſo's to be added to the Bill, *&c.* And ſo reads the ſame, as they are in the Paper delivered by the Committee.

Then, the Clerk delivers the ſame, kneeling, unto the Lord Chancellor, having firſt endorſed on the Amendments, &c. 1 *Vice lecta.*

His Lordſhip firſt reads the Title of the Bill. Then that the ſame is returned by the Committees amended thus, *viz.* In ſuch a Line between ſuch a Word and ſuch a Word inſert theſe Words, *&c.*

Or, in ſuch a Line, put out this Word, *&c.* and ſaith further, before it was thus, and now it is thus.

If Additions and Proviſo's are only reported, and no Amendments, then, his Lordſhip firſt recites the Title of the Bill; then, that it was committed and returned with ſuch or ſuch Additions, or Proviſo's, and ſo repeats the Effect thereof briefly.

This being done, the Lord Chancellor demands, Whether their Lordſhips be pleaſed, that their Amendments, *&c.* ſhall receive a ſecond Reading? And, if ſo agreed on,

The Clerk receives the Bill, with the Amendments, *&c.* of his Lordſhip, and reads the ſame again, and endorſeth on the Amendments, *&c.* 2 *Vice lecta.*

And, kneeling, delivers the ſame unto the Lord Chancellor again.

His Lordſhip reads the ſame, thus:

Firſt, recites the Title of the Bill, then, that it hath been committed and returned with Amendments, *&c.* the which Amendments have been twice read. And demands their Lordſhips Pleaſure, if the Bill began above, Whether the Bill ſhall be engroſſed with the ſaid Amendments, *&c.* or no? And, if Anſwer be made affirmatively, and no Lord ſpeak againſt it: Then it is ſo ordered to be done; and the Clerk receives the Bill again, and endorſeth on the ſaid Amendments to be engroſſed; if the Bill be ſent from the Commons, then the Lord Chancellor demands their Lordſhips Pleaſure, Whether the ſaid Bill, and Amendments, *&c.* ſhall be read the third Time or no?

At the ſecond Reading, any of the Committee may ſpeak againſt the Body of the Bill, or againſt the Amendments, *&c.* before they be engroſſed. *V. An.* 39. *Eliſ.* 24 *Jan.* This was debated, but not then determined. But *An.* 43 *Eliſ.* 12 *Nov.* it was reſolved by the Houſe.

RECOMMITTED.

THE Bill being thus reported by the Committee: If any Doubt be moved, and the Houſe think good then, before the Amendments be ordered to be engroſſed, or ordered to have a third Reading, the ſame may be recommitted, either to the former Committees only, or to the ſame and others.

If the Committee find the Bill ſo imperfect that it can hardly be amended,

Then they may, without further Order from the Houſe, frame a new Bill.

Which is moſt commonly done, by one of the Attendants.

This new Bill being agreed on and returned with the old Bill to the Houſe, and the Cauſe thereof reported by the Committee, the old Bill ſleeps.

And,

And the Lord Chancellor demands of the Lords, Whether they be pleaſed, that the new Bill ſhall be read or no? Which is done accordingly.

If any Doubt be conceived of the new Bill, the ſame may alſo be committed, as the former was recommitted.

Or, after the ſecond Reading, the Houſe may order a third Bill to be framed. *V. An.* 1 *Jacobi* 4 *Junii*, Recuſants: But, after the third Reading, this is not now done.

The third Reading.

The Clerk firſt reads the Title, and then reads the Bill, and delivers the ſame to the Lord Chancellor, in Manner, as before, having firſt endorſed 3 *An. V. lecta.*

His Lordſhip repeats the Title only, and ſays, This is the third Reading of this Bill.

If no Lord ſpeak againſt it, then his Lordſhip demands, Whether he ſhall put it to the Queſtion? Which being agreed on, or not denied,

The Queſtion is thus:

Such of your Lordſhips, as are of Opinion, that this Bill is fit to paſs, or ſhall paſs, ſay, Content.

They, which are of another Opinion, ſay, Not content.

Then, the loweſt Baron begins, and ſaith, Content, or Not content, without any more Words. And ſo they proceed in Order to the firſt Baron.

Then the Biſhops.

Then the Viſcounts, and Earls, and thoſe, that ſit on the Earl's Bench, in like Manner.

The Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, if he be a Baron, Earl, or Biſhop, removes to the firſt Place, on the Earl's Bench, and giveth his Voice, Content, or Not content.

The *Prince*, if preſent, ſpeaks laſt; if any Doubt be of the moſt Voices, then, one Lord who ſaid Content, and another Lord, who ſaid, Not content, are appointed to number them by the Poll, which they do in this Manner:

They go together to the Barons Bench, and every Lord, who ſaid, Content, ſtands up. Then the Biſhops and Earls Bench, in like Manner.

Then, they return again to the Barons Bench; and every Lord, who ſaid, Not content, ſtandeth up; and ſo of the Biſhops and Earls.

And, according to the Relation, it is agreed, whether Content, or Not content, had the more Voices.

And the Bill doth paſs, or is rejected accordingly.

This Order is obſerved in all Queſtions.

Upon Examining of the Votes, the Proxies of the abſent Lords may be demanded, and ſuch Lords as gave their own Vote, with the Queſtion, may give his Proxies, againſt it, *Prout.*

Nova Billa.

IF the Bill, began below, be committed, and a new Bill brought in by the Committee,

When the ſame is paſt, by the Lords, it is to be returned to the Commons, together with the old.

Hereof are many Precedents, *temporibus H. 8. E. 6. Eliſ.* And one 4 *Jac.* 27 *May. pro Comite Darby.*

So likewiſe the Commons are to do, if they make a new Bill.

But, if the Commons ſend up a new Bill, and the Lords read the ſame, and reject it, the Commons cannot ſend up another Bill of the ſame Argument, in the ſame Seſſion; *V. An.* 3 *Jacobi* 27 *May.* Purveyors.

If the Lords paſs a Bill, and ſend it to the Commons, and they reject the ſame, without Conference with the Lords, they cannot ſend up a new Bill of the ſame Argument, in the ſame Seſſion; *V. An.* 29 *Eliz.* 22 *Martii*, *Handford*'s Bill. But note this new Bill was ſent up without the old, otherwiſe, I conceive, it had been according to Order.

And I ſuppoſe the Reaſon to be, for that the Lords will not proceed in a new Bill, before they underſtand what is become of the old, which they formerly paſſed: Nor unleſs they may alſo have by them the former Bill.

And therefore, either a Conference, or the old Bill to be returned, is neceſſary.

The ſame Order is obſerved, if the Commons ſend up a Bill to the Lords.

Amendments, and Additions, or Proviſo's added afterwards, how lawful.

V. *An.* 27 *Eliſ. Decembris* 17. The Commons ſent up a Bill, for the *Sabbath-Day*, to the Lords, who paſſed the ſame with Amendments, and ſo returned it to the Commons: They ſent it back to the Lords, with new Amendments, who rejected the ſame as againſt Order.

It ſeems the Commons had ſome Conference with the Lords concerning the ſame; for afterwards, in the ſame Parliament, the Third of *March*, it is thus entered, *viz.*

Memorandum, That this Day were choſen for Committees, to examine the Record touching Paſſing Amendments of Amendments, moved to the ſame by the Lower Houſe, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Viſcount *Mountague*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and Mr. Attorney, about the Bill for the better Obſerving of the *Sabbath-day*.

The Precedents they named were the Bills for Treaſons, and Bringing in of Bills, Acts paſſed in *Anno* 13. of the Queen.

But theſe Precedents appear not in the Journal of the Upper Houſe.

It ſhould ſeem, that the Lords were then ſatisfied, and ſignified the ſame unto the Commons; for afterwards, 6 *Martii*, the Commons returned the ſame again with Amendments of Amendments, which the Lords publickly read three Times, and paſſed the ſame.

Vide the Journal of the Lower Houſe, 22 *Febr. Fol.* 97 & 99. That the Commons deſired the Lords, that Search might be made in the Upper Houſe, for Precedents touched by them of the Lower Houſe, and reported by the Committee. That, upon Search of Precedents, their Houſe might add to the Lords former Additions to a Bill *pro Billa* Sabbath-day. *Vide tamen Anno* 39 *Eliſ.* 14 *Jan.* The Lords having returned to the Commons their Bill for Houſes of Correction with Amendments and Proviſo's, the Commons prayed a Conference touching the ſaid Amendments and Proviſo's.

The Lords yielded to the Conference thus far, to ſatisfy the Commons what moved their Lordſhips to make thoſe Amendments, with this Caution, that nothing can now be altered by the Order of this Houſe.

Amendments upon Amendments were very uſual in the Times of *H.* VIII. and Queen *Mary*, *prout An.* 32 *H.* VIII. 2 *Jul.* & 5, 12, 19, 21, 22, & 24 *Jul. Billa annexorum honori de Petworth.*

An. 32 *H.* VIII. 7 *Martii* & 4, 5, 6. 10, & 18. *Martii Billæ* concerning the Firſt Articles.

An. 35 *H.* VIII. 4 *Martii*, &c.
Billa for the Lords Decrees.

An. 37 *H.* VIII. 27 *Nov.* &c.
Billa pro Cuſtode Rotulorum, &c.

An. 6 *H.* VIII. 15 *Martii* & *ſeq*; 3 *April. Billa Ducis Suff.*

An. 4 & 5 *Phil.* & *Mar.* 18 *Febr.* &c. *Billa* for Muſters.

Anno 31 *H.* VIII. 10 *Junii.* The Bill for the Firſt Articles is ſent to the Commons, 14 *Junii*; it is returned with a Proviſo, and expedited, 16 *Junii*: And, 24 *Junii*, the Lords and Commons agree to ſome Amendments. Afterwards the 27 *Junii*, the Lords agree to another Proviſo, and ſend it with the Proviſo to the Commons, 28 *Junii*, who returned the Bill expedited the ſame Day in the Afternoon.

Anno 37 *H.* VIII. The Bill for the *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, returned from the Commons with a Proviſo, rejected by the Lords, and ſent back to the Commons, and returned by them expedited, without the Proviſo, 16 & 18 *Decembris.*

Anno 4 *Jac.* 29 *Junii.* The Lords having returned to the Commons their Bill of Hoſtile Laws, with Amendments, and a Proviſo, the Commons prayed a Conference for Conſideration thereof.

At the Conference they moved, that they may clear their Doubt of the ſaid Amendments and Proviſo, either by Amendment, or by another Proviſo; of which Kind of Proceeding, they affirmed they had good Precedents of former Times in like Caſe.

And, accordingly, they did amend the ſame: And the Lords paſſed the Bill after the third Reading thereof. *Vid. ib. Junii & in pomeridiano.*

Amendment of the Amendments, how lawful.

THE Amendments of a Bill coming from the Commons, as hath been ſaid, are to be written in Paper, and to be inſerted into the Bill by the Commons, at the Return thereof unto them. And, if the Commons do think fit, that thoſe Amendments be amended, they are to ſignify ſo much to the Lords, and to move their Lordſhips to amend their own Amendments, before the ſame be inſerted in the Bill. *Vide* the Journal of the Lower Houſe. *Anno* 27 *Eliſ.* 10 *Martii*, *fol.* 132.

Divers Lords were of Opinion the laſt Parliament, *Anno* 18 & 19 *Jac.* That a Bill might be amended after the third Reading.

But, in the ſame Parliament, 27 *Novembris*, in the Bill for Suits, and 1 *Decembris*, in the Bill for Monopolies, it was agreed, *per plures*; but the Queſtion for it was denied, that it was againſt the Orders of the Houſe to recommit a Bill after the third Reading.

Yet it was agreed, that a Bill might have a ſmall Amendment after the third Reading, with which agreeth that *Anno* 27 *Eliſ.* 13 *Martii*. In the Bill for Proviſion to be made for the Queen's Royal Perſon, *&c.* which was thus amended after the third Reading, and before it was put to the Queſtion, *viz.* in the 24th Line, after this Word (left) put out (ſo as) and in Place thereof put in (foreſeeing that). And ſuch ſmall Amendments are uſual after the third Reading. *E.* IV.

A Proviſo added, after the third Reading, not uſual now.

ANNO 35 *Eliz.* 9 *April.* A Saving of the Queen's Right, and all Men's Right, added to the Bill for repealing of certain Uſes, and concerning the Lands of *Anthony Coke*, Eſq; was added to the Bill after the third Reading and Queſtion.

This Bill was ſent up by the Commons, 28 *Martii*, & 6 *April.* it was read the third Time, and expedited. The Saving was added, the 9th of *April*, with this Caution, that the Lords, upon weighty Conſiderations, have ordered, that this ſhall not hereafter be drawn to make any Precedent. Then the Bill was returned to the Commons, who ſent it up the ſame Day expedited.

According to this Order of *Anno* 35 *Eliſ.* the Houſe hath forborne to add any Thing to the Bill after the third Reading *prout. Anno* 3. *Jac.* 13. *Martii* 3 *Vice lecta eſt Billa*, for the Eſtabliſhing of the Poſſeſſions of *Edmund*, late Lord *Chandois* of *Sudley*. And ordered, that the Lady *Chandois* ſhall give Security for the Payment of ſeven-thouſand Pounds to her Daughter *Catharine*, before the Bill be ſent to the Commons; for that the ſame is not ſufficiently provided for by the Bill.

15 *Martii*, this is referred to Mr. Juſtice *Tanfeild*, and Mr. Juſtice *Crook*, and they to acquaint the Lord Committees that were named on the Bill with the Cauſe by them adviſed on: That the Lords might proceed for the Security, as they ſhould find Cauſe.

27 *Martii*. This Bill, with others, is ſent down to the Commons, with a Recommendation from their Lordſhips, to be had by them touching Aſſurance to be given for the ſaid Portion, which was not remembered to their Lordſhips until the Bill was paſſed this Houſe.

But this Order was not thus nicely obſerved, *tempore H.* VIII. *Anno* 6. *H.* VIII. 1 *Martii Billa concernens debita Regia lecta eſt* 3.

3 *Martii lecta eſt* 4, & *Domini delibera-bunt.*

15 *Martii lecta eſt* 5.

16 *Martii lecta eſt.*

20 *Martii lecta eſt, & Domini deputaverunt principalem Juſticiorum & ad confiniendum quendam effectum pro ſecuritate regia pro debitis ſuis obtinendis.*

Here it appears, that, at the third Reading, the Lords not being agreed, the Bill was read again the fourth Time, yea, and the ſixth and ſeventh Times, and at laſt the Lords appointed a new Bill to be drawn.

There are many Precedents that Bills have been read oftener than thrice in that King's Time, and of *E.* VI; by which it appears, that Bills might then be recommitted after the third Reading. *Vide* my Collection of thoſe Times, which I will not here relate; for that it is now conſtantly obſerved to read Bills but thrice.

A Pro-

A Proviſo added by the one Houſe, and deſired to be taken away by the other Houſe, whether lawful.

THIS was uſual in former Times, yet in the Parliament 21 *Jac.* 21 *May.* the Lords having returned unto the Commons their Bill for Eaſe of Pleading of Licenſe of Alienations, *&c.* with a Proviſo, the Commons miſliking of the Proviſo deſired a Conference, and moved to have the Proviſo taken away; and, ſome doubting and others affirming that this could not be done by the Orders of the Houſe, the Commons framed a new Bill to that Purpoſe, without a Proviſo, and ſent it up to the Lords the next Morning, and with it returned the old Bill, and the Lords paſſed this new Bill.

Anno 3 *H.* VIII. 24 *die Parliamenti Billa concernens Coriarios lecta eſt primo, &c.* ſent to the Commons, *&* 29 *die Parliamentum aſſentitum eſt, dempta additione.*

Anno 6 *H.* VIII. 31 *die Martii Billa Ducis Suff. remiſſa eſt in domum communem, & duæ proviſiones eidem prius per Communes annexæ abſtrahuntur, & eodem die recepta eſt, ablatis proviſionibus prius annexis.*

Anno 1 *&* 2 *Ph. & Mar.* The Bill for the Supremacy of *Rome*, 4 *Jan.* a Proviſo added by the Commons miſliked, a new Bill made, and the old taken away by the Commons, at the Lords Requeſt.

Anno 4 *&* 5 *Ph. & Mar.* The Bill of Muſters, returned from the Commons with two Proviſo's, and ſent back to have them taken away, and returned again with certain Corrections mentioned in a Schedule, expedited 4 *&* 6 *Martii & prout M.* 6 *May.*

Robert Earl of *Eſſex*'s Ghoſt; ſent from *Elyſium*, to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*.

Virtutum Comes Invidia.

Printed in *Paradiſe*, 1624. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

Nobles, Gentlemen, and Commons.

ALTHOUGH, in this moſt holy and glorious Aſſembly of Angels and Saints, in the moſt high *Star-chamber* Court of Heaven, where Almighty God, and his Son *Chriſt Jeſus*, are King and Prince, we, the Saints, do neither participate, nor ſympathiſe, of the good or evil Conditions of you Mortals on Earth; yet, ſeeing it is a Part of that Glory, that God affordeth us in Heaven, to have a Meaſure of Knowledge of your Condition on Earth; and I, particularly, taking Knowledge of the miſerable and diſtracted preſent State of the formerly flouriſhing Realm of *England*, in the Days of my then dread Sovereign, now Fellow-ſaint, Queen *Eliſabeth*, of bleſſed and immortal Memory on Earth, and in Heaven; could do no leſs, than give you this my ſacred Declaration, and Admoniſhment, which I ſend you, by this my bleſſed Genius, written with a Pen, made of an Angel's Pinion, and agreeing with my Apology, which I left behind me on Earth, in mine own Defence, and for the Good of my Country, after my Deceaſe.

The lawful Succeſſion of your now King, when I was amongſt you on Earth, I never queſtioned, but maintained, and was ever ready to maintain, with Dint of my Sword, if Need had been, his Title, againſt whomſoever

ſoever offered to queſtion the ſame, as was, and is well known to his Majeſty. That he was a prudent, learned, and religious educated Prince, I alſo never doubted; but that ſuch a prudent, learned, and religious Prince ſhould be ſo far miſled, by ſome falſe-hearted Counſellors at Home, and fawning foreign Ambaſſadors, from the Enemies of God and his Goſpel, profeſſed in *England*, to the Detriment of the Kingdom; that, I ſay, makes me not a little to marvel, and mourn I ſhould, for my native Country, but that here, in Heaven, we are not ſubject to Paſſion.

Upon my certain Knowledge, notwithſtanding all the fair Shew of League and Amity, betwixt *James*, King of *Scots*, and *Philip*, King of *Spain*, the Crown of *Scotland* was no longer ſafe on King *James*'s Head, than whilſt my ſovereign Lady, and Miſtreſs, Queen *Eliſabeth*, by her valiant Men of Action, curbed King *Philip*, and kept him in Awe; for, had his ambitious, wicked, and deviliſh Deſign, of *England*'s Invaſion, in 1588, taken Effect, Is there any ſo childiſh, to think, that his Invaſion would have had any Period at *Barwick*? Sure I am, King *James* had Wiſdom enough, to know that his Crown and Kingdom lay then at the Stake, in the ſecond Place, next unto *England*. For King *James*, then of *Scotland*, made a ſweet Sonnet, as a Monument, and Commemoration, of his and our Deliverance, from that foreign and godleſs Fleet, as he then termed it; which Sonnet, as I then received it, I here preſent unto your View and Conſideration:

The Nations banded 'gainſt the Lord of Might,
Prepar'd a Force, and ſet them to the Way:
Mars dreſs'd himſelf in ſick and awful Plight,
The like whereof was never ſeen, they ſay:
They forwards came, in monſtrous Aray,
Both Sea and Land, beſet us every where;
Brags threaten'd us a ruinous Decay,
What came of that? The Iſſue did declare:
The Winds began to toſs them here and there,
The Seas began, in foaming Waves, to ſwell;
The Number, that eſcap'd it, fell them fair,
The reſt were ſwallowed up in Gulfs of Hell.
But how were all theſe Things miraculous done?
God looks at them, out of his heavenly Throne.

[The ſame Sonnet is extant in *Latin*, by *Metellanus*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*.]

Matters ſo ſtanding, the Marvel is, That, upon the mature Shutting in of the Evening of your long Summer's Day, of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign, King *James* lawfully and peaceably ſucceeding to the Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, he ſo ſuddenly concludes, as it were, an inviolable League with that ambitious King *Philip* of *Spain*, that never made League with any King, Prince, or State, but for his own End and Advantage.

If I were on Earth, I know ſome of you would anſwer me, King *James* was a peaceable Prince, and ſo loved to be at Peace and in Amity with other Chriſtian Princes: Yea, and it ſeems, your King himſelf is much affected with the very Name of Peace, alledging, That he hath been a peaceable King from his Cradle; that *Beati Pacifici* is his happy deſtined Motto; and, with ſuch like ſelf-pleaſing Songs, hath, a long Time, ſung a *Requiem* to himſelf, *&c.* I muſt confeſs, it is a happy Thing for Chriſtian and Religious Kings, Princes, and States, to be at Peace, in Unity, and Amity, one with another. But, on the other Side, it is an unhappy and dangerous Thing to have League or Amity with *Roman* Catholick Kings, and Princes, who are, I ſay, ſworn and profeſſed Enemies to God, and his Goſpel, as was, and is this great Catholick King, *Philip*, and his *Auſtrian-Caſtilian* Family.

When I was a Servant to my Prince and Country on Earth, my Affection, in Nature, was indifferent, *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*; and I was more inflamed with the Love of Knowledge, than the Love of Fame; which ſome of your * Men of State, and great Place, yet living, that know my Heart, can bear me Witneſs.

But my noble and religious Father †, *Walter*, Earl of *Eſſex*, upon his Death-bed,

* *Henry*, Earl of *Southampton*, &c. † He died Earl Marſhal of *Ireland*, *An.* 1576.

gave

gave me, in Precept, three main and weighty Matters, *viz. Firſt*, To ſerve God, according to his Ordinance in his Word. *Secondly*, To obey my Prince. *Thirdly*, To love and ſerve my Country; unto which he added, To beware of, and to hate all Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry. All which he religiouſly enlarged, and preſſed unto me; the more, in regard of my tender, youthful, and unripe Years. Which Swan-like Song of my dear Parent took ſo deep an Impreſſion in me, that I, being called by my Sovereign, the Queen, and, being but a Youth, ſhe was pleaſed to call me her Boy, to ſerve her Majeſty, and my Country, did the willinger yield, and obey my Prince's Command, and entered into Action.

Firſt, In the Year of our Lord, 1585, and the Nineteenth of my pupil Age, I went, with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, my Father-in-Law, into the *Netherlands*, where I had the honourable Charge of General of the Horſe, in a fair Army; where I ventured my Life, and ſubjected myſelf to many Kinds of Wants, diſagreeing with my Education and Years, *&c.* which I did, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Secondly, In the Year 1589, I enterpriſed my Voyage into *Portugal*, with a poor, diſtreſſed, and exiled King, Don *Antonio*, whom I, many Times, with Pity, heard repeat, with Tears, the Story of his Oppreſſions, by *Philip* King of *Spain*; who, by Force and Tyranny, had uſurped his Crown of *Portugal*; alſo, conſidering the Enemy againſt whom I went, an inſolent, cruel, and uſurping Prince, that diſturbed the Common-peace, was a general Enemy to the Liberty of all *Chriſtendom*, and, in particular, aſpired the Conqueſt of my Country; and the Cauſe I went for, was to deliver the Oppreſſed out of the Hands of the Oppreſſor, and, by giving the *Caſtilian* his Handful at Home, to free both mine own Country, and our Confederates, from the Fear and Danger of his Attempts: And, *laſtly*, a Time in which I went, when my Eyes, full of Diſdain, had ſo lately ſeen his, falſely called, *Invincible Armada* ſail by our Shore; when all the brave Hearts, in *England*, boiled, till they ſaw that inſolent Enemy taught, both to know himſelf, and value us. And, had the *Portugueſe* riſen, and aſſiſted me, I ſhould have gone nigh to have plucked *Portugal*'s Crown off the Uſurper's Head, and placed it on the lawful King's Head; but they, for Fear of *Philip*, were faithleſs to *Antonio*: Yet, in that my Voyage, what I attempted, to aid the wronged and baniſhed King, and for Honour of my Prince and Country, if you know it not, let your Chronicles reſolve you.

Thirdly, In the Year 1591, I conducted, and was General, of her Majeſty, my Sovereign's Succours, to *Henry* the *French* King; a Prince, who, for his admirable Valour, and often Fighting with his own Hands, againſt his Enemies, was not only the moſt famous, but the moſt renowned and redoubted Captain of *Chriſtendom*: And the End of that my Service, was, to free the maritime Parts of *Normandy* from the Hands of the League and Power of the *Spaniard*, thereby, he, our Enemy, ſhould find leſs Succour, or Favour, in thoſe Seas, *&c.* This, alſo, was done, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Fourthly, In the Year 1596, I undertook my *Spaniſh* Voyage to *Cadiz*, where, not only I ſoon ſeized on, ſacked, and burnt the Town, and inriched my Followers and Soldiers, but we burnt his beſt Shipping, and brought away his Ordnance, and ſome Ships, deſtroying his Sea Proviſions; yea, put him to ſuch Charge and Loſs, as he, ſhortly after, played Bankrupt with all his Creditors, *&c.* And this, likewiſe, I did, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Fifthly, In the Year 1597, my *Spaniſh* Voyage towards the *Tercera*'s was intended, with her Majeſty's Leave, and, by her Command, for *Fayall*, to aſſail the Adelantado there, and thither I ſhaped my Courſe; and, had it been proſperous and fortunate, I had made my Sovereign ſuch an abſolute Queen of the Ocean, and diſarmed, and diſabled the Enemy at Sea, as that ſhe might either have forced him to any Conditions of Peace, or made War on him, to her infinite Advantage, and his utter Ruin.

But that my Deſign was fatally fruſtrated, by violent and long Tempeſts, which took us in the Height of forty-ſix Degrees, which ſcattered our Fleet, diſabled, and almoſt drowned moſt of our principal Ships; and, when we could no longer bear it up againſt the Wind, drove us back, upon our own Coaſt,

and,

and, to what a deſperate Caſe my own Ship was brought, there Witneſſes were enough; my Attempts and Endeavours were never the leſs, my Danger, and Endurance of Hardneſs the more, *&c.* and all for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

When *Philip*, King of *Spain*, that mortal Enemy of my Prince and Country, who had made many Attempts and Aſſaults upon us, failed, and was fruſtrated in all; then he begged, of the Pope, my Sovereign's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and ſent his Baſtard Brother, Don *John d'Aquila*, to take Poſſeſſion of it.

But this Meſſenger, a Viceroy in his Conceit, was ſoon ſent back, with an *Engliſh* Flea in his *Spaniſh* Ear, that made ſuch a Buzzing in his Head, that, either with that, or elſe by a *Spaniſh* Fig, the good Don, diſcontentedly, departed this Life, in ſhort Time after his Return into *Spain*.

At length, and it was my laſt Voyage, by Command of my Sovereign, I was made, and ſent Lord-General into *Ireland* of all her Majeſty's Forces; and there, when I had begun to ſubjugate thoſe head-ſtrong Rebels, and brought their Ring-leader, that notable Rebel *Tyrone*, upon his Knees: I was forced, abruptly, to return back into *England*, and my Commiſſion was conferred upon another Nobleman *, my Inferior, who was ſent over, to wade againſt thoſe Rebels, after I had broken the Ice beforehand; and he had the Honour, happily, to perform, what I had carefully, and painfully, projected and intended. In the Interim, the fatal Thread of my mortal Life was almoſt ſpun, and my Glaſs nigh run through; my Enemies laying many heinous Crimes to my Charge, and, therewith abuſing my Sovereign's Ears, and incenſing her ſacred Majeſty againſt me.

But, beloved Mortals, it is not my Meaning, neither would I have you expect it, to touch the Injury of the Times, in that my latter Time, nor the State-Faction of Men in Place, my then Enemies: I forbear to touch alſo, how, by the Machinations of Men, my gracious Sovereign was forced to ſign the Haſtening of my Death: For, before my Head was ſevered from my Shoulders (with which Stroke my immortal Soul was ſeparated from my mortal Body) I forgave them all, and left my Cauſe to God, to whom Vengeance is due; and certainly, my God hath been thoroughly avenged of them all, my Enemies, to their Diſhonour and Diſgrace upon Earth; yea, before Men and Angels. And all was but like an impetuous Storm, to haſten my Arriving in the Harbour of Heaven: Here, where there is no Room for Revenge, nor aught elſe but holy Love; which hath moved me to ſend you, of my *quondam* Country, this my Declaration or Diſcourſe, call it what you will; wherein, I liſt not neither to meddle with the *Arcana imperii*, of your King and State, further than ſhall beſeem a zealous Patriot, that tendereth ſtill, and wiſheth the Welfare and flouriſhing State of his once dear and native Country.

And now, well-beloved *Engliſhmen*, in the Premiſſes I have given you a brief Account of my Life, and, as it were, an Epitome of my Time-ſpending on Earth: In which Employments, I impaired my hereditary Eſtate, loſt my dear and only † Brother, the half Arch of my Houſe, and buried alſo many of my neareſt and deareſt Friends; ſubjected myſelf to the Rage of the Sea's Violence, general Plagues, Famine, and all Kind of Wants; Diſcontentments of undiſciplined and unruly Multitudes, and Reception of all Events; and all, for the Honour and Renown of my gracious Prince, and dear Country, keeping in Mind my Father's Charge: *Sic tota* Britannia *Teſtis*.

Now, beloved Mortals, let me come more nearly to counſel and adviſe with you: Firſt, That the *Spaniſh* King's revengeful Humour was inſatiable, appeared, when, in my Time *Anno* 1597, when he came newly out of a Trance, which was thought would have been his laſt Swoon, he asked (the firſt Word that he ſpoke) whether the *Adelantado* were gone for *England*; and, if Remorſe of Conſcience would have quenched his Thirſt of Revenge, he would not, a little before his Death, in his Devotions, being all Maſs, have *vowed to be revenged on* England, *though he ſold all thoſe Candleſticks upon the Altar before him*.

Secondly, That all Treaties with *Spain* (an idolatrous and irreligious Nation) were both unſafe and dangerous, I proved by unanſwerable Arguments in my *Apology*, Pages 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. And, how *injurious the zealous Peace-makers of thoſe Times* were to the State, I proved, Pages

* *Charles*, Lord *Mountjoy*. † Mr. *Walter Devereux*, ſlain at the Siege of *Rouen*, 1591.

35, 36. *How neceſſary, gainful, and honourable it was, for the State of* England, *to have Wars with* Spain, I proved Pages 36, 37, and ſo to the End of my *Apology*. But ſome of you haply will now ſay, That, now, the Times are changed; and, with the Times, the *Spaniard*'s Mind is altered. Indeed, I remember the old Poet ſaid,

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

But that is quite contrary in the *Spaniard:* For, although old King *Philip* be dead, yet there is a young (jeſuited) *Philip* ſprung from his Loins. It is an old and homely Proverb, *That, which is bred in the Bone, will never out of the Fleſh*; but it is a true and obſervable Saying, and in that Houſe above all others. For, as I told you in my * *Apology:* 'Whenever old King *Philip* ſhould die, his Son's 'Blood would be as hot, and hotter than his 'Father's, and his Humour of Ambition was like 'to be greater, as having been bred *in Domo* '*regnatrice*, and his Mind ſwoln, *vetere & inſita Anſtriacæ familiæ ſuberbia.*' So as, in the *Spaniards* ſeeming peaceable Proffers, there is no Hope, *&c.*

Nay, if it chance there be Infancy, or Idiotiſm, found in any Heir or Offſpring of that Race, the State of *Spain* are politick enough, as being ſworn thereunto (though by never ſo diſhonourable and degenerate Machinations) to promote the Enlargement of his Weſtern Monarchy. And certainly, he having of late Years, ſince the Death of my Sovereign Lady *Eliſabeth*, gotten ſuch a Footing in *Chriſtendom*, by diſpoſſeſſing of and incroaching upon ſome Princes and States, their ancient and lawful Inheritance, Princedoms, and Territories, by which Means he hath, as it were, begirt *France* with his Gariſons: Is, I ſay, his Ambition thereby leſſened? Surely, no; but, as his Conqueſts are enlarged, ſo his Ambition and Malice are abundantly increaſed towards other Chriſtian Princes and States: Witneſs his late cruel and bloody Attempts, and perpetual Deſigns to his univerſal Monarchy; and the Progreſs of his Conqueſts, with the Help of his Confederates of the (terreſtrial) omnipotent *Auſtrian* Houſe; in *Italy*, the *Griſons* Country, *Switzerland*, *Bohemia*, *Germany*, and I ſay, the Frontiers of flouriſhing *France*, ſince the Death of *Henry the Fourth*, the *French* King, of famous Memory. And, in all theſe Places, he and the Emperor, his Confederate and Couſin, do labour to extirpate the Goſpel, and perſecute the Profeſſors thereof, even unto the Death.

It would be known, what King *James* ſaith to all this; who is Defender of the Faith, and Head of all the united Kings and Princes of that Religion in *Chriſtendom*.

There is here, in Heaven, ſecret Intelligence, that he, not contenting himſelf with making that League with *Spain*, hath alſo entertained a Treaty of Marriage for the Prince his only Son, with the Daughter of *Spain:* And certainly, the very Angels have bluſhed at this News, that your King, who is of ſo profound Judgment, Learning, and Knowledge in divine Matters, ſhould ever aſſent to treat of matching his only Son, with a Wife of a contrary Religion; eſpecially, with an Imp ſprung from ſuch an inceſtuous Generation, as is that of *Auſtria* and *Spain*, or *Spain* and *Auſtria*, chuſe you whether, which is unanſwerably proved by one of your moſt acute and ingenious † Writers. Without Doubt, King *James* cannot but know in his Conſcience, that it is directly againſt the revealed Will of God in Holy Writ, for Chriſtian Princes and People that profeſs the Goſpel, to match with *Roman* Catholicks; which made himſelf match with *Denmark*'s Daughter, a Proteſtant Princeſs, and afterwards he matched his only Daughter with the Count *Palatine*, a Proteſtant Prince; witneſs alſo his Majeſty's own Pen, in *Baſilicon Doron*.

How comes it then to paſs, that he is ſo miſled, as not only to entertain this Treaty with *Spain*, but ſuffer himſelf to be ſo baffled and abuſed, as that, about the ſaid Treaty, he hath waſted the Treaſure of his Kingdom, in a far greater Meaſure than his royal Predeceſſor Queen *Eliſabeth*, my gracious Sovereign, did to maintain Wars againſt *Spain*, and all his Adherents. I fear, I fear, you of his Nobility and Council (unto whom it belongs) are not ſo faithful, true-hearted, and ſtout, as religiouſly to adviſe, and counſel your King, as you ought, not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo abuſed, his Kingdom to be well-nigh ruined, and his Subjects impoveriſhed.

Oh! the flouriſhing State of your Fairy-Land, in the Days of Yore, whilſt I lived on

* *Apol.* Page 19. † *Sandys*'s Relation of the Weſt Parts, Pages 26, 27.

Earth,

Earth, under the Government of that glorious Queen, of eternal Memory: The Chriſtian World did admire her Government, and your flouriſhing State; nay, the very *Mahometan* * Monarchs did admire and acknowledge the ſame.

But, now, the Caſe is altered, and I can hardly forbear to weep, to ſee what a piteous Petition that glorious Queen, my now fellow Saint *Eliſabeth*, lately received from you the Commons of *England*: But thereof I ſay no more, conſidering ſhe, according to her Commiſſion from the higheſt Power, anſwered that your Petition.

Let me now admoniſh you all, of the Nobility, Gentry, and Comionalty: Firſt, ſeriouſly and yet ſubmiſſively, to exhort and diſſuade your King, to leave off, and abſolutely diſſolve all Treaties of Matches, or whatſoever elſe, with that perfidious and dangerous *Spaniſh* Nation; and, *in Lieu of the Spaniſh* Match, to promote the *Engliſh* Match. What, though *his Majeſty's* Treaſure be drawn deep into, the poor Countryman by theſe late hard Years be impoveriſhed, the Merchandiſe and Trading of your Kingdom much decayed, &c. Yet, if your ſumptuous Buildings, your ſurfeiting Diets, your Prodigality in Garments, your infinite Plate, and coſtly Furniture in your Houſes, and the Pride of your Wives, eſpecially, be conſidered, *England* cannot be thought ſo poor. Can you exceed all Nations in *Chriſtendom* in waſteful Vanities? And, Can you not arm yourſelves againſt one Nation, which you have ever beaten, for your neceſſary Defence? Was *Rome* ſo brave a State, as that the very Ladies, to ſupply the common Treaſure, and to maintain the Wars, deſpoiled themſelves of their coſtly Jewels and rich Ornaments? And, Is *England* become ſo baſe a State, as that the People therein will not beſtow ſome Part of their ſuperfluous Expences, to keep themſelves from Conqueſt and Slavery? (The only End of all *Spain's* Treaties: Witneſs their Treaty of Peace in 88, when, even at that Inſtant, their mighty Navy came to invade us.) Did the godly Kings, and religious People, which you may read of in the Old Teſtament, to maintain the Wars againſt the Enemies of God, ſell the Ornaments of the Temple, and Things conſecrated to holy Uſes? And, Will ye, that have as holy and as warrantable a Cauſe of War, ſpare thoſe Things that you have dedicated to your idle and ſenſual Pleaſures? Could your Nation in thoſe former Ages, when the Country was far poorer than now it is, levy Armies, maintain Wars, atchieve great Conqueſts in *France*, and make their powerful Arms known as far as the *Holy Land*? And is this ſo degenerate an Age, as you will not be able to defend your own Land? No, no, I hope there is yet left ſome Seed of that ancient Virtue: Remember with what Spirit and Alacrity the Gentlemen of *England* did contribute, and put themſelves voluntarily into Action, in my Time on Earth. And, doubtleſs, there will ever be found ſome *Valerii*, who, ſo the State may ſtand and flouriſh, will not care, though they leave not wherewith to bury themſelves; though otherſome bury their Money, not caring in what Eſtate they leave the State.

You had a Queen, in my Time on Earth, who was ever open-handed to Men of Deſert, yet never waſteful in her private Expences; but maintained Armies and Gariſons, not a few, a well-rigged Navy, aſſiſted and lent Money to her neighbouring States. And, Why will ye doubt but with your ſeaſonable Counſel, in a Parliamentary Courſe, the ancient and laudable Courſe of *England*, your King will rather ſell his Plate, and Jewels in the *Tower*, which in my Time were of ineſtimable Value, if yet they be not ſold, nor given away, rather than his People ſhall be undefended? And, ye his People, I hope will turn your gold and ſilver Coats, into Coats of Mail, or iron Jacks; and your ſilver Plate, into iron Corſlets of Plate; rather than your Sovereign and Country ſhall be unſerved. But, What need all this? A free and chearful Contribution to the Wars, according to your Abilities will ſerve the Turn. And ſo, oh noble Prince, and valiant People, agree to go on, the one to ſend forth, the other to lead on God's Armies, to fight his Battles, againſt his and your Enemies; leſt they ſuddenly ſurpriſe you unawares, by ſome new Invaſion; and remember, that the Almighty, as he is a God of Peace, in the Conſcience of his Elect; ſo is he a Man of War to his Enemies, even ſo his Majeſty hath expreſſed himſelf in holy Writ.

Again, in any wiſe beware of diſuniting yourſelves from the united States of the *Ne-*

therlands; for it will be to your infinite Diſadvantage ſo to do: But rather, aſſiſt, cheriſh, and hearten them? They are the beſt Confederates you have. Remember, in what Stead they ſtood you, in that memorable Year 88. And they, being firmly knit unto you, are of more Uſe unto you, than all the Friends you have, or can have in *Chriſtendom*. In my Time on Earth, they were able, upon my certain Knowledge, to find ſixty or eighty-thouſand fighting Soldiers, three-hundred Ships of War, beſides an infinite Number of tranſporting Veſſels, and commodious Ports, that are but a Days Sailing from the very Heart of *England*: Since my Time on Earth, they are increaſed in Men, in Ammunition, in Shipping, and in Wealth; and which ſhould make the Knot of Unity more ſtrong and faſt with you, they were, and are of the ſame true Religion, which you profeſs: And moreover, now, which ſhould not be of leaſt Conſideration, with your King and you: They are, of late Years, Harbourers of the exiled Princes, his Majeſty's Children, who are beaten out of their lawful Inheritance by *Spain* and *Auſtria*.

And, verily, were it not that my Condition here, I ſay, were free from all Paſſions, my very Heart would bleed to think of the deplorable State of *Chriſtendom*; how drunk thoſe two Houſes of *Spain* and *Auſtria* have made themſelves, in the Blood of Chriſtians, Profeſſors of Chriſt's Goſpel; and the very Angels do wonder to ſee how they are ſuffered to go on in their inveterate Malice, and furious Rage, againſt God's Church, and that other Chriſtian Princes do not ſtop the Current of their Fury: Eſpecially, that our King, who is a Profeſſor of the Goſpel, and Faith's great Defender on Earth, is ſo backward in the Buſineſs.

Which conſidered, it is your Parts, eſpecially that are of his Majeſty's Council and Nobility, with faithful Hearts to perſuade, and ſtir him up, not to let the Lion, in his princely Breaſt, any longer to ſleep and ſlumber, but to awake and rouſe up himſelf, and to go forth againſt the *Romiſh* Wolves, and *Spaniſh* Foxes, who have devoured ſo many of Chriſt's Sheep, and laid his Vineyard ſo waſte: Yea, the Blood of the Saints doth continually cry at Heaven's Gates for Vengeance.

To draw to an End, I will not ceaſe to intercede to the Almighty my ever glorious God, that he never denounce the Curſe againſt your King, or you his Nobles, which he once in his Word denounced againſt *Meroz*, &c.

My Concluſion ſtill is, and ſhall be: *Juſtiſſimum iis Bellum quibus neceſſarium, et pia Arma quibus nullum niſi in armis ſpes eſt.* And for an *ultimum Vale*, as in my *Apology*, I adviſed to remember, how *Bernardine Mendoza*, the then Ambaſſador of *Spain*, ſpent his Time here in *England*: So, I now adviſe you, remember how your late *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors have ſpent their Times, and behaved themſelves here in *England*, &c.

The Peace of God, which paſſeth all (earthly) Underſtanding be with you, and dwell in your Hearts.

My Declaration's ended, I muſt no longer ſtay,
Becauſe Heav'ns Cornets ſummon me away:
The bleſſed Choir of Heaven I do hear,
Tuning their Voices to th' Almighty's Ear.

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah.

A Poſtſcript, or a Second Part of Robert, *Earl of* Eſſex's *Ghoſt*.

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England.

THRICE beloved Mortals, I being ſtill ſtudious of your Welfares; and having obtained Leave of the Almighty, I am now to give unto you, and commend unto your Conſideration, a Catalogue, and Commemoration, of ſuch cruel Plots, as were practiſed, in my Time, on Earth, by the King and State of *Spain*, againſt the Queen and State of *England*: Wherein, I will not meddle with Practices and Cruelties to other Nations; and, therefore, I omit to tell you, how far their Cruelties extended to the poor naked *Indians* in *America*; though, I remember, whilſt I was on Earth, I have ſeen a Book, as well in *Engliſh*, as in *Spaniſh* and *Latin*, intitled, The Cruelties and Tyran-

'nies of the *Spaniſh* Colony, perpetrated in 'the *Weſt-Indies*, commonly called the *New-found World*, written in the *Caſtilian* 'Tongue, by the Reverend *Bartholomew de* 'las *Caſas*, a Friar of the Order of St. *Do-minick*, and Biſhop of the Royal Town, 'called *Chiapa*; ſerving as a Warning to the 'twelve United-Provinces of the *Low-Countries*: Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and printed, 'as I take it, in the twenty-fifth Year of the 'happy Reign of that virgin Empreſs, Queen '*Eliſabeth*, my gracious Sovereign.' The lamentable Relation whereof, if you would particularly know, I wiſh you would have Recourſe to the ſaid Book. And, of their Cruelties and Tyrannies, exerciſed by their arch-tyrannous General, Duke *d'Alva*, towards the *Netherlanders*, if you know them not, look but into their Chronicles: And, for their Plots and Practices towards *England*, before my Time, look but into your own Chronicles.

But, before I come to my Catalogue, I muſt commend unto your Conſideration, when I was but an Infant, there came a certain Bull from *Pius Quintus*, that impious Pope of *Rome*, againſt Queen *Eliſabeth*; the Copy of which Bull is, alſo, to be ſeen in your Chronicles; but the Copy of her ſacred Majeſty's Anſwer unto the ſaid Bull, becauſe you have not elſe-where ſeen it, as moſt worthy your Reading, and Obſervation, I here inſert it:

The Lord that reigns on high, in Heaven's Throne,
Doth Kingdoms rule below; 'tis he alone
That Earth doth govern, with high thundering Might,
And moderates the Staff of Kingdoms Right:
'Tis he that guides, with his Almighty Name,
The Wheel of all the univerſal Frame:
'Tis he, that Kings anointed, and elect,
And ſacred Captains ſtrongly will protect.
Why ſhould this bull-head Biſhop, therefore, full
Of Rage, againſt me roar, with brazen Bull,
To pluck me from my ſacred Seat and Throne,
T' out-root the Plant, which Chriſt himſelf hath ſown?
Why doth this *Pius* ſeek, with impious Guilt,
To pull down that, which God himſelf hath built?
Chriſt me anointed, and, anoint, I hope,
Will keep me from the Jaws of this proud Pope;
His powerful Hand hath kept me yet from Harm,
Nor will the Lord make ſhort his out-ſtretch'd Arm.
If God be on my Side, Why doth this Popiſh Wonder
Seek to affright me with his beaſtly Thunder?
Why doth this new-born Giant ſeek to ride
Above the Clouds, with his prodigious Pride?
'Gainſt Heaven, why doth this *Nimrod* make new Wars,
And, with *Jehovah*, breed theſe impious Jars?
Pius, this Anchor of thy *Peter*'s Boat
Is broke, thy Hope and Faith do float.
Ye, in whoſe Hands, the Almighty God ordains,
To put the People's, and the Kingdom's Reins,
Do not yourſelves, and People, bring,
Under the Yoke of this vile barbarous King.
Away with him, that doth for Scepter fight,
And Royal Crown, that is not Biſhop's Right:
What, muſt the Pope ſo many States devour?
'Tis not Prieſt's Part, to uſe the Carnal Power;
To make theſe madding Bulls, fits not their Names,
And ſet on Fire theſe hot rebellious Flames.
Their Sword the Word ſhould be, the Word's Interpretation
Their Key ſhould be; this is the Foundation,
Whereon Chriſt's Saints do fight, ſuch Men Chriſt's Sword do wear,
Such do his holy Keys and Standard bear.
Oh! Kings, the Father's bleſſed Son, then, kiſs,
The King of Kings, the Head of Heads, he is;
Who ſerves not him, not reigns; a Shadow vain
And Cypher is; learn, this all by my Reign:
He'll never fail you, whom a Woman bore;
Away with Popes, to them ſet ope the Door;
Set wide the Gate, ſhut forth theſe new-made Kings,
Let in the Lord, which, with him, Juſtice brings.
Dear *England*, my own Bowels, Daughter, Mother,
Fear not this bulling *Pius*, or ſuch other.

What

What have I done, that thou ſhouldſt angry be?
Oh! *England*, 'cauſe thou'rt happy, hat'ſt thou me?
'Cauſe God, by me, ſo many Gifts hath given,
And I, theſe Gifts, on Earth, God loath'd in Heaven?
Why do my *Engliſh* love the *Egyptian* Pot?
Why looks on *Sodom* back the Wife of *Lot*?
Whilſt that my Siſter was at *Romiſh* Call,
There was a Stage and Scene moſt tragical;
Religion was corrupted, all your Rites
Divine were ſtain'd, Faith wrapp'd in Error's Night;
Home-jars, and ſtrange, my Muſe now ſhall not ſhew,
Even I, myſelf, drank Cups of Gall with you.
Now Manna rains from Heaven, heavenly Food,
Now floweth Peace and Joy, and every Good;
He, that feeds Ravens, makes my Lillies flouriſh,
Hairs of my Head, and Diadem doth nouriſh:
Judah's ſtrong Lion keeps our Lion's Neſt,
The *Romiſh Leo*'s but a fearful Breaſt;
Fear ye the Enſigns of a mitred Prieſt?
Can we, with Sword, Keys, Club, be e'er oppreſs'd?
Rather thank Chriſt, pray him, that he all Evil
Would reſiſt, all Ambuſhes of the Devil;
Double your Prayers to Chriſt, that he would deign,
T' aſſure your Good, and let no *Rhombus* reign;
Double your Prayers for Church, and pureſt Faith,
Pour forth your Prayers for Queen *Eliſabeth*.

I have inſerted this Anſwer of Queen *Eliſabeth*, not only for the Worth of it (though I hold it worthy to be written in Letters of Gold;) nor will I ſay, that *Philip*, King of *Spain*, was an Inſtigator of *Pius*, Pope of *Rome*, to ſend that curſed Bull: But it was plain, and more than probable, that that Bull was the Ground, which ſet on Fire the Hearts of her Popiſh *Romiſh* Subjects to riſe in Rebellion againſt her: And, ſure I am, that *Spain* ſoon backed them, and ſuborned them in their Rebellion, and cruel Practices, againſt her ſacred Perſon, and flouriſhing State; witneſs the Bead-roll of their cruel Practices here following:

In the Year of our bleſſed Saviour 1583, and Twenty-fifth of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Reign, *Francis Throckmorton*, being ſollicited by *Bernardine Mendoza*, the then *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador Ledger, lying in *London*, undertook a moſt dangerous Deſign, againſt his dread Sovereign and native Country; which was to bring in a foreign, *Spaniſh*, Army, and to alter Religion, with Alienation of the Crown and State. And, for the Charges of which Attempt, the ſaid *Mendoza* promiſed, that the King, his Maſter, would bear Half the Charge of the Enterpriſe.

In the next Year, *viz.* 1584, *William Parry*, as he named himſelf, being inſtigated by *Benedicto Palmio*, and *Chriſtofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholick King *Philip*, undertook to murder her ſacred Majeſty, and one *Hannibal Codreto*, a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, approved the ſame diabolical Deſign.

In the Year 1586, *Babington* and *Ballard*, and their Fellows, complotted with the aforeſaid *Mendoza*, to betray the Land to a *Spaniſh* Invaſion: Which being diſcovered, they enter into a new Reſolution, to kill the Queen; whereof they were prevented.

But, *Philip* of *Spain* ſeeing that all former Attempts failed, in the Year 1588, he ſet forwards his long premeditated Invaſion of *England*, ſending a mighty Armada, which he termed the *Invincible Navy*, meaning then, as it were, to devour *England* at a Bit; but he found ſo many Bones in the Bit, that, in Attempting to ſwallow it, they ſtuck ſo faſt in his Throat, that he was the worſe for it, every Day of his Life after.

This great, noble, and invincible Army, as Pope *Sixtus* termed it, and Terror of *Europe*, as the Papals both term it, and took it to be, conſiſting of One-hundred and thirty-four Sail of lofty towering Ships, beſides Gallies, Galleaſſes, and Galleons; threatening, as it were, the Heavens, and, ſpreading in the Wind their Flags, Streamers, and Enſigns, ſeemed to darken even the Sun; and were furniſhed with this Proviſion following:

Bullets, for great Shot, twenty-two Thouſand; Powder, Forty-thouſand two-hundred Quintals,

Quintals, every Quintal an Hundred Weight; *Lead*, for Bullets, one-thouſand Quintals; Match, Ten-thouſand two-hundred Quintals; Muſquets, and Calievers, Seven-thouſand; Partizans, and Halberts, One-thouſand; beſides murdering Pieces, double Cannon, and Field-pieces for Camp, and Store of Mules, Horſes, and Aſſes; ſo as they were ſufficiently provided by Sea. And, for Land, Bread and Biſquet was baked, and Wine laid Aboard, for ſix Months Proviſion; Bacon, Sixty-thouſand five-hundred Quintals; Cheeſe, Three-thouſand; beſides other Fleſh, Rice, Beans, Peaſe, Oil, and Vinegar; with twelve-thouſand Pipes of freſh Water: Store they had of Torches, Lanthorns, and Lamps; Canvas, Hides, and Lead, to ſtop Leaks; butcherly Knives, iron Fetters, Shackles, Wire-whips, Whips, with Spur-rowels, and other torturing Inſtruments; intended to torment us, old and young, all ſuch, I mean, as would not ſuddenly ſubmit to the *Spaniſh* Yoke.

This mighty Navy, thus prepared as you have heard, looſed Anchor from *Liſbon*, the Nineteenth of *May*, 1588, and made to the *Groyne* in *Galicia*, it being the neareſt Haven to *England*; whence, I ſay, hoiſing Sails, with great Hope, and no leſs Pride, they bent their Courſe hitherward; but ſuddenly the Heavens, hating ſuch hoſtile Actions, poured down Revenge, by a ſore and unexpected Tempeſt, which drove the Duke of *Medina*, the chief General, back again into the *Groyne*; and divers others were diſperſed and driven upon the Coaſt of *Bayonne* in *France*, and there periſhed. Not long after, their Navy, nevertheleſs, appeared in the narrow Seas, betwixt *England* and *France*, in Manner of a Half-moon (the Arch-enemy of Chriſt's Enſign) where our *Engliſh* Fleet gave them ſuch an Encounter, the God of the main Ocean fighting for us in the narrow Seas, that we ſoon defeated and diſperſed that invincible Navy, and made it vincible.

Now, becauſe the Subject I am upon is a Catalogue of *Spaniſh* Cruelties, I would fain know, whether there was ever invented a greater Cruelty towards and againſt a famous and flouriſhing State and Kingdom: Surely, in my Judgment, which did concur with the Judgment of the Chriſtian World, there was never ſuch and ſo great a Cruelty hatched under Heaven, as that *Spaniſh* Invaſion in 1588, our Deliverance from which hath made the Year ever ſince famous and memorable: Upon my Knowledge, when I was on Earth, there was a Day ſet a-part, and commanded by my Sovereign to be kept holy, for that our great and miraculous Deliverance from the Jaws of the *Spaniards*; and I wiſh, that your Unthankfulneſs, in the Neglect of celebrating that Day holy, be not required at ſome of your Hands; and, certainly, thoſe reverend Divines, that do never ceaſe, in their publick Prayers, to give God Thanks for that your great Deliverance, do ſhew their Zeal not a little, and deſerve double Commendation; yea, and let my Poſterity no longer live and proſper, than they have thankful Hearts to God for that general Deliverance; and let the Poſterity of all religious People ſay, *Amen*.

For all Men and Women, that would not have bowed the Knee to *Spaniſh Baal*, had then, doubtleſs, been put to the Sword; their Children, now, haply, living Men and Women, had been toſſed at the Pikes Ends, or elſe their Brains daſhed out by ſome ill-faced Dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that Time of *England*'s Deliverance; and, amongſt others, I remember, reverend and religious *Theodore Beza*, of pious Memory, wrote a ſweet and pathetical Poem gratulatory of the aforeſaid Tragicomedy in *Latin*, inſcribed to the Queen my Sovereign, and ſent unto me to deliver unto her royal Hands; the which is thus excellently rendered into *Engliſh*:

Spain's King with Navies huge the Seas beſtrew'd,
T'augment, with *Engliſh* Crown, his *Spaniſh* Sway;
Aſk you, What caus'd this proud Attempt? 'Twas lewd
Ambition drove, and Avarice led the Way.
It's well; Ambition's windy Puff lies drown'd
By Winds, and ſwelling Hearts, by ſwelling Waves.
It's well; the *Spaniards*, who the World's vaſt Round
Devour'd, devouring Sea moſt juſtly craves.
But thou, O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas, do war,
O thou, ſole Glory of the World's wide Maſs,
So reign to God ſtill from Ambition far,
So ſtill, with bounteous Aids, the Good embrace;

That

That thou *England* long, long may *England* thee enjoy,
Thou Terror of all bad, thou good Men's Joy.

O let the Remembrance of that Time have an eternal Being in the Minds and Mouths of Men.

I have been ſomewhat long in the Commemoration of this Part of my Catalogue of Cruelties, I now proceed to the Reſidue, as followeth:

In the Year 1594, *Roderick Lopez*, Doctor of Phyſick, a *Portugueſe* by Birth, and entertained Phyſician in ordinary to Queen *Eliſabeth*, being inſtigated by *Chriſtofero de Moro*, a ſpecial Counſellor of King *Philip*'s, covenanted to take away the Life of her ſacred Majeſty, by a poiſoned Potion; for the Performance of which Deed of Darkneſs, the ſaid *de Moro* promiſed him fifty-thouſand Crowns, and he had Earneſt given him, a Jewel of Gold, with a Diamond and Ruby of rich Value; but that Plot was detected by God's Providence, and *Lopez* received condign Puniſhment.

In the Year 1595, *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, being ſet on Work by one *Stefano Ibarra*, King *Philip*'s Secretary at *Bruſſels*, who promiſed them the Reward of four-thouſand Crowns, undertook to kill the Queen by ſome Means or other; but that alſo was detected by the vigilant Eye of the *Engliſh* State, and they received the Reward of their Deſerts.

When King *Philip* ſaw all his Practices ſtill fruſtrated, he, as audacious as ambitious, began to tamper with myſelf, and, by his Inſtruments, ſought out me as a fit Man to betray both my ſacred Sovereign, and dear Country. I forbear to trouble your Ears with the Latitude of his large bombaſted Promiſes of Reward unto me to effect the ſame; but, in Lieu of accepting his curſed Propoſition and Offer, I vowed a further Revenge of him; and, with my Sovereign's Leave, and God's Aſſiſtance, I had performed what I vowed and intended, *&c.*

The laſt publick Attempter in my Time, which in no wiſe I muſt forget, was one *Edward Squire*, who, being taken Priſoner in *Spain*, was ſet on Work by *Walpole* the Jeſuit, and other Officers of King *Philip*, to murder her ſacred Majeſty and myſelf; which he undertook, and brought over a new-invented *Caſtilian* Confection, firſt, to poiſon the Pommel of her Majeſty's Saddle, and then the Pommels of a Chair, wherein I uſually ſat at Sea; both which he failed not to attempt; but, by God's Goodneſs, his cruel and treaſonable Attempts proved alſo ſucceſsleſs, and this proper *Squire* had the Reward of his deviliſh Practices.

Of all theſe cruel *Spaniſh* Practices I was more than an ordinary Witneſs; and, theſe Premiſſes conſidered, What Treaſon was ever attempted againſt her Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, or flouriſhing State, but the *Spaniard* was at one End or other of it? Nay, ſince my Time on Earth, and the Death of her Majeſty, that horrid Gunpowder-plot, hatched in Hell, Was it not conſulted on, and approved of, in the *Spaniſh* King's Court? Look well to the Confeſſions of the Traitors. And did not King *Philip* promiſe an hundred-thouſand Crowns towards the Expedition of that damnable Deed of Darkneſs? Look into your own Chronicles.

Now, all the Premiſſes well weighed and conſidered, certainly, the *Turk* ought not to be more hated and abhorred by *Chriſtendom*, than the *Spaniard* deſerveth to be deteſted by *England*, &c. *Diſcite, ô Mortales.*

Iterum in Chriſto valete.

A true Copy of a Letter, from the Right Honourable the Earl of *Mulgrave*, to Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dean of *Canterbury*. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

S I R;

SIR,

NOTHING in this World is, or ought to be ſo dear to any Man, as his Reputation; and conſequently the Defence of it is the greateſt Obligation that one Man can lay on another. There are alſo ſome Circumſtances, that render this Obligation yet more acceptable and valuable; as when it is conferred generouſly, without any Self-Intereſt, or the leaſt Deſire or Invitation from the Perſon ſo defended. All this happens to be my Caſe at this Time; and therefore, I hope, you will not be ſurpriſed to find I am not the moſt ungrateful and inſenſible Man living; which certainly I ſhould be, if I did not acknowledge all your induſtrious Concern for me, about the Buſineſs of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, which now makes ſo much Noiſe in the World. You have, as I am told, ſo cordially pleaded my Cauſe, that it is almoſt become your own; and therefore, as unwilling as I am to ſpeak of myſelf, eſpecially in a Buſineſs which I cannot wholly excuſe; yet I think myſelf now a little obliged to ſhew my Part in this Matter; though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of ſo juſt and ſo conſiderable an Advocate.

The leſs a Man ſays of himſelf, the better; and it is ſo well known already, how I was kept out of all the ſecret Councils, that I need not juſtify myſelf, or trouble you, as to thoſe Matters; only I appeal to the unqueſtionable Teſtimony of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, if I did not zealouſly and conſtantly take all Occaſions to oppoſe the *French* Intereſt; becauſe I knew it directly oppoſite both to the King and Kingdom's Good, which are indeed Things inſeparable, and ought to be ſo accounted, as a fundamental *Maxim in all Councils of Princes.*

This, I hope, will prepare the Way a little for what I have to ſay concerning my being one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; of which Error I am now as ſenſible, as I was at firſt ignorant, being ſo unhappily converſant in the Midſt of a perpetual Court-Flattery, as never to have heard the leaſt Word of any Illegality in that Commiſſion, before I was unfortunately engaged in it.

For, though my Lord of *Canterbury* had very prudently refuſed to be of it, yet it was talked at Court, it proceeded only from his Unwillingneſs to act at that Time, and not from any Illegality he ſuſpected in the Commiſſion; having excuſed himſelf from it the moſt reſpectful Way, by the Infirmities he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the Laws, and in ſuch a Station at Court, I need not deſire a Man of your Judgment and Candour, to conſider the Hardneſs of my Caſe, when I was commanded to ſerve in a Commiſſion with a Lord Chancellor, a Lord Chief Juſtice, and two Biſhops, who had all of them already acted ſome Time there, without ſhewing the leaſt Diffidence of their Power, or Heſitation in the Execution of it. And, perhaps, a Man, of more Diſcretion than I can pretend to, might have been eaſily perſuaded to act in ſuch a Conjunction, and to think he might do it ſafely, both in Law and Conſcience. But I need not ſay much to ſhew my Deſire to have avoided, if poſſible, a troubleſome Employment, that had not the leaſt Temptation of Honour or Profit to recommend it; and which therefore I continued in upon no Account in the World, but to ſerve both King and Clergy with the little Ability I had, in moderating thoſe Councils, which I thought might grow higher, if I left my Place to be filled by any of thoſe who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill Deſigns.

And I may expect the more Credit in this, when it is conſidered that the two important Affairs which paſſed in that Eccleſiaſtical Court, being the Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion, and the Incapacitating the Members of *Magdalen* College; the firſt was done ſome Months before I was a Commiſſioner, and I oppoſed the laſt, both in Voting and Speaking, and with all the Intereſt I was able to make Uſe of, which indeed was but little after that Oppoſition; in which being out-voted, I ſeldom came, and never acted in that Court after, except to reſtore the Biſhop of *London*, though ſent for continually, by reaſon of my Lodging ſo near it.

And, ſince I have been forced to mention my Good-will at leaſt, if not my Service, to ſuch learned Men of the Clergy who I thought deſerved it, it may be allowed me to give this one Inſtance more of it; that, although in preferring Men to all other Places of the Houſhold, I ever uſed to aſk Permiſſion firſt, and, accordingly, was often refuſed, for the Sake of *Roman* Catholicks, and others, who

were recommended by Perſons more in Favour than myſelf; yet I was ſo careful of keeping that conſiderable Part of the Family unmixed with mean or unworthy Chaplains, whom others, I feared, would have impoſed on his Majeſty, that I conſtantly filled up thoſe Vacancies, without giving him the leaſt Notice or Trouble about it, and ſupplied them with the ableſt approved Divines I could poſſibly find, moſt commonly recommended to me by the Biſhops who were not of the Court: Which I conceived the moſt proper Courſe, in a Matter concerning Clergymen, with a King of a different Perſuaſion from theirs, and intended for his real Service, believing it had been better for him, as well as the Kingdom, if the greater Eccleſiaſtical Dignities had been diſpoſed of by others with as much Caution.

And thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to confirm you in your favourable Opinion of me, which muſt be acknowledged by every Body an Approbation of ſuch Weight, that, as I hope it may be an Example of Authority to many, ſo it is ſufficient of itſelf to balance the Cenſoriouſneſs of others. I am,

S I R,

White-Hall, March 27, 1689.

Your obliged humble Servant,

MULGRAVE.

The laſt Memorial of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. Faithfully Tranſlated into *Engliſh*. *London*, Printed for *Francis Smith*, at the *Elephant* and *Caſtle*, near the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

S I R,

DON *Pedro Ronquillo*, Ambaſſador of *Spain*, ſaith, That by a Memorial, which he preſented to your Majeſty, the Fifteenth of *December*, he did ſet forth the Infractions which the moſt Chriſtian King hath made ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen*, from the Month of *September*, after the Difference was agreed about the Title of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was alledged for a Pretence to ſuſpend the Conference at *Courtray*, according to the fifteenth Article of that Treaty; in Order, to the Adjuſting in an amicable Way all the Limits, Pretenſions, and Differences of the two Crowns, which ſhould reſult from that Treaty: And your Majeſty was pleaſed by your Royal Order of the Fifteenth of *December*, to order your Envoy Extraordinary, at *Paris*, to put in Execution what was contained in the ſaid Memorial. By the laſt Poſt, the ſaid Ambaſſador received Letters of the Firſt Inſtant, from the Marquis *de la Fuente*, who is Ambaſſador at *Paris*, in which, he gives him an Account of the Complaints he had made to the Chriſtian King, about the Exceſſes and Infractions, which are committed againſt the Inhabitants of *Fontarabia*, and in the *Low-Countries*, and particularly about a Meſſage, which the Governor of *Tournay* ſent to the Prince of *Parma*, pretending, that not one Palliſado ſhould be laid at *Bovignies*, which inconteſtably hath been a ſeparated State, and comprehended in the Country of *Namur*. After many violent Conteſtations, the Anſwer of the moſt Chriſtian King was, That he did not doubt, but that the Catholick King would give Order to his Commiſſioner at *Fontarabia*, to proceed in the Treaty, leaving each Party in the Poſſeſſion, which at preſent, they hold; as if a violent Uſurpation, under the Surety of the good Faith of the Conference, could, in one Day, be concluded to be an actual Poſſeſſion; that, for what relates to the *Low-Countries*, he cannot abſtain from Taking Poſſeſſion of that, which, he ſuppoſes, doth appertain to him, according to what

he

he ſhall declare, at the Conference of *Courtray.*

To this violent, as well as undecent Anſwer, the Marquis *de la Fuente*, with the Strength of the undoubted Juſtice and Reaſon, which the King my Maſter hath, concluding he did not receive the ſame, not knowing how to impart it to his Catholick Majeſty, and that he beſeeched him to reſolve what was juſt; to which Reply it was anſwered: That he would conſider it. And, at the ſame Time, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath ordered his Forces to enter in the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, to hinder the Fortifying of *Bovignies.*

This Proceeding doth exceed all Limits, and cannot be reaſonably endured; for the moſt Chriſtian King will, by Force of Arms, be Arbitrator, and command in the Dominions of the Catholick King, thereby hindering him, from Fortifying a Place, which is his own; when, by the Article of *Nimeguen*, it is allowed to be done, by both Parties. And when the *French* King himſelf hath made Uſe of the ſame Article, in Order to have the Courſe of the Waters ſtopped, that they may not hinder the Fortifying his Towns; as it was more particularly done at *Mennin*, cauſing the River *Liſſe* to be lowered, that they might, with more Facility, fortify that Town, a Place, which was wholly open, and which, the *French* King is fortifying and enlarging in Extent, much more than it was before: So that now, Sir, theſe are not Infractions, but a declared War: The Deſigns of the *French* being publick, that, they intend to beſiege *Luxemburg*, and that, from thence, they will go to *Namur*, when the Fact of hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies*, which is upon the *Moſe*, almoſt over-againſt *Dinant*, makes it clear and paſt Doubt; eſpecially, the moſt Chriſtian King having poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Towns, that are upon the River *Moſe*, from *Charlemont*, and of the moſt Part of the Territory between that River, and the *Sambre*, in ſuch a Manner, that they have gotten almoſt all the County of *Namur*, as well as that of *Luxemburg*; and, thereby, thoſe two Provinces are left without Communication.

By theſe Infractions, and clear Beginnings of War, the under-written Ambaſſador doth apply himſelf to your Majeſty as a Mediator, that you would cauſe what was agreed, by the Peace of *Nimeguen*, to be obſerved; and as an Ally, that you would defend it, and reſiſt the Violence of *France*; your Majeſty being obliged to the one, and to the other, by the Treaties; in which Conſideration, he cannot omit Saying, That although the Frontiers of *Spain* by *Cantabria* and *Catalonia* are infeſted, and by the Treaty of *Caſſal*, between the *French* King and the Duke of *Mantua*, the Dominions of *Italy* are in apparent Danger, and no leſs the *Indies*, where Count *d'Eſtre* is with a Squadron of Ships, all which are the Countries, that do compoſe the greateſt Power of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; notwithſtanding this, his Catholick Majeſty has poſtponed theſe his greateſt Concerns, to the Defence of that little, which remains to him, in the *Low-Countries*; although it be leſſened of a great Part of Territory, which the *French* have violently poſſeſſed themſelves of, ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen*, which hath been the only Cauſe, that we have not been able to keep that Country in a better Poſture; for each unjuſt Uſurpation, of the *French*, had broken the Meaſures which were taken, and reduced us to ſeek others; and, therefore, his Majeſty hath already ſent conſiderable Supplies to *Flanders*, and appointed the Prince of *Parma*, Governor thereof, as an experienced Soldier, and one who hath been Viceroy of ſeveral Kingdoms, thereby to encourage thoſe Subjects, with theſe Endeavours; and that, they may be governed by a Grandſon, and of the ſame Name of *Alexander Farneſe*, whom, with ſo much Love, they reverence.

All this, Sir, hath been done, in Hopes that the Union and Intereſt of *England*, with *Spain*, will produce mutual Effects of Conveniences to both Crowns; for no good *Engliſhman* can doubt, that, if there be no Oppoſition made to the preſent great Power of *France*, it is impoſſible, but that, in a few Days, they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the *Low-Countries*; and that the *States-General* ſhould ſubject themſelves, by Reaſon of the Impoſſibility of reſiſting the Powerful. And afterwards, your Majeſty and *England* ſhall be the firſt in perceiving this Miſchief; to remedy which, it will be then impoſſible; and at preſent, Nothing is capable to ſuppreſs theſe Evils, but the Power of *England*, at this Time, the only in *Europe*, that can reſtrain the Torrent of *France*. The Differences, which are at preſent in *England*, do occaſion theſe bold Attempts of the *French* King, and encourage him in the Continuation of his vaſt Deſigns; upon the Whole ſo appa-

rent already, that there is no clear-ſighted Underſtanding, but will apprehend them. All the Princes and Powers of *Europe*, as alſo, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, are in Expectation of the Succeſs of this Parliament, and of the Agreement of *England*; the firſt, to take Meaſures, in Order to ſhake off the Yoke, which they are like to be made ſubject to: And the moſt Chriſtian King hath alſo for a Time reſtrained his Ambition, and at preſent Nothing doth encourage him to deliver himſelf up to it, but the Differences, which he ſees, breaking out here, giving it out as well within as without this Kingdom, That he is aſſured, they will not be reconciled; and that, in the mean While, he may make up the Conqueſt of the *Low-Countries*, which is the Maſter-Key of the univerſal Monarchy. And the firſt Door, which he will open with it, ſhall be that of *England*, without further Trouble, than that of maintaining the Differences, with great Promiſes, and with a ſmall Charge; and whatſoever, he ſhall find moſt for his Advantage, will be firſt invaded by him.

That this Diſunion is the chief Encouragement of the Deſign and Enterpriſes of the moſt Chriſtian King, in the *Low-Countries*, is apparent; and there are ſo great Proofs of this Truth, that it is Blindneſs not to ſee them: And the Ambaſſador will only acquaint your Majeſty, with one late Inſtance, which doth manifeſt the ſame, which is, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſees the Emperor is making conſiderable Levies; as alſo, the Elector of *Saxony*, and other Princes of the Empire; that the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Brandenburgh*, have declared, That they will not ſuffer his Proceedings againſt the Empire, and the Princes of the ſame, and that they will oppoſe it with all their Power.

His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, after ſo many violent Anſwers, which he himſelf had made, and alſo his Miniſters, to all the Princes of *Germany*, hath now anſwered the Emperor's Envoy Extraordinary, That he doth agree, in Appointing a Conference, in one of the Imperial Cities, to decide and explain the ambiguous Points of the Articles of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, concerning the Poſſeſſions taken in *Alſatia*; and that, as ſoon as the Commiſſioners are met, the Chamber of *Metz*, ſhall ceaſe its Proceedings, and all Manner of Novelty, and that they will hear ſuch a Perſon, as ſhall treat for the Duke of *Lorrain*. And, although it is evident, that this is intended to lay a-ſleep the Minds, as well of the Emperor, as of the other Princes concerned, and that they may cool the Vigour of their Preparations, which they are making for their Defence, it is alſo known, that this is in Order to work with more Safety, againſt the *Low-Countries*; for, at the ſame Time, that he offers to ſuſpend the Attempts in the Empire, he continues in Poſſeſſing himſelf of all the *Spaniſh* open Country, executing Acts of open War, by hindering the Fortification of *Bovignies*; which is the ſame Thing, as Blocking up of *Luxemburg* and *Namur*; ſo that it is made evident, that, if he ſaw the Differences of *England* appeaſed, and united to its own Defence (for ſuch ought to be reputed that of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and, in particular, that of the *Low-Countries*) it is infallible and certain, that he would moderate his Deſigns, and limit his Reſolutions, as it appears he doth in *Germany*; ſeeing that the Emperor, and all the Body of the Empire, do unite for its Defence.

The Ambaſſador doth very well know, that the Agitation of this Kingdom is great, and that the Pretenſions ſeem to be diſtant; but he is ſorry, and it makes his Heart bleed to ſee, that there is no Way opened to an Union; and, as there is Nothing impoſſible in human Things, his Pain doth increaſe, ſeeing there is no Step made to quench theſe Heats: If *England* was not ſo much threatened with Ruin, by the Exaltation of the *French*, as the *Low-Countries* are, the Pretenſions and Rights might be followed to the uttermoſt Point; but running the ſame Fortune with the Monarchy of *Spain*, becauſe *Flanders* is a Battery to *England* and *Spain*, and the *Indies* the Treaſure of its Riches, and the chief Strength of its Commerce, beyond all Places, where this Nation doth trade; and, therefore, it doth not allow that their Intereſt ſhould be conſidered as a Foreigner, nor that the Diſtractions, in which all are now involved, ſhould be calmed by the ſame Methods, which could be done in a ſecured Tranquillity; ſo that the Ambaſſador doth promiſe himſelf, that, conſidering theſe Reaſons, and that *France* being at this Time a Gangrene, which doth penetrate to the very Heart of *England*, all Grounds of Differences ſhall ceaſe, and that it will not, with its own Ruin, involve the reſt of *Chriſtendom* in the ſame Fate:

Therefore,

Therefore, the Ambaſſador doth pray your Majeſty, that, as a Mediator, or as an Ally, you would effectually apply yourſelf to prevent the Loſs of the *Low-Countries*, and conſequently of all the reſt, hoping from your Majeſty's great Prudence, that you will make Choice of the moſt efficacious Means to that End, and to the Eſtabliſhing the Quiet of *Europe*.

An Anſwer to the Propoſitions made by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, as they ſtile themſelves, the Nineteenth of *March*, in the great Aſſembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the *States-General* of the United Provinces. As alſo, to their Memorials of the Sixteenth of *April*, and the Ninth of *May*, 1651, reſpectively. And likewiſe, to the thirty-ſix Articles of the deſired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir *William Macdowal*, Knight, Reſident for his Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, after his Return to *Holland*, in the ſaid Great Aſſembly. *June* the Seventeenth, 1651.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.
For their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them? PROV. XXIV. 21, 22.

Printed at the *Hague*, by *Samuel Brown*, *Engliſh* Bookſeller. 1651. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

THE ſaid pretended Ambaſſadors have offered, and withal required a ſtrict Confederacy, and Holy League, as they term it, betwixt the Commonwealth of *England*, and the *United Provinces*, alledging to that End,

I. The ancient and ſucceſſive Contracts, and mutual Friendſhip betwixt both.
II. The Advancement of Trade and Traffick.
III. A Conformity in the Reformation of Religion.
IV. The like Succeſs and Bleſſings upon both.
V. An anſwerable Change in the Condition of both States; as likewiſe, in the reſtored Liberty of the People. *Hinc inde.*

Which ſpecious Motives, and Inducements, viewed aright, and laid in a juſt Balance, will appear, by their Favours, to have no warrantable Ground: For the Clearing of which, the High and Mighty States are deſired to look back, and conſider:

I. That, formerly, all Contracts have been made, betwixt the ſucceſſive Kings of *England*, their lawful Heirs, and the High and Mighty States-General, and not with *England*, as is alledged;

alledged: Not to look further back, the Sovereignty of theſe Countries was offered to Queen *Eliſabeth*, of happy Memory, in the Year 1585, which ſhe in Wiſdom thought fit to decline; but, withal, aſſiſted the States, with five-thouſand Foot, and one-thouſand Horſe; as likewiſe advanced to their Lordſhips, before the Year 1596, in the Space of eleven Years, Eleven-hundred thouſand Pounds, *Sterling*, according to the Calculation of her Majeſty's Counſellors and High Treaſurer for the Time.

Her Royal Succeſſors, *James* and *Charles*, of immortal Memory, in the Years 1608, 1614, 1635, reſpectively, have not only aſſiſted theſe States, in their great Straits, in a very conſiderable Way, but alſo engaged with their Lordſhips, *offenſivè* and *defenſivè*; and that without any the leaſt Communication had with the People of *England* concerning it. And, if a Ratification of ſuch an Alliance ſhould be concluded with a factious Commonalty here, and that they might at Pleaſure diſturb the Republick, and turn Matters upſide down: What an Anarchy and woful Confuſion would enſue, as now, alas! we ſee too plainly follows in *England?* Truly, if that People had been ſo inclined, and governed, as they now are, by thoſe, who *Regni cauſa*, have violated the Rights; and to make Purchaſe of the Lord's Vineyard, have murthered him, and oppoſe, with their utmoſt Power and Malice, the Inthronement of his lawful Heir, their undoubted Sovereign, the *Low-Countries* ſhould not have obtained ſuch real Friendſhip and Advantage from them.

Beſides that, the now prevailing Party is not the hundredth Part of the People in *England*, in Compariſon of thoſe, both of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, who cordially adhere to the King's juſt Intereſt, and paſſionately groan to be delivered from the continued Oppreſſions of thoſe cruel Taſkmaſters, whoſe little Finger lies heavier upon them, than all their King's whole Loins.

And an eminent Member of the late Houſe of Commons, formerly a Sufferer, in his *Memento* affirms, that there are in the three Kingdoms Ten-thouſand to one, who firmly and affectionatly cleave to his Majeſty.

In Kingdoms and Republicks, as Politicians ſpeak, it is the very ſame People now, as thoſe that lived an hundred Years ago; as likewiſe, that it is the ſame Ship, although all the Planks be renewed; but if the Keel be deſtroyed, and the Form of Government and fundamental Laws be utterly aboliſhed, *non idem populus, nec eadem navis*; it is not the ſame People, nor the ſame Ship.

Moreover, by all Proofs it is ſufficiently known, that the Predeceſſors of the now prevailing Party in *England* were then ſo mean and inconſiderable among the People, that they were thought utterly uncapable of having the leaſt Hand in the former Favours, ſhewn to theſe States.

II. Trade and Traffick, which they call the *common Intereſt of a State*, are *Juris Gentium*, common to all Nations; conſequently, not to be carried on by *Monopolies*, and Damage of a third Party, eſpecially the Eldeſt, and ſometime the moſt conſiderable Ally of this Eſtate: *Amicitias*, ſaith *Polybius*, *ita inſtitui par eſt, ne qua vetuſtior amicitia & ſocietas violetur.*

It is remarked by moſt of the Authors of the *Netherland* Hiſtory, that their Lordſhips Predeceſſors upon a Time, being more moved by the Impoſitions of the Duke of *Alva*, of the ten and one-hundred Penny reſpective, than for the Violence offered to Religion, and therefore compared to the *Gargaſenes*, who preferred their Swine before their Saviour, were the more ſeverely puniſhed by God.

And ſhall the High and Mighty States now hazard their religious and high Eſteem in the Favour of thoſe, who, in Regard of Commerce, Enlarging of their Limits, and uſurped Power, are big with ſuch monſtrous Myſteries? And of whom it was ſaid long before their Troubles:

Gens tacitis prægnans arcanis ardua tentans.

Who derive their Power and Authority merely from themſelves, as formerly hath been ſaid, in the Dominion of the *Chaldeans*, over the *Jews*, and of *Cinna* and *Carbo*, amongſt the *Romans*, who in the Time of *Sylla*, made themſelves Conſuls without any Court Election: *Violent imperia*, ſaith one to *Cæſar*, *ſunt magis acerba quam diuturna.* The rather, becauſe no Nation under the Sun is ſo ſubject to a Change as *England*, even while they lived under their lawful Sovereigns. The Earl of *War-*

Warwick, called the *Titular King*, in eleven Days, *Edward the Fourth* in Twenty, *Henry the Seventh* in one Day, as a *Cæſar veni, vidi, vici*, brought the *Engliſh* ſucceſſively to their Obedience.

Commerce and Traffick are plauſible Pretences, but often accompanied with great Jealouſies, eſpecially betwixt neighbouring Republicks; the which like Twins, ſtruggling for the Promogeniture, are in a continual Emulation, for Profit and Preheminence: And, therefore, compared to an *Alluvies*, where the Increaſe of one is the Decreaſe of the other. Inſomuch, that grave and judicious Stateſmen have judged it would be more ſafe and profitable to theſe States, that *England* continued a Monarchy, than to be tumbled into a Commonwealth, confirmed by a Prognoſtication of a Perſon of Credit with them, living at *London*, given out the Sixteenth of *October* laſt, alledging and applying with much Confidence, againſt the *United Provinces*, Jerem. li. 13.

III. Concerning the pretended Conformity in Religion, in the third Place, which, under the bleſſed and glorious Government of Kings, as a *Palladium* and Lamp, did out-ſhine all other Nations, it is, alas! now become a *Pandora*, out of which, *tanquam ex equo Trojano*, do iſſue ſo many monſtrous Sects, Hereſies and Blaſphemies, and is conſequently ſo deformed, as being utterly deſtitute of Diſcipline, and differing in moſt Points of Doctrine, that it is nothing like the Religion here profeſſed, nor indeed Religion itſelf.

A good Religion, as an upright and lively Faith, iſſues forth into good Works; inſomuch that, in the primitive Church, the Chriſtians were diſcerned from the Infidels only by their holy Life, according to the Proverb, *Chriſtiani non ſunt Caſſiani*; but alas! How many not only *Caſſii*, but alſo *Albii*, and *Nigri*, are now-a-days to be ſeen? Witneſs, beſides the Treatiſes intitled, *Defenſio pro Carolo Rege*, *Vindiciæ pro Capite Regis Angliæ*, *Elenchus Motuum*, Mr. *Prynne*'s *Memento*, *Theatrum Tragicum*, *Vox Veritatis*, and others, two Declarations alſo of the Eighteenth of *January*, 1648, long before that lamentable Cataſtrophe, by divers Preachers, and learned Divines, in and about *London*; ſubſcribed by One-hundred and Twenty-ſix of them, mourning over, and complaining of horrible and ſcandalous Abuſes, as in the Church, ſo in the Civil, or rather Military Government, and ſtrongly refuting their Flattering of themſelves in their continued Succeſs, which may next be conſidered of.

IV. For as *Solomon* ſaith, 'That there be 'juſt Men, to whom it happeneth, ſome-'times, according to the Work of the Wick-'ed: So again, there be wicked Men, to 'whom it happeneth according to the Work 'of the Righteous.

Succeſſes often are a Puniſhment, as ſometimes given for a Bleſſing, where only thoſe are to be valued, whoſe principal Aim appears to be the true Advancement of God's revealed Will in his Word; which, as it ſtrictly commandeth Obedience to Kings, and thoſe in Authority under them, ſo it doth ſeverely puniſh Sedition and Rebellion againſt them, not ſparing the Curſe of Condemnation to thoſe, who comply with, and adhere unto them. Neither hath the great *Turk* come far ſhort of (that undoubted Bleſſing) good Succeſs, the now prevailing Party juſtify their Cauſe, and meaſure its Righteouſneſs by, though they may ſeem to diſavow him.

Finally, the Reſemblance made for the Manner of the recovered Liberty of both States, to uſe the Expreſſion of a great Perſonage, is not more different than Milk and Ink, both in Regard of the ancient Condition of the People on both Sides, and the Way of attaining to it.

The *Low-Country* Men, eſpecially the *Batavi*, have been reputed by all ancient Writers, for a free People, neither ſubject to the *Romans*, whom they did acknowledge only *Civilli*, as *Tacitus* ſaith, nor to any Directors, Counts and Governors, which were conſtituted by themſelves.

The *Engliſh* have more than a thouſand Years been governed by Kings, all ſprung from the ſame Royal Stock, to whom they have ſucceſſively ſworn Obedience and Loyalty.

The King of *Spain*, after a War of almoſt eighty Years, hath in two ſolemn Treaties, the one before the twelve Years Truce, and the other in the late concluded Peace, acknowledged the *United Provinces* to be a free State, and that *privative*. Whereupon his Catholick Majeſty, for himſelf and his Succeſſors, hath diſclaimed all Pretences of Sovereignty here.

Whereas

Whereas *Charles the Firſt*, that bleſſed Martyr, whoſe innocent Blood, like that of *Abel*'s, cries loud to the higheſt Heaven for Vengeance againſt thoſe who now ſit upon his Throne, not only was, but was ever by them acknowledged for their lawful Sovereign; inſtead of diſclaiming his Royalty over them, as muſt be, if the Reſemblance ſtand compleat, was both diveſted of his Power, deprived of his Life, and his Princely Succeſſor, ſo far as in them lieth, kept back and diſabled from the Exerciſe of his undeniable Power over them, whereof let them find an abſolute Parallel from the Creation until now.

In *Iſrael* King *Ahab* did tyranniſe, and, as a Man ſold unto Sin, above others provoked God's Wrath againſt him. In *Rome* there was *Nero*, more like a Monſter than a Man. Amongſt the Chriſtians, *Chriſtiernus* in *Denmark*, *Wenceſlaus* in *Bohemia*, who was likewiſe Emperor, behaved themſelves ſo wickedly, that it was ſaid of them, that they had caſt off human Nature. Nor much unlike to them was *Richard the Third*, called the Tyrant of *England*, yet none of all theſe was ever condemned to die by the Sentence of their Subjects: Inſomuch that it is obſerved, that the *Iſraelites*, after they had deſerted their King *Rehoboam*, although an Oppreſſor, never enjoyed a happy Hour, but were infeſted with continual Wars, both civil and foreign, till at laſt they were utterly deſtroyed, and carried Captives into *Babylon*.

Of *Nero*, it was ſaid, *Primum damnati Principis exemplum*; I add, *Poſtremum, non mactati tamen*, as in this Caſe. The Confederate Provinces were firſt forced in their Religion, their Perſons and Goods ſeized, and one-hundred-thouſand of them killed. The prevailing Party in *England*, after thoſe inſolent and high Affronts done to his Majeſty, before his conſtrained Removal from his Court at *Whitehall*, took up Arms, gave out Commiſſions, levied Men, according to his Majeſty's laſt true and undeniable Words, and ſeized upon the *Regalia*, before he once put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence.

In the *Low Countries* their Liberty was, *More majorum*, fully reſtored to them, without Prejudice to any Man.

In *England*, Religion and Liberty are ſhamefully trampled under Foot, and the Houſe of Commons ſo diſmembered, and its Privileges violated, that the eighth Part of ten, were beyond all Parallel caſt out, as the Declaration and Proteſtation of the ſecluded Members, *Feb.* 13. 1648, doth teſtify.

The Proceedings of the High and Mighty States are approved and juſtified by all the World; on the contrary, thoſe of the *Engliſh* condemned and abhorred, and by themſelves confeſſed as irregular and unwarrantable; and a moſt pregnant Proof and *probatio probata*, of their Wrong, as is contained in the ſaid Declaration of the Miniſters.

The which Premiſſes the High and Mighty States being pleaſed to take into ſerious Conſideration, according to their accuſtomed Wiſdom and Juſtice, and calling to Mind thoſe divers Treaties betwixt the King's Royal Predeceſſors, and their Lordſhips, in his Majeſty's Perſon yet firmly ſtanding: And ſeeing likewiſe divers of their Lordſhips reſolved for a punctual Obſervation of a Neutrality, ſince the Year 1642, between the late King, his Majeſty's Father, of bleſſed Memory, and his Parliament, the which, by the partial Confederacy with the one Party, now laboured for, will, in all Appearance, be violated and infringed:

Therefore their Lordſhips are earneſtly intreated not to hearken to the ſaid Propoſitions, as being prejudicial to the King my gracious Maſter's Intereſts, and dangerous to this State; likewiſe, that the Acknowledging them for a free Republick, which poſſibly the Condition of the Times, and Benefit of Trade, hath occaſioned, be not drawn into a farther Conſequence, much leſs an Occaſion given thereby, forgetting *Joſeph*'s Sufferings, that the Afflicted be yet more afflicted, their Liberty retarded, and their Calamity lengthened.

His Majeſty's Affairs, God be praiſed, are yet in a very good and hopeful Condition, far better than ſome of his Royal Predeceſſors, who have, notwithſtanding, run through all Difficulties, and became conſiderable to their Friends, as well as formidable to their Enemies.

King *Robert Bruce*, about three-hundred Years ago, being likewiſe by the Rebellion of his Subjects, and the Diſloyalty of *Baliol* and *Cumming*, and their Adherents, fiercely aſſailed by King *Edward* of *England*, who, at once, was poſſeſſed of moſt of the Towns and Strengths in *Scotland*, kept a Parliament in *St. Andrew's*, took his Queen Priſoner, killed

four

four of his Brethren, amongſt whom were thoſe *duo fulmina belli*, defaced or removed all the Monuments and Regiſters of that Kingdom, was conſtrained, with one or two Servants, to hide himſelf among the Hills; yet, notwithſtanding all this, in a ſhort Time after, recovered his whole Kingdom, was crowned with Honour and Glory, and forced his inſolent Enemy, in Confuſion, to fly from *Sterling* to *Dumbar*, and thence in a Fiſher-boat, *Xerxes* like, eſcaped narrowly with his Life. I ſay *Sterling*,

Inviſtum, & fatale Scotorum propugnaculum:

Of which it is ſaid,

Hic Latium remorata eſt Scotia curſum.

His Majeſty's Royal Grandfather, *Henry the Fourth*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, yet of freſh Memory, was in a lower Condition, and had leſs Power to reſiſt thoſe of the League and the powerful King of *Spain*; yet at laſt became victorious, in the Overthrow of his Enemies, to the great Advantage and very conſiderable Succour of the *Netherlands*.

The diſtreſſed Condition of the Predeceſſors of the High and Mighty States-General, whom, after ſo many Changes, the almighty God hath, to the Admiration of the whole World, brought into a ſafe Haven, however *Sirius*, a *Spaniſh* Writer, jeſting with thoſe of *Holland* and their Confederates, did ſay, *What can the* Hollanders *do againſt the King of* Spain? As now, ſome ſcoffingly aſk, How can the *Scots* ſtand againſt the powerful *Engliſh*? Is an eminent and viſible Example, that it is all one, with the Lord, to help with few or with many, and that, when all Strength and human Hopes do fail, he will ariſe glorioufly, for the Deliverance of the Righteous, crowning them, in the End, with Honour and good Succeſs.

I. Shall we then look upon the preſent Succeſſes, and Proſperity of that Party, as alone unchangeable, for the which ſuch ſtrange Grounds are by them pretended, as are no where found, being ſo diametrically oppoſite, according to the Declaration of the ſaid Divines in and about *London*. To

1. God's Holy Word.
2. The Inſtinct of Nature.
3. Natural Reaſon.
4. The Laws of all Nations.
5. The Conſtitutions particularly of the Kingdom of *England*, who, above all other People, moſt obſequiouſly and affectionately regard and reverence their Kings, as in thoſe Maxims of their Law: *Rex non moritur, Rex nulli facit injuriam*, &c.
6. The Judgment of all Caſuiſts.
7. Their Oaths of Fealty, Supremacy, and Allegiance, repeated particularly at the Admiſſion of every Member into the Houſe of Commons; their Proteſtation, their Covenant, their ſolemn League and Covenant, and an hundred Declarations, beſides the publick Faith of the Kingdom of *England*, ſolemnly given to the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, upon their Receiving his Majeſty at *Newcaſtle*, in all which, they profeſſed to the World, that they would maintain and preſerve, with their Lives, and Eſtates, the King's Perſon, Honour, Rights, and Royal Poſterity.

II. Or, Shall we reſt ſatisfied in the Sophiſtry of thoſe Sectaries, who, out of Chriſt's Anſwer to the ſubtle Queſtions of the *Herodians* and *Phariſees*, if it were lawful to give Tribute to *Cæſar*, anſwered, *Oſtendite mihi numiſma, cujus habet imaginem?* infer, that, *fide implicita*, the Party now in *England*, is to be acknowledged, without any further Enquiry or Examination, ſince our Saviour's Anſwer ſpeaks nothing for their Advantage. But, on the contrary, his commanding Tribute to be given to *Cæſar*, whom the *Jews* formerly acknowledged to be their King, confirmeth and eſtabliſheth lawful Power, and conſequently condemneth Sedition and Rebellion; elſe *David* ſhould have ſubmitted unto and acquieſced in the uſurped Power of *Abſalom*, who was poſſeſſed of all the Land, even unto *Jordan*, and carried away all *Iſrael* after him; and *Solomon* in the Power of *Adonijah*, *Jehoiada* in *Athaliah*'s, and the *Maccabees* in the Power of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the grand Enemy of the *Jews*; yea, the Eſtates of the United Provinces ſhould have then obeyed the Force of the Duke of *Alva*, who, by the Emblem of his Statue formerly ſet up in *Antwerp*, did ſignify that he had inveſted himſelf with the abſolute Power. It is well ſaid, by one of the Ancients, *Omnis poteſtas eſt à Deo; ſed acquiſitio poteſtatis, furto rapina*,

rapina, incendio, aut perduellione, non eſt à Deo, ſed ab hominum affectibus & Satanæ malitia.

III. Or, May we ſuffer ourſelves to be abuſed by the Examples and Precedents, which the ſaid Sectaries alledge of the Kings, *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second*, who, by reaſon of their Incapacity, were forced to reſign their Crowns, the one to his Son, the other to his Competitor King *Henry the Fourth*, but neither of them to an inconſiderable, ſmall Remainder of an Houſe of Commons, or the People? Only, in a full Parliament, both their Reſignations were confirmed, and neither executed, but were always afterwards honourably entertained; yea, one *Roger Mortimer*, which is worth the Obſerving, the chief Author and Actor in depoſing of *Edward the Second*, and crowning his Son *Edward the Third* in his Father's Place, according to which Precedent his Majeſty, *Charles the Second*, ought by theſe to have been crowned, was by a Parliament four Years after, together with his Fellow-murderers, condemned as a Traitor and Enemy to the King and Kingdom, becauſe he killed the ſaid depoſed King in *Berkely* Caſtle.

Beſides, the now prevailing Party, by ſolemn Proteſtations, did publiſh and declare to all the World, that they did not intend to follow thoſe accurſed Precedents, although they ſhould ſuffer never ſo much by the King and his Party. *Exact. Collect.* pag. 69.

IV. Should we not rather deeply apprehend, and with Fear look upon thoſe exemplary Puniſhments inflicted upon Perjury, and Covenant-breaking, in God's Holy Word, as may be ſeen, to omit others, in the Perſon of *Saul*, who, together with his Poſterity, as alſo the whole Kingdom of *Iſrael*, was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, becauſe he deſtroyed the *Gibeonites*, againſt the Covenant made with *Joſhua*, above two hundred Years before, notwithſtanding they procured the ſame deceitfully? As likewiſe in the Hiſtory of *England*, and other Kingdoms, many pregnant Examples to that Purpoſe might be alledged; particularly that of *William Thorpe*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench* in that Realm, who, for Taking a Bribe of eighty Pounds Sterling, was put to Death, and all his Goods confiſcated to the King's Uſe, in regard that in ſo doing he violated the Oath of a Judge, as the Words run, *Quod Sacramentum Domini Regis, quod erga populum habuit cuſtodiendum, fregit malitioſe, falſo, & rebelliter.* Parl. 23 Edw. III.

An Anſwer to their Memorials.

THE Memorials I paſs over, as monſtrous, and which, by inevitable Conſequence, not only tend to cut off all Treaties and Alliances between the King's Majeſty and this State, and all Commerce with his loyal and faithful Subjects, but likewiſe, in ſome Caſes, to the not Suffering them to dwell or reſide in theſe Parts.

A Demand which is againſt the Band of common Society amongſt Men, the Sovereignty of the United Provinces, and Liberty of the ſame, which have ever been a Sanctuary for honeſt Men, and a Receptacle of all Nations whatſoever: In a Word, ſuch *Quale victor victo dare, non ſocius ſocium rogare ſolet.* The Cruelty of *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and others, hath, for the moſt Part, been confined within the Walls of *Rome*, or the Borders of *Italy*, without perſecuting their Oppoſers, in a ſtrange Land, as an *omnibus umbra locis adero.*

Concerning the thirty-ſix Articles of the Treaty.

The thirty-ſix Articles evidently tend,

I. TO hinder his Majeſty's juſt Right, and Reſtitution to his hereditary Crown, and Kingdom of *England.*

II. To involve the High and Mighty States-General in a Labyrinth and great Inconveniences, who, at preſent, have no Enemy.

III. To encourage and ſtrengthen the King's irreconcileable Enemies, and Rebels, as the fourth, fifth, ſixth, and thirty-firſt Articles do import.

IV.

IV. Againſt the forementioned Reſolutions of the High and Mighty States, in the Year 1642, concerning the Keeping a Neutrality between his Majeſty's Father, of bleſſed Memory, and his Parliament of *England*, namely, thoſe of the Firſt of *November*, and Thirtieth of *December*, 1642, and the Sixth of *November*, 1648.

V. Againſt a Declaration and Proteſtation of the Noble and Mighty States of *Holland* and *Weſt Frieſland*, dated the Sixth of *November*, 1649, to the ſame Purpoſe.

VI. Againſt all former Treaties and Alliances between his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors and this State.

As, amongſt others, that of the Fourteenth of *February*, 1593, likewiſe conſiſting of thirty-ſix Articles, between King *Henry the Seventh* of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, made in his Name, and by his Authority, as the Words of the ſaid Treaty do bear, and *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*, which bind and oblige, to this very Day, divers of the United Provinces, and the chief Members and Towns thereof, to aſſiſt the ſaid *Henry the Seventh*, and his Heirs, (which unqueſtionably pleadeth for my Maſter *Charles the Second*, he being the ſixth from him in Deſcent, *in linea recta*) and to afford them all Favour and friendly Aſſiſtance, as well by Sea as by Land, and prohibiteth any Treaty and Alliance to be made with the Rebels, and the Enemies of one another.

Whoſe undoubted Right, according to God's Sacred Word, the Laws, and the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Kingdom of *England*, as, *Rex non moritur*, &c. is firmly radicated in his Majeſty's Perſon, however he by Violence be kept from it:

——— *Non unquam perdidit ordo*
Mutato ſua Jura loco. ———

Inſomuch that the ancient *Romans*, by the Light of Nature, did refuſe to enter into any Alliance with *Nabis*, the Uſurper of *Lacedæmon*, but continued the ſame with the juſt and lawful King *Pelopides*. *Amicitia & ſocietas nobis nulla tecum eſt*, ſaith *Titus Quintius*, in the Behalf of the *Roman* Empire, *apud Livium*, Lib. 34. *Sed cum Pelopide Rege Lacedæmoniorum juſto & legitimo facta eſt.*

Finally, againſt the renewed Treaty in the Year 1550, *December* the Fifteenth, made at *Bins* in *Henegow*, called The Perpetual Treaty, between the Tutors of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, in her Minority, and Queen *Mary* of *Hungary*, Regent for *Charles the Fifth* in the *Low-Countries*, renewed again *in ſolenni forma*, Word by Word, at *Edinburgh*, 1594, between King *James the Sixth* and the High and Mighty States, after the Baptiſm of the late Prince *Henry*, his Majeſty's Son, celebrated at *Sterling*.

In the which it is promiſed and agreed upon, inviolably to maintain and preſerve mutual Friendſhip one with another, for all Ages to come, and, as far in them lay, to prevent and hinder any Damage that may befall either of them; that they ſhall traffick in Safety and Security, and likewiſe, that they ſhall aſſiſt each other with Ships, and all Sort of Ammunition, as may be ſeen at length in the Treaty itſelf, inſerted by *Peter Borr*, in his thirtieth Book.

But how oppoſite this is to their fourth, fifth, and thirty-firſt Articles, propounded to your Lordſhips, appeareth clearly out of the Words there contained, where they not only deny to the King, and his Subjects, *privativè*, all Favour, Friendſhip, and Proviſion of War, but likewiſe endeavour to oblige your Lordſhips, *De facto*, to infeſt and make War upon them, as having now no other Enemies, as they themſelves give out, but *Scotland*.

But, expecting better Things of the High and Mighty States, and a religious Obſervation of all Treaties, Reſolutions, Proteſtations, and Declarations, your Lordſhips are intreated not to give Ear to the ſaid Propoſitions, and Memorials; as alſo, that the ſaid thirty-ſix Articles, periſhing in their Birth, may not be taken into any further Conſideration.

The Lord will reward every one according to his Works; and, I wiſh, that he may ever bleſs the High and Mighty States with his fatherly Protection, and keep them from contracting any League and Alliance, which may be attended with Diſhonour and Damage unto them.

The Orders, Proceedings, Puniſhments, and Privileges of the Commons Houſe of Parliament in *England*. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

CHAP. I.

What Perſons may be Burgeſſes in Parliament, what not.

THE Son and Heir of an Earl may be; and ſo was the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Eliſ.* 6.

He that hath no Voice in the Higher Houſe; ſo the Son and Heir apparent of a Baron; and ſo was Mr. *Henry Brooke.*

A Prebendary may not be; and therefore *Alexander Nowel* was refuſed, becauſe he was Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*; whereupon a Writ was iſſued to chuſe another for *Leo* in *Cornwall.*

Sir *Henry Piercy* was choſen Knight for two ſeveral Counties; and thereupon it was adjudged by the Houſe, That he ſhould ſerve for that County which firſt choſe him, 13 *Eliſ.*

If a Burgeſs be incurably ſick, another may be choſen in his Place, by Licenſe of the Houſe; but not if he be eaſily ſick, or ſent in his Majeſty's Service, unleſs the Houſe will allow of a new Election, 18 *Martii*, 23 *Eliſ.*

And it was then ordered, That, during the Seſſion, no Writs ſhould iſſue to chuſe Knights or Burgeſſes, but by Warrant of the Houſe to the Clerk of the Crown, according to the ancient Uſage.

The Burgeſſes of *Sandwich* were kept out of the Houſe, until the perfect Return was known. 15 *Edw.* VI.

One *Cavell* was returned for *Travayny* and *Ludders-hall*; he appeared for *Ludders-hall*; and therefore a Writ iſſued to chuſe another for *Travayny*, 11 *Mar.* 7 *Edw.* VI.

William Gregham and ——— were returned Knights for *Norfolk*; and the Writ, returned by the Lord Chancellor, ſuppreſſed it by great Motion, and directed another Writ to chuſe others.

A Burgeſs, indicted of Felony, ſhall not be removed before Conviction, 8 *Feb.* 23 *Eliſ.*

Walter Vaughan was received, notwithſtand an Outlawry, becauſe it appeared that it was for Debt, and that he had compounded for it.

A Burgeſs outlawed was denied the Privilege of the Houſe; but, upon the Queſtion, and upon a Diviſion of the Houſe, he was allowed the Privilege againſt an Arreſt in *London*, 24 *Feb.* 5 *Eliſ.*

CHAP. II.

The Choice of the Speaker, his Preſentment, Placing, and Speech.

HE, that ſhall be Speaker, muſt be a Knight or a Burgeſs returned, and cometh to the Houſe, and taketh the ordinary Oath, as others.

The fitteſt Seat for him is the loweſt Row, and the Midſt thereof; for ſo he may be beſt heard, when he ſhall ſpeak.

One of his Majeſty's Council doth uſe to propound, That it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhall freely chuſe a Speaker for them; and yet commendeth, in his Opinion, ſome Perſon by Name.

Then he, which is ſo recommended, ſtandeth up, and prayeth to be heard, before they proceed to the Choice of him, and, withal, diſableth himſelf (giving them Thanks for their good Opinion of him) as being not equally learned in the Laws with others, that have had the Place.

Not being eloquent by Nature, or Art, nor experienced

experienced in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, or in the Orders of the Houſe, being of mean Countenance, Wealth, or Credit.

Being careful for their Credit, more than his own, and therefore bound to ſhew and diſcover his Wants, which otherwiſe might be covered by their good Opinion.

If they preſs him, he is to yield, and ſo is brought to the Chair; and then they uſually give two or three Days Reſpite, before he be preſented to the King.

Upon the Day of his Preſentment to the King, he cometh to the Bar of the Higher Houſe, or other appointed Place, where his Majeſty ſhall aſſign; and, after their ſolemn Courteſies, ſheweth how he is elected, reneweth the Reaſons of his Diſability, deſireth to be diſcharged, and that they of the Commons Houſe may have Licenſe to proceed to a new Election of another.

Then the Lord Chancellor, receiving his Majeſty's Pleaſure, enableth him.

Hereupon, the Speaker gives Thanks for that Opinion conceived of him; promiſeth to do his dutiful Endeavour; and deſireth, that his ready Good-will may be accepted in Place of all.

And ſo, with a low Courteſy, beginneth his Oration, which commonly ſtandeth upon theſe Parts, *viz.*

1. Entrance aptly taken from the Time or Perſon.
2. The Praiſe of his Majeſty's Government, or Laws of his Time.
3. Thankſgiving for Summoning the Parliament, whereby the Sores of the Commonwealth may be prevented and remedied.
4. Promiſe of all Diligence and Fidelity in them of the Lower Houſe.
5. Aſſurance of his own Duty, as Power will permit.
6. The Petitions that be ordinary, *&c.*

Firſt, For Injoining the Privilege of the Houſe; then for themſelves, their Goodneſs and Servants.

CHAP. III.

The firſt Reading of any Bill.

UPON the firſt Reading of a Bill, the Speaker, taking the Bill in one Hand, and his Cap in the other Hand, may ſay: 'You have heard the Bill, the Contents 'whereof are theſe, *&c.*' And, after the Rehearſal thereof, may read another, without ſuffering any Man, if he may ſtay him, to ſpeak unto it, but rather to adviſe thereof until the next Reading; which is a Means not only to hear effectual Speech, but alſo to ſave a great Deal of Time.

A Bill may not be committed upon the firſt Reading, and yet, 27 *Jan.* 23 *Eliſ.* the Proviſo for the Clerk of the Market was, upon the firſt Reading thereof, committed with the Bill.

See afterwards, that the Subſidy of the Clergy paſſeth at the *firſt Reading*; and ſo the *Pardon*.

CHAP. IV.

The ſecond Reading of a Bill.

AT the ſecond Reading of a Bill, it ought to be either ingroſſed, committed, or rejected; and, if any ſhall offer to ſpeak thereto, after that three have ſpoken all on one Side, the Speaker may ſay, That the Bill is ſufficiently ſpoken unto; What is your Pleaſure? Will you have it ingroſſed, or committed?

And, if the more Voices will have it ingroſſed, it muſt be done accordingly.

And, if the more Voices will have it committed, then the Speaker intreats them to appoint the Committees; and, that done, their Names, and the Time and Place of Meeting, and the Day of their Report ſhall be indorſed upon it.

If the more Voices be not apparently diſcerned, then the Speaker may put the Queſtion again

again ſtill: 'As many, as will have this Bill 'ingroſſed, ſay, Ay.' And, after that Voice, 'So many, as will not have it ingroſſed, ſay, 'No.'

Again, if the Sides ſeem equal, the Speaker may pray all thoſe that be on the Affirmative, to go down with the Bill, and the reſt to ſit in their Places; and the Sides ſhall be numbered by Tellers to be appointed by the Speaker, and the greater Number ſhall prevail, and the leſs Number ſhall go, and fetch them up, in Token of Conſent; and the Speaker ſhall report the Yea, or No, according to the ſtronger Side.

One Bill may be twice read in one Day.

A Bill may be committed after the Ingroſſing.

CHAP. V.

Orders to be obſerved by ſuch as ſhall ſpeak.

IF two Perſons ſhall ariſe to ſpeak, the Speaker muſt appoint him to ſpeak firſt, that firſt aroſe, and offered to ſpeak.

One Man may not ſpeak twice to one Bill in one Day, although he will change his Opinion, except it be only for the Moving of ſome Order.

Every Man, that will ſpeak, muſt direct his Speech to the Speaker, and not to any other, but only by Circumlocution, as by Saying, 'He which ſpoke with the Bill, or he which 'made this, or that Reaſon.'

If any touch another by nipping, or unreverent Speech, the Speaker may admoniſh him.

If any ſhall ſpeak diſhonourably of the King, or his Council, he is not only to be interrupted, but may be alſo ſent by the Houſe unto the *Tower*. As for Example,

Withers, a Burgeſs for *London*, *Eliſabeth*, uttered certain Speeches, whereby it ſeemed, that he noted the Lord *William Howard*, then Lord-Chamberlain and ſometimes Lord-Admiral, with Corruption, but named him not; and therefore it was thought, he ſhould not be puniſhed, nor put to anſwer for it.

If any ſpeak too long, and ſpeak within the Matter, he may not be cut off; but if he be long, and out of the Matter, then may the Speaker gently admoniſh him of the Shortneſs of the Time, or the Buſineſs of the Houſe, and pray him to make as ſhort as he may.

But if he range in evil Words, then to interrupt him, ſaying: 'I pray you to ſpare theſe 'Words, they become not this Place of State 'and Council.

'It hath not been the Order here ſo to do, I 'pray you take Care of us all, conſidering what 'Danger the Report hereof may breed unto us.'

No Speech ought to be made but only in Matter in Bill, and therefore all other Motions ought to be repreſented, and the Movers, if the Matter be good, to put their Deſire into a Bill.

CHAP. VI.

Licenſe from the King to proceed.

A BILL exhibited by Clothiers of *Devonſhire*, for remitting the Act of Relief, for making of Cloths, redelivered unto them, with Promiſe, that they ſhould receive an Anſwer thereof, at the Return of the Knights of the Shire the Sixth of *November*, 1 *Edward the Sixth*; and afterwards Suit was made by the Speaker, the Privy-Council, and twelve others, to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure, whether they might treat thereof.

And three Days after it was anſwered, they might treat thereof, having in Regard the Cauſe of the granting of that Relief.

The Speaker ſhewed, that it was the Queen's Pleaſure, that the Houſe ſhould proceed no further with the Bill, for the Revenues of the Queen, becauſe it extended to divers which had accounted 5 *Mart.* & 4 & 5 *Phil.* & *Ma.*

Three of the Privy-Council, whereof Sir *Edward Rogers*, then Comptroller was one, delivered to the Houſe her Majeſty's expreſs Commandment, that they ſhould proceed no further with their Suit, which was in a Sort moved to be reiterated by a Speech of this Writer, *W. L.* But, that they ſhould ſatisfy themſelves with her Promiſe.

And then *Peter Wentworth*, and *James Dalton*, moved, whether this did not reſtrain the Liberty of the Houſe; upon which, after many Arguments, they reſolved to ceaſe till the next Day, 9 *Nov.* 8 *Eliſ.* And afterwards 23.

Now the Queen revoked her ſaid Commandment, and gave them Liberty to proceed; but, upon Conſultation, amongſt themſelves, they ſpared to proceed any further.

It was ordered, That Mr. *Warner* ſhould receive, of the Speaker, a Bill, exhibited by *Hubbart*, and his Wife, againſt Sir *Nicholas Hare*, and that certain of the Houſe ſhould hear, and, if they could, determine the Cauſe; the Protector's Grace, to make an End thereof. 11 *Feb.* 1 *Ed.* VI.

CHAP. VII.

Calling of the Houſe, and the Pain of their Abſence.

IT is a common Policy, to ſay upon the Reading, that the Houſe ſhall be called on *Saturday*; to ſay it ſhall be called on *Wedneſday*; and ſo from Day to Day, by Fear thereof, to keep the Company together.

It was ordered, That no Knight, or Burgeſs, ſhould depart without Licenſe of the Houſe, or of the Speaker, to be entered with the Clerk of the Crown, that he make no Writ, to levy ſuch Fees or Wages, 18 *Mart.* 23 *Eliſ.* and upon the firſt Day of the Parliament, there was moreover laid upon each Knight, which had not appeared, twenty Pounds; and upon every Burgeſs, ten Pounds.

See the Statute *Ed.* V. *Fol.* 2. Statute *Cap.* 4. whereupon this double Puniſhment, for Abſence, is grounded.

After that the Committees have made their Report and Opinion of any Bill, referred to their Conſideration, it ſhall be thrice read, and it may be ſpoken unto at every Reading.

It was ordered, That the Committees of the Lower Houſe, upon a Conference with the Lords, might urge any Reaſons, tending to the Maintenance of any Thing that had paſſed the Houſe; but, not of any new Thing to be propounded, until the Houſe were firſt made privy thereto.

CHAP. VIII.

The third Reading of a Bill.

WHEN a Bill is ingroſſed, and hath received the third Reading, it muſt either paſs, or be rejected by the more Voices; if it paſs, then it muſt be indorſed, *Soit baillé aux Seigneurs*; and if it he rejected, it muſt not come any more in the Houſe.

At one Day, after a Bill is paſſed, and not ſent away, the Speaker may diſcover any Miſtaking of Words therein, which may be amended, and thrice read, and paſſed by. Queſtion, 30 *Januarii*, 23 *Eliſ.*

If the Lords agree to any Bill ſent unto them from the Lower Houſe, it muſt be indorſed, *Les Seigneurs ont aſſentis*, and then it ſhall be remanded to the Lower Houſe.

And, if the Lords firſt paſs a Bill, and ſend it to the Lower Houſe, which alſo agree thereto, it muſt be indorſed, *Les Commons ont aſſentis.*

But, if there be any Difference for Alteration of a Bill, between the Lords and Commons, then it is requiſite that ſome ſpecial Perſons of each Houſe meet, and confer, that the one Houſe may underſtand the Meaning of the other.

A Bill ſigned by the King, and ſent to the Lower Houſe, may not be altered in any Part thereof, without his Majeſty's Licenſe.

But, if a Bill come from the Lords, and not ſigned by him, it may be altered by noting, what

what ſhould be taken from it, or added unto it.

A Bill that came from the Lords was amended, and a Scroll of Addition in Parchment, put unto it, and ſent to the Lords, without any Indorſement, *Soit baillé aux Seigneurs*; and for Want thereof they would not proceed, but remanded it to paſs the Bill, and withdraw that Addition, or elſe to indorſe it, and thereupon it was indorſed, 8 *Mart.* 23 *Eliſ.*

A Bill from the Lords is wont to be ſent by ſome of the King's learned Council, who are to make three Courteſies upon the Delivery thereof.

The Speaker is to receive it with his Cap in his Hand, and to ſay the Houſe will have Conſideration of it.

Then muſt he ſhew unto the Houſe the Intituling of them, and after two or three Days, according to the Exigency of the Cauſe, he may read and paſs them as before.

A Bill, which paſſed from the Lower Houſe, was remanded by the Lords with an Addition, and *Puckering* the Speaker, foreſeeing the Inclination of the Houſe to overthrow the Bill, demanded the Queſtion only, touching a ſmall Addition, which was denied, and ſo the Bill indirectly daſhed, but the Body thereof ſaved and untouched.

If a Bill paſs by the Queſtion, yet any Addition may be made, thrice read, and agreed, *Sedente Curia*, and ſo any Addition to a Bill itſelf.

The Bill of Navigation was but half read, and, by Reaſon of a long Argument, was reſpited the next Day, but ſome doubted of that Order.

The Bill of counterfeiting Inſtruments, or Seals of Office, was, at the third Reading, long argued, and referred for further Argument till the next Day, and then alſo committed to the firſt Committees, and others, 9 *Feb.* 29 *Eliſ.*

CHAP. IX.

Reſpite from Sitting.

IF the Sitting be reſpited for a Day, or more, by Order, yet then the Speaker, accompanied with ſome, ought in that Reſpite, to read a Bill *Pro forma, exceptis diebus non Juridicis.*

CHAP. X.

Evidences given by the Lords in the Lower Houſe.

UPON the Attainder of Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Lord Admiral, it was ordered in the Lower Houſe, that the Speaker and Privy-Council ſhould deſire of the Queen, *That the Lords, which gave Evidence in the Higher Houſe, might alſo give the ſame in the Lower Houſe.* 2 *Mart.* 10 *E.* vi.

CHAP. XI.

Fees for the Speaker and Serjeant.

THE Speaker is wont to have one-hundred Pounds of the Prince for the Parliament.

Of the Subject, for every private Bill for Aſſurance, five Pounds before he deliver it out of his Hand.

For every Name in any Bill for Deniſens, five Pounds, unleſs he do agree for leſs.

The Serjeant hath two Shillings of every Burgeſs, and four Shillings of every Knight, for each Seſſion of Parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Puniſhment of Offences.

UPON Complaint of Sir *Robert Brandling*, Burgeſs of *Newcaſtle*, that *Witherington*, and others, had made an Aſſault upon him:

It was ordered, That the Lord Chancellor ſhould award an Attachment to the Lord Preſident in the North, againſt *Witherington*; and the Houſe deſired the Lords of the Council to receive the Bill of Sir *Robert* againſt *Witherington*, and to take Order therein, according to their ancient Cuſtom.

And, when the Bill was read to *Witherington*, he confeſſed the Aſſault; and after, one *Ellaker*, Servant to the Duke of *Suffolk*, was, for the ſame Cauſe, ſent in by his Maſter; and it was ordered, That he ſhould remain in the Ward of the Serjeant of the Houſe, till he found Surety to appear in the *King*'s-*Bench*, when he ſhould be appointed, and to be bound to the Peace: And, after that he was bound to the Peace, Sir *Robert* ſued for his Diſcharge, and four of the Houſe were appointed to deſire the Duke's Favour for him, 15 *Feb.* 6 *Eliſ.* & 5 *April* 7.

Monington was ſent to the *Tower* for Striking *Johnſon*, a Burgeſs; and yet he excuſed himſelf, that he knew him not to be a Burgeſs; and, after two Days, he was fetched by the Serjeant, and diſcharged by the Houſe; and, for that *Johnſon* prayed that he might go ſafe, that was committed to two of the Houſe, 24 *April*, 1 *Mar.*

John Savage wounded *Ceder Meniall*, Servant to *Brooke*, a Knight of the Parliament; and it was eſtabliſhed, that Proclamation ſhall be where the Fact was done, That *Savage* ſhould render his Body in the *King*'s-*Bench* within a Quarter of a Year.

Moreover, it is accorded, that likewiſe it be done in Time to come, in like Caſe. *Statute* 5 *Fol.* 2 *Cap.* 6. and the ſame is confirm- 11 *Hen.* vi. *Cap.* 11.

CHAP. XIII.

Puniſhment of Offences committed by them of the Houſe.

THE Chancellor of the Duchy, Sir *Ambroſe Cane*, complained of Sir *Thomas White*, Alderman of *London*, for calling him to witneſs of Miſliking the Book of *Common-Prayer*.

Sir *Thomas* anſwered, That he ſaid, that Mr. *Chancellor* wiſhed that the Book might be well conſidered; and he aſked the Chancellor Forgiveneſs, and had it, 6 *Mart.* 1 *Eliſ.*

Upon the Bill of Confirmation of Letters Patents, *Thomas Copely* ſaid, That he feared that by this the Queen might give away the Crown from the right Inheritors, and therefore he was committed to the Cuſtody of the Serjeant; but, foraſmuch as he excuſed himſelf by his Youth, the Houſe moved the Queen to pardon him, who would not preſently grant, but ſaid, That ſhe would not be unmindful of their Requeſt. 5 *Martii* 4 & 5 *Phil. et Mariæ.*

Thrower was committed, for Saying, If a Bill came in for Women's Wires, they would diſpute it, and put it to the Queſtion, 7 *April*, 1 *Eliſ.*

Upon *Story*'s Submiſſion, being in the *Tower*, it was ordered, That the Privy-Council of the Houſe ſhould declare unto the Houſe, That their Reſolution was, to have him diſcharged, and to pray the King to pardon his Offences.

Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was ſent out of his Houſe to the *Tower*, for an Offence done before the Summons of the Parliament; and Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary, ſaid, That the Queen was then aſſured by her Juſtices, that ſhe might commit any of the Houſe during the Parliament, for any Offence againſt her Crown and Dignity, and that they ſhewed divers Precedents thereof.

The Servants of Sir *Henry Jones*, a Knight of the Houſe, did hurt a Servant of one *Gardiner*, a Burgeſs; the Maſter was awarded to the Sheriff of *London* to bring them into the Court, and their Maſter gave Sureties, that they ſhould appear the next Term, and anſwer both the Queen and the Party, and ſo they

were delivered by the Privilege, to wait upon their Maſters; and ſo, by Conference of this Caſe with Sir *Edward Warner*'s, it ſeemeth, a Man ſhall not have the Privilege of the Houſe for a Criminal Offence, that immediately toucheth the Queen, but where it toucheth her indirectly, as by Treſpaſs againſt another.

Pearne was committed to the *Marſhalſea* for Pickery, without any Notice given to the Houſe.

If any of the Houſe be to anſwer any Contempt, or Offence, he muſt go to the Bar, and not keep his Place.

Arthur Hall, Burgeſs, for *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*, ſubmitted himſelf at the Bar, for Writing and Imprinting a Book, wherein he defaced the Authority of the Lower Houſe, or their Eſtate of Parliament; and he was put out of the Doors, and theſe Points, touching him, were reſolved, *viz.*

'That he be committed to the *Tower*, which 'is the Priſon for this Houſe, for a certain 'Time, and pay a Fine to the Queen, and be 'ſevered from being a Member of the Houſe; 'make a Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, 'to direct a Brief to the Sheriff of *Lincolnſhire*, 'for the Borough of *Grantham*, to chooſe and 'return a new Burgeſs; that it be publiſhed by 'Order of the Houſe, that his Book is falſe, 'and ſeditious; and that himſelf be brought 'into the Houſe, to have this Judgment pro-'nounced againſt him by the Speaker, in the 'Name of all the Houſe; that the Serjeant be 'commanded to convey him to the *Tower*, by 'Warrant from the Houſe, ſigned by the 'Speaker, and that all the Proceeding be 'written, read, and entered, as other Cauſes 'of the Houſe are.' 14 *Feb.* 23 *Eliſ.*

Dr. *Story* was reprehended, for being of the Lower Houſe; he came of Council with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, before the Lords in the Higher Houſe, touching a Parliament Cauſe, and acknowledged his Offence. 23 *Mart.* 1 *Eliſ.*

The Houſe had agreed, 23 *Eliſ.* to have a common Faſt, whereof the Queen miſliked not for the Matter, but for the Innovation of Order without her Privity, and without Eccleſiaſtical Authority, for which the Commons ſubmitted themſelves, and ſhe gave them their Pardon.

Amongſt many Queſtions reſolved upon in that Parliament, 21 *Fol.* 2, this was one: After the Aſſembly of the Parliament, and after the chief Matters being propounded by the King, for which he called the Parliament:

The Lords and Commons might treat of other Matters firſt, and forbear to handle thoſe, until the Matters, propounded by them, were diſcuſſed, notwithſtanding that they were alſo enjoined to the Contrary by the King.

It was anſwered, That they might not ſo treat, and that, if they did, they were to be puniſhed as Traytors; but 1 *Hen.* IV. this Parliament and thoſe Reſolutions of 21 *Fol.* 2 were repealed, and ſundry of the Judges that joined in that Reſolution were hanged; ſo before.

Note, That the King, 15 and 10 of the Parliament, may as well diſſolve, as he did, ſummon it, if he like not their Proceeding, and therefore this Reſolution was needleſs.

Mr. *Cope*, *Lukenor*, *Hurleſton*, *Braynbridge*, and others, were committed to the *Tower* by the Queen, for that, before the Parliament, they had ſundry Conventions for the preferring in Parliament a Book touching the Rates of the Church, and a Form of an Act for the eſtabliſhing the ſame.

Which alſo they did print, prefer, and urge in Parliament: But it ſeemed, that if they had treated thereof only in Time of Parliament, being Burgeſſes, they ſhould not have been impeached, *Februarii* 28 *Eliſ.*

That the *Gate-houſe* is ſometimes uſed for a Priſon to this Houſe.

CHAP. XIV.

Privileges for them of the Houſe.

SEE the Statute, 8 *Hen.* VI *Cap.* 1, where it is ſaid, That the Clergy, called to the Convocation, ſhall enjoy ſuch Liberties, or Defence, in coming, tarrying, and going, as the Lords and Commonalty of *England* called to the Parliament.

It is the Order, that, if any Burgeſs require Privilege for himſelf, and his Servant, he ſhall

have a Warrant ſigned by the Speaker, to obtain the Writ of Privilege; and, for that *William Ward*, Burgeſs for *Lanc*, got ſuch a Writ, without ſuch a Warrant, it was committed to divers to be examined. 22 *Februarii*, 6 *Ed.* VI.

Certain of the Houſe went, by Order, to the *Common-Pleas.* to excuſe the Appearance of Mr. *Palmer*, a Burgeſs, in Attaint. 4 *Nov.* 3 *Edw.* VI. *Hugh Lloyd.*

It is ordered, That *Hugh Lloyd*, by *Procedendo*, ſhould be put from the Privilege, and be delivered to the Sheriff of *London*, in whoſe Ward he was before; but he eſcaped, and was taken, and ſent to the *Gate-houſe* for the Time, and the next Day ſent to *London*, in ſuch Caſe as he was before the Privilege granted; and to abide the Order of the Houſe, whilſt it ſhould ſit, though he agreed with his Creditor, called *Gordon*, or, after the Seſſion, to abide the Order of the Privy-council for his Miſdemeanour, 28 *Mar.* 6. *Edw.* VI. And, afterwards, 15 *April*, it was ordered, That, when he had ſatisfied his Creditors, he ſhould be delivered from the *Compter* to the Serjeant of the Houſe, and diſcharged of Impriſonment there, notwithſtanding any Action laid upon him in *London*, after his firſt Impriſonment.

There was alſo one *Criktoft* then committed to the *Gate-houſe*, and diſcharged, paying his Fees.

Beaumount, of the Lower Houſe, ſerved a *Subpœna* upon the Earl of *Huntington*, of the Higher Houſe; whereupon the Lords ſent Complaint thereof to the Houſe, which certified, That it was no Breach of the Privilege, 17 *April.* 1 *Mar.* becauſe it requireth no Appearance, as I think, and reſtraineth not the Perſon.

William Allen, Burgeſs for *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*, had the Privilege againſt an Attachment upon a Proceſs out of the *Exchequer*, 21 *April.* 1 *Mar.* to conſider, whether the Proceſs were for the Queen, or for a common Perſon.

Pledall, Burgeſs, was bound by Recogniſance to appear in the *Star-chamber* within twelve Days after the End of the Parliament; and, upon Complaint thereof, it was anſwered, by Conference of the Lords with the Juſtices and learned Council, That it was no Breach of the Privilege, 6 *Decemb.* 1 & 2 *Phil.* & *Mar.*

Stroode, Burgeſs, intending to exhibit Bills in Parliament, for Abuſes in the Court of *Stannaries*, was there, by Means of one *Turſe*, an Under-ſteward, preſented and taken, for certain Sums that were laid upon him; and thereupon this Act, 4 *H.* VIII. *cap.* 8, was made, *viz.*

'All Suits, Accuſations, Condemnations, 'Executions, Fines, Amercements, Puniſh-'ments, Corrections, Charges, and Impoſi-'tions, put or had, or hereafter to be put or 'had unto, to, or upon the ſaid *Richard* '*Stroode*, and to every other of the Perſons, 'that now be of this preſent Parliament, or 'that of any Parliament hereafter ſhall be, for 'any Bill, Speaking, Reaſoning, or Declaring 'of any Matter or Matters concerning the 'Parliament to be commanded, or treated of, 'ſhall be utterly void, and of none Effect.'

CHAP. XV.

The Bill of Subſidy.

THE Manner is, when a Subſidy is granted, to carry it alone, and the Pardon to the King, leaving the reſt of the Bills in the Chamber; and this is done to prepare the Royal Aſſent to the reſt, and to preſent the Subſidy.

The Bill of Subſidy is offered by the Commons only; for the Lords, beſides the common Uſage for other Bills, do ſend it to the Houſe again, after that they have thrice read it, and there it remaineth to be carried by the Speaker, when he ſhall preſent it, 18 *Mar.* 25 *Eliſ.*

After Motion made for a Subſidy, the Device and Dealing therein is committed to divers, who agree upon Articles, which they do bring in to be ordered by the Houſe: That Mr. Attorney-General ſhall draw it into Form of an Act; which done, it hath three Readings, and ſo paſſeth all other Bills; only the Conſiderations in the Preamble are penned by ſome Committees, whereof ſome are always of the Privy-council.

CHAP. XVI.

Subſidies of the Clergy.

THE Confirmation of the Subſidy, granted by the Clergy, paſſed to the Queſtion upon the firſt Reading thereof, 4 *Mart.* 23 *Eliſabeth.*

CHAP. XVII.

The general Pardon.

IT is ſent to the Houſe, ſigned with the King's Hand, and being once read, it is demanded, if they be contented to accept it, and ſo paſſeth to the Queſtion, 18 *Mart.* 25 *Eliſabeth.*

CHAP. XVIII.

The Preſence of the King.

IF he come not the firſt Day of the Parliament, then muſt there be an Adjournment until another Day, by Letters Patents, for otherwiſe all is diſſolved.

If he come in the End of the Parliament, then it may be prorogued by his Word only uttered by the Lord Keeper, or Chancellor.

CHAP. XIX

The Royal Aſſent to Bills paſſed both the Houſes.

THE Royal Aſſent is commonly in Perſon yielded by the Words of the King uttered by the Clerk of the Crown, in *French*, thus, *viz.*

To all Bills generally to be enacted, *Le Roy le veut.*

To private Bills, *Soit fait come c'eſt deſirè.*

To thoſe that ſhall not paſs, *Le Roy ſe adviſera.*

To the Grants of Subſidy, *Le Roy renda grand mercies*; and according to the Variety they are indorſed alſo.

But the Royal Aſſent may be by Letters Patents in his Abſence.

CHAP. XX.

The Attendance of the Warden of the Fleet.

IT was ordered, That the Speaker, in the Name of the Houſe, ſhould command the Warden of the *Fleet*, which is a Miniſter of this Houſe, that two of his Servants ſhould attend at the Stair-head, by the Door of the Lower Houſe, to repreſs, and apprehend Lacquies, and Servants, and to bring them to the Houſe, 2 *Februarii*, 23 *Elif.*

The

The Protector's Declaration againſt the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, and the true Worſhip of the Church of *England*. Printed and publiſhed by his Highneſs's ſpecial Commandment. *London*, printed by *Henry Hills* and *John Field*, Printers to his Highneſs. From a *Folio* Page.

HIS Highneſs the Lord Protector, upon Advice with his Council, finding it neceſſary, for the Reaſons and upon the Grounds expreſſed in his late Declaration, to uſe all good Means to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, and prevent future Troubles within the ſame, hath thought fit to publiſh and declare, and by and with the Conſent of his Council, doth publiſh, order, and declare, That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, in *England* or *Wales*, whoſe Eſtates have been ſequeſtered for Delinquency, or who were actually in Arms for the late King againſt the then Parliament, or for *Charles Stuart* his Son, or have adhered to, abetted, or aſſiſted the Forces raiſed againſt the ſaid Parliament, do, from and after the Firſt Day of *December*, 1655, buy, uſe, or keep in his or their Houſe, or Houſes, or elſewhere, any Arms offenſive, or defenſive, upon Pain, that every Perſon and Perſons, ſo offending, ſhall forfeit and loſe ſuch Arms, and be otherwiſe proceeded againſt, according to the Orders of his Highneſs and the Council, for ſecuring the Peace of the Commonwealth. And his Highneſs, by the Advice of his Council, doth alſo publiſh, declare, and order, That no Perſon or Perſons aforeſaid do, from and after the Firſt Day of *January*, 1655, keep in their Houſes and Families, as Chaplains or Schoolmaſters, for the Education of their Children, any ſequeſtered or ejected Miniſter, Fellow of any College, or Schoolmaſter, nor permit any of their Children to be taught by ſuch, upon Pain of being proceeded againſt in ſuch Sort, as the ſaid Orders do direct in ſuch Caſes. And that no Perſon, who hath been ſequeſtered or ejected out of any Benefice, College, or School for Delinquency or Scandal, ſhall, from and after the Firſt Day of *January*, keep any School, either publick or private, nor any Perſon, who after that Time ſhall be ejected for the Cauſes aforeſaid.

And that no Perſon, who, for Delinquency or Scandal, hath been ſequeſtered or ejected, ſhall, from and after the Firſt Day of *January* aforeſaid, preach in any publick Place, or at any private Meeting of any other Perſons than thoſe of his own Family, nor ſhall adminiſter Baptiſm, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any Perſons, or uſe the Book of Common-Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained, upon Pain, that every Perſon, ſo offending in any of the Premiſſes, ſhall be proceeded againſt, as, by the ſaid Orders, is provided and directed. And to the End all Perſons concerned may take Notice hereof, and avoid the Danger of any of the ſaid Penalties, his Highneſs doth charge and command all Sheriffs within their reſpective Counties, Cities, and Towns, to cauſe this Declaration to be proclaimed and publiſhed. Nevertheleſs, his Highneſs doth declare, that, towards ſuch of the ſaid Perſons as have, ſince their Ejection or Sequeſtration, given, or ſhall hereafter give, a real Teſtimony of their Godlineſs and good Affection to the preſent Government, ſo much Tenderneſs ſhall be uſed, as may conſiſt with the Safety and Good of this Nation.

Given at Whitehall, *this Fourth Day of* October, 1655.

An honourable and worthy Speech, ſpoken in the High Court of Parliament, by Mr. *Smith* of the *Middle-Temple*, *October* 28, 1641, concerning the Regulating of the King's Majeſty's Prerogative, and the Liberties of the Subjects. With a Motion for the ſpeedy Redreſs of all Grievances, under which the Church and State do lie. *London*, printed by *Bernard Alſop*. 1641, *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Mr. *Speaker*,

THE laſt Time we aſſembled, we ſat like a College of Phyſicians, upon the Life and Death of three great Patients; whoſe bleeding Hearts lay proſtrate before us, and were arrived at that critical Minute, either to receive Relief, or eternal Deſtruction. The three fortunate Nations were preſented to us, in all their Diſtractions, and grown to ſuch a Superlative in their Miſeries, that like nurſing Mothers bereaved of their tender Infants, they were careleſs of what might happen to them, *Quia perdiderunt libertates.* Theſe three Kingdoms, whoſe Peace and Amity filled the remaining World with Envy and Emulation, and were, like that happy Trinity of Faith, Hope, and Charity, in a perfect Union, had but now their Swords edged to each others Confuſion. *O ſcelus hominum!* Height of Impiety! *Kai Su Teknon!* ſaid *Cæſar* in the Senate; it was not his Death that grieved him, but that his Son ſhould advance his Hand to his Slaughter. How many Sons and *Neroes* had we, whoſe earneſt Endeavours were to rip up their Mother's Womb, and like Vipers eat through her Bowels, and to lay deſolate their Father's Houſe:

——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a lachrymis? ———

And yet all this had been but a Prologue to our Tragedy, had not God Almighty pleaſed to interpoſe his Hand, and to have been a Pillar of Fire betwixt us and our Captivity, and to have wrought our Deliverance, by his great Inſtrument, the Parliament; whoſe conſtant Labour it hath been, for this Year paſt, to create a true Underſtanding and firm Peace between the Nations; which I hope is ſo accompliſhed, that it is not in the Power of the Devil, or all his Works, ever to diſſolve it. This, I ſay, was the Work of our laſt Sitting. Give me Leave, Sir, I beſeech you, to deliver what I conceive convenient to be of this: 'To give God his 'Due, to eſtabliſh Rights between King and 'People, and to compoſe Things amongſt our-'ſelves.' That we may give God his Due, we muſt advance his Worſhip, and compel Obedience to his Commands, wherein he hath been ſo much neglected. Honour and Riches have been ſet up for Gods, in Competition with him; Idolatry and Superſtition have been introduced, even into his Houſe, the Church, and he expulſed; his Name hath been blaſphemed, and his Day prophaned, by the Authority of that unlawful Book of Sports; and thoſe, who would not tremble thus to diſhonour God, would not ſcruple to do it to their Parents, or injure their Neighbours, either by Murther of themſelves, or Names, or by Adultery, *David*'s great Crimes: They have not only robbed God of his Honour, but Men of their Eſtates, and of Part of themſelves; Members and Ears have been ſet to Sale, even to the Deforming of that Creature, whom God had honoured with his own Image; that they might colour this their Wickedneſs, Perjury and falſe Teſtimony have been more frequent with them, than their Prayers; and all this proceeded out of an inordinate Deſire

of

of that which was their Neighbours; and thus God in all his Commandments hath been abuſed. Can we then wonder at his Judgments, or think he could do leſs to right himſelf upon ſuch a rebellious People than he hath?

I beſeech you, Sir, let us do ſomething to ſeat him in his Throne, and worſhip all with one Mind, and not that every one ſhould go to God a Way by himſelf; this Uncertainty ſtaggers the unreſolved Soul, and leads it into ſuch a Labyrinth, that not knowing where to fix, for Fear of erring, ſticks to no Way; ſo dies before it performs that, for which it was made to live; Uniformity in his Worſhip is that which pleaſeth him, and if we will thus ſerve him, we may expect Protection from him.

The next Thing that I conceive fit to be conſidered, is, to cauſe the Rights, both of the King and People, truly to be underſtood; and in this, to give that Authority to the Prerogative which legally it hath, and to uphold the Subjects Liberty from being minced into Servitude.

That the King ſhould have a Prerogative, is neceſſary for his Honour; it differences him from his People; but, if it ſwells too high, and makes an Inundation upon his Subjects Liberty, it is no longer then to be ſtiled by that Name: The Privilege of the Subject is likewiſe for his Majeſty's high Honour. King *David* gloried in the Number of his People; and Queen *Eliſabeth* delivered in a Speech in Parliament, that the Greatneſs of a Prince conſiſted in the Riches of his Subjects; intimating, that then they ſtood like lofty Cedars about him to defend him from the Storms of the World, and there were ample Demonſtrations of that, in that renowned Queen's Reign; but what Encouragement can they have, either to increaſe their Numbers, or Eſtates, unleſs they may have Protection both for themſelves, and Eſtates? Therefore, the Privilege and Greatneſs of the Subjects are relatively for the Honour of the Prince.

Prerogative and Liberty are both neceſſary to this Kingdom; and like the Sun and Moon, give Luſtre to this benighted Nation, ſo long as they walk at their equal Diſtances; but when one of them ſhall venture into the other's Orb, like thoſe Planets in Conjunction, they then cauſe a deeper Eclipſe. What ſhall be the Compaſs then, by which theſe two muſt ſteer? Why, nothing but the ſame by which they are, the Law; which if it might run in the free Current of its Purity, without being poiſoned by the venomous Spirits of ill-affected Diſpoſitions, would ſo fix the King to his Crown, that it would make him ſtand like a Star in the Firmament, for the Neighbour-world to behold and tremble at.

That they may be the better acted, I ſhall humbly deſire, that after ſo many Times, that great Charter, the Light of the Law, may be reviewed, the Liberty of the Subject explained, and be once more confirmed; and Penalties impoſed on the Breakers, and let him die unto the Bargain, that dares attempt the Act.

The laſt Thing, that falls into Conſideration, is, to ſet Things right amongſt ourſelves, the Subjects of *England*; And in this, ſo to provide, that the *Mæcenaſſes* of the Times may not, like great Jacks in a Pool, devour their Inferiors, and make Poverty a Pavement for themſelves to trample on. This hath been a Burthen we have long groaned under; for if a great one did but ſay the Word, it was ſufficient to evict my Right, even from my own Inheritance. They had both Law and Juſtice ſo in a String, that they could command them with a Nod; and thus People have been diſinherited of their common Right; the Law which is as due to them, as the Air they breathe in.

On the other Side, we muſt take Care, that the common People may not carve themſelves out Juſtice, by their Multitudes. Of this we have too frequent Experience, by their breaking down Incloſures, and by raiſing other Tumults, to as ill Purpoſes: Which if they be not ſuddenly ſuppreſſed, to how deſperate an Iſſue, this may grow, I will leave to your better Judgments. My humble Motion therefore is, that an Intimation may go forth, unto the Country, to wiſh thoſe that are injured to reſort to Courts of Law. And, if there they fail of Juſtice, in Parliament they may be confident to receive it.

A com-

A compendious Hiſtory of the Taxes of *France*, and of the oppreſſive Methods of raiſing them. *London*, Printed by *J. M.* and *B. B.* for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms*, in *Warwick-lane*, 1694. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages.

To the Right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Gray* of *Grooby*, &c.

My Lord,

THE Deſign of this Treatiſe being only to inſpire the Engliſh *Nation with a greater Love of their Liberties, by repreſenting, in its true Colours, the miſerable Slavery to which* France *is reduced, it could not properly be addreſſed to any other, than to a publick Aſſertor of the publick Liberty. But, amongſt the ſeveral Competitors for that glorious Title, I think, I may with Juſtice ſay, no Perſon has ſo good a Claim to it, as your Lordſhip: Your being committed to the* Tower, *and a Scaffold erected for your Tryal, are Demonſtrations, that they, who then conſpired the Ruin of* England, *looked upon your Lordſhip as a principal Bulwark that obſtructed their Deſign; and, therefore, did their utmoſt to remove you, in order to their farther Progreſs. Your Lordſhip's Sufferings, for the Nation's Safety, intitled you to the general Thanks of the Kingdom; though, I muſt not ſay, your Lordſhip was the only Nobleman that was ſtruck at by the Perſecution (not to ſay Tyranny) of thoſe Times.*

But whoſoever recalls to Mind the Tranſactions of 1688, *muſt, withal, remember the important Services wherewith you ſignaliſed yourſelf, for the Reſcue of this Nation. You, my Lord, amongſt the illuſtrious Undertakers, durſt ſhew a good Example, by appearing the firſt in Arms, and diſplaying, in open Field, the Colours of Liberty, thereby giving Life to that famous, but languiſhing, Aſſociation, when it had been almoſt caſt away in a Storm at Sea.*

This is a glorious Circumſtance, and, muſt be allowed, peculiar to your Lordſhip.

There are ſome Perſons in the World, who appear very zealous for their Country, and for their Princes; and yet have been ſo unhappy, as not to eſcape the Prejudices of having their Zeal been thought to have chiefly centered on their private Intereſts: What your Lordſhip has done, leaves no Room for any ſuch Suſpicion; for Nothing can be found more diſintereſted.

You have vigorouſly aſſerted the Right of your Country and as vigorouſly expreſſed your Zeal to their Majeſties, in contributing ſo much to the Placing the Crown on their Heads, and afterwards, your Fidelity, in that great Share which it is well known your Lordſhip had in its further Settlement, by the Recognition *Bill.*

You have done all to an eminent Degree, and all this too at your own Expence: For, hitherto, your great and noble Services have only been their own Reward.

What

That I have as yet mentioned, concerning your Lordſhip, has been only with Relation to publick Affairs, and the Service of their preſent Majeſties; but what could I not ſay of thoſe ſhining Qualities and Virtues which are conſpicuous in your Lordſhip, and render you eminently valuable to all thoſe who have the Honour of being perſonally acquainted with you?

Theſe are Particulars I could eaſily enlarge upon, without fearing any other Cenſure than that of your own Modeſty, which I am unwilling to offend; but Juſtice obliges me, at leaſt, to ſay, That what your Lordſhip has performed for the Publick, deſerveth the Gratitude that diſtinguiſhed the firſt Age of the Roman *Commonwealth; and will be admired, ſo long as People retain any Senſe of, and Love for Liberty.*

Theſe, my Lord, muſt needs be the Sentiments of all true Engliſhmen; *ſince, even Natives of other Countries are charmed with ſo extraordinary a Merit, for which I cannot but expreſs the greateſt Veneration, though I was born and bred up in a Country wholly infected with Servitude. Wherefore, upon ſo juſt an Occaſion, I thought it my Duty, as it is my Ambition, to profeſs myſelf, with all imaginable Reſpect and Sincerity,*

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant.

HOW very great the Tyranny is, that the *French* King exerciſes over his Subjects, I hope this *Engliſh* Nation, in general, are not to learn now, becauſe ſo many Learned Pens have, in their various excellent Ways of Writing, endeavoured to acquaint all the World with it. This, I muſt confeſs; but yet, at the ſame Time, I cannot forbear to ſay, that, in my Opinion, none of thoſe admirable Authors have hit upon the true Turn of it: For though it is plain and manifeſt, that the *French* King could never have built ſo many beautiful and coſtly Palaces, never have bought ſo many Towns, corrupted and bribed into his Intereſts ſo many Men in all the Courts of *Europe*, and kept ſuch numerous Armies as he has in Pay, without vaſt Sums of Money; and that that Money could be no other than the Blood and Sweat of his People: Yet, in my Judgment, ſuch a Conſequence, how natural and plain ſoever it be in itſelf, is not fitted for all Capacities. This very Conſideration alone has obliged me to take another Method; and, that I may the better convince all Men of the exceſſive Tyranny of *Lewis* XIV, I will not make Uſe of the pathetical Figures of Rhetorick, but only ſet before the Eyes of this Nation a compendious Hiſtory of the Taxes, which the *French* King's Subjects are forced to pay to their inſulting Maſter; and, if I am not extremely miſtaken, theſe will give us a true and impartial Idea of the Gentleneſs of the *French* Government, which is ſo much talked of, and ſo much admired by the Enemies of the Felicity of *England*.

Though the Execution of my Deſign may ſeem at firſt pretty eaſy; yet, when it is narrowly and thoroughly examined into, it will be found attended with innumerable Difficulties; and, I dare ſay, that the Matter I deſign to handle now, is not only an Original, but alſo a very dark Myſtery, almoſt impenetrable to Strangers, and much unknown to the greateſt Part of *Frenchmen* themſelves. It is not then to be expected, that I ſhould be nicely exact in every Particular; that is what I dare not promiſe: But what I engage myſelf to do, is, to advance nothing in theſe Papers, but what ſhall be moſt certainly true, and which I have ſet down, as they have occurred to my Mind, without having any Regard to the Antiquity of the Taxes I ſpeak of. Another Difficulty which has been inſuperable to me, is a genuine Tranſlation of the Names which the *French* have given to thoſe Impoſitions: For, as *England* has always vigorouſly preſerved her Liberties, the very Words, which expreſs the Servitude and Slavery of other Nations, are wanting in her Language. O fortunate Iſland! Mayeſt thou for ever continue in that happy Ignorance.

ARTICLE I.

Of the TAILLE.

THE *Taille* is a Tax or Subſidy, which was formerly granted to the Kings of *France*, by the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, upon ſome extraordinary and emergent Occaſions: But, in Proceſs of Time, it became a Tax *Jure Divino*, and was continued in Succeſſion by arbitrary Power. *Lewis the Eleventh*, who was the firſt that openly invaded the Liberties of his Subjects, was alſo the firſt that raiſed this Tax without the Conſent of the three Eſtates, and who made it ſucceſſive likewiſe. The *Taille* is threefold; *viz.* Real, Perſonal, and Mixed. Real is, when it is only impoſed upon Lands, as in ſome Parts of the Province of *Guienne*, where a Man muſt pay a certain Sum to the King for every Acre of Land he is poſſeſſed of. Perſonal is, when it is aſſeſſed upon any perſonal Eſtate; that is, among the *French*, the Money that a Man is ſuppoſed to have in his own Hands, or to be worth in Lands, and Houſes, in his Induſtry, Art, or Ability, to get Money. Laſtly, The Mixed is ſo denominated, becauſe in ſome Parts of that Kingdom the Lands are not only aſſeſſed ſo much *per* Acre, but the Proprietor beſides is taxed for his Money, Art, and Ability. This Explanation I thought neceſſary for the better Underſtanding of my Subject.

The Real *Taille*, though very burthenſome, yet, however, it is the leaſt heavy upon the People: For, if a Man has but forty Acres of Land, he cannot be aſſeſſed for fifty; whereas, in all Provinces of *France*, except *Guienne*, the *Taille* being every where Perſonal, or Mixed, a Man is aſſeſſed for what he has, and for what he has not, that being at the Diſcretion of the Intendants of the Provinces, or ſome other Officer, called *Eleus*, who are not only appointed for thoſe Things. Hence it comes to paſs Abundance of People are aſſeſſed much more than what their yearly Rent is really worth; and a Cobler, or other poor Fellow, that hath nothing in the World to live on but the Benefit of his Arms, ſhall yet, notwithſtanding, be taxed four or five Crowns a Year. Were it not beyond my Deſign, I could eaſily give you many Inſtances of the extreme Heavineſs of this Tax; but, for Brevity-ſake, I ſhall content myſelf with this: That a Baker of *Goneſſe* near *Paris*, was aſſeſſed for his perſonal Eſtate, tho' he had not an Inch of Land, twelve-hundred *French* Crowns a Year; that is, two-hundred ſeventy Pounds Sterling. This is a Pattern by which we may readily judge of the whole Piece.

To ſay poſitively what the whole Sum amounts to, that is impoſed upon the Kingdom for this *Taille*, it is in a Manner impoſſible; for the *French* King does increaſe or diminiſh it, according as he himſelf pleaſeth; that is to ſay, according to the Expences he ſees himſelf obliged to be at. *Anno* 1684, when I was in *France*, the ſaid Sum amounted to forty Millions of *French* Livres, that is, above three Millions Sterling: But, if we conſider, that, at that Time the *French* King had Peace with all the World, we may eaſily believe that this Tax exceeds now fifty Millions and above. How this Tax is impoſed and levied, all inquiſitive Perſons, I hope, will be glad to know; and therefore, for their Satisfaction, I will relate it as plainly as the Darkneſs of the Matter will permit.

The King reſolveth firſt in his Council what Sum of Money is to be levied on his Subjects; then Commiſſions are iſſued forth to the general Treaſurers of the Generalities of the Kingdom, to give them Power to levy the Sum agreed upon. Theſe Commiſſions being received, the Treaſurers make a Diviſion of the Sum to be levied, proportionable to the Extent of the ſeveral Elections under them; which Diviſion, or Repartition, is ſent to the King, who thereupon ſends a Commiſſion to the Officers of each Election, by which they are ordered and enabled to raiſe ſuch a Sum in their reſpective Diſtricts. Theſe Officers meet, and make the Regiſters of Taxes, wherein each Town, Borough, Hamlet, or Pariſh, is aſſeſſed. Each Pariſh has one of thoſe Regiſters ſent to it, whereupon the Inhabitants make Choice of one or more of them to raiſe

the Sum aſſeſſed by the Officers of the Elections. Theſe are called Collectors, and they tax each Inhabitant according to his Eſtate: But, though they are forbidden to do it out of any Ill-will or Malice, yet they will eaſe their Friends, though they cruſh others: And this is the Cauſe of a great many Miſchiefs, and of divers Families being abſolutely ruined by theſe unjuſt Stewards.

The Kingdom of *France* being ſo very great, it is not forty nor fifty Millions that would ruin its Inhabitants, were that Sum but equally ſhared; but, as I have already obſerved, ſome being eaſed, when others are over-charged, and this Misfortune coming upon every Man in his Turn, the Collectors being changed ſo every Year, it happens that at laſt all become poor and miſerable. Well; we have now ſeen how that Tax is impoſed; let us, in the next Place, ſee how it is levied. Should, I ſay, that the Manner of collecting the *Taille*, is very near as grievous as the *Taille* itſelf, I ſhould ſay nothing but what is very true, though at firſt it ſeems almoſt incredible. To clear therefore this Point, I ſhall obſerve to you only, that, the People being grown very poor, they cannot exactly pay all that they are aſſeſſed; and upon Failure thereof, which muſt be Quarterly, the General Receiver or Treaſurer of each Election immediately ſends an Officer, called *Porteur de Contrainte*, or Commiſſary, to quarter upon the Collectors or Inhabitants of ſuch a Pariſh, which is ſo in Arrear, with two or three Men, whoſe Pay amounts to thirteen or fourteen Shillings a Day, where they remain till they have other Orders from the Receiver, which he never grants but upon full Payment. And, though this Way of Levying is rude and ſevere, yet it is very gentle, if compared with what they do in ſome Provinces of *France*, where the Receivers, inſtead of Commiſſaries, make Uſe of Soldiers, whom they quarter at Diſcretion upon thoſe who make the leaſt Default in Payment. And this is nothing leſs than Dragooning. It is alſo worth our Remark to obſerve, that when an Inhabitant is become ſo poor as he is utterly unable to pay his Tax, or ſuppoſe that the Collector ſhould prove a Rogue, and play away the King's Money, the other Inhabitants are bound to anſwer for each of theſe Diſaſters.

There are ſome Provinces in *France* that are not liable to the *Taille*; for thoſe of *Burgundy*, *Britanny*, and *Languedoc* are free from it, at leaſt as to the Name: For truly, at the Bottom, they pay too as well as the reſt; but with this only Difference, that, inſtead of *Taille*, their Subſidy is called *Don Gratuit*, a Free Gift of the Eſtates of thoſe Provinces. What thoſe of *Burgundy* give, I cannot tell at preſent; but the Free Gifts of *Britanny* and *Languedoc* amount every Year to above Six-hundred-thouſand Pounds of our *Engliſh* Money. Thoſe, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the State of *France*, will likely fall into a great Miſtake at the firſt Reading of this, and fancy to themſelves, that the States of thoſe Provinces are like the Parliament of *England*; but, leſt I ſhould give any Occaſion for ſo great an Error, I think it neceſſary to explain myſelf. The Truth is, that the States of *Languedoc* and *Britanny* were formerly like thoſe of *England*, but now they are only a Shadow of what they have been. They meet every Year, and, upon their Meeting, the Governor of the Provinces, or ſome other great Lord, demands from them, in the Name of the King, three or four Millions of Livres, more or leſs, as the King pleaſeth. His Speech, for the Formality-ſake, is indeed taken into Conſideration; but the Sum muſt be granted, with this only Shadow or Remain of Authority, that they grant ſomewhat leſs, perhaps, by fifty Crowns, than the King hath demanded. This is all; for they have no Power to meddle with any other Affairs. After ſuch a Digreſſion, which I have thought neceſſary for my Reader's Information, give me Leave to reſume the Thread of my Diſcourſe.

Some Towns alſo are free from the *Taille*; but inſtead of that they pay ſome other Duties, more than an Equivalent with that horrid Tax: Thoſe Duties are called Entries; but they deſerve to be conſidered a-part by themſelves in another Article, which will be no leſs curious, or uſeful to be known. Where the *Taille* is Perſonal, the Noblemen and Chief Magiſtrates, as Counſellors in Parliament, are alſo free from it, at leaſt as to their perſonal Eſtate; but their Lands are aſſeſſed, as well as thoſe of other Men, except ſeven or eight Acres, and provided they plough them themſelves, that, as the King is reſolved to loſe nothing, it happens that their Farmers are a great deal more taxed than other Men; and I

remember thereupon, that a Farmer of a Manor at *Villeneuve St. George*, called *Les Bergeres*, about four Leagues from *Paris*, was aſſeſſed every Year * Nine-hundred Livres, though he paid but Five-hundred to his Landlord, Monſieur *de Commartin*, Counſellor of State.

Theſe are the Obſervations I have thought fit to make upon the *Taille*, which, I hope, will give a pretty clear Idea of it: I will now proceed to conſider the Conſequences of it: For it is not of this Monſter, like that of the Naturals, that thoſe die without any Iſſue, but this has a numerous Poſterity. The firſt is the *Taillon*, which is an additional Tax, and that was raiſed at firſt by *Henry the Second*, *Anno* 1549, towards the Increaſe of the Pay of his *Gens d'Armes*, who then lay billetted in Villages, and to enable them to pay their Hoſts whatever they had from them. The poor Countrymen thought then to have got a little Eaſe; but ſoon after they became as much oppreſſed by their unruly Gueſts as ever: So that whatever had been pretended to them, for their Eaſe, proved only a Trick to drain their Purſes the more. Now every body knows, that the Cuſtom of Billetting the *Gens d'Armes*, in Villages, has been laid aſide; but, for all that, the *Taillon* is ſtill continued, and ſo the People are bound to pay it, which amounts to above the third Part of the *Taille*.

The other Children of that Monſter are the Contributions which the *French* King raiſes upon his Subjects, and a Subſidy for the Winter Quarters of his Soldiers. To explain this, it muſt be obſerved, that, in Time of War, the *French* King is obliged to quarter his Troops upon the Frontiers, as alſo, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of them, in Time of Peace, becauſe of the numerous Gariſons he is forced to have: Now, to keep them in Pay, there is a general Aſſeſſment laid upon moſt of the Towns of the Kingdom, whereby they are forced to pay the Subſidy called the Winter Quarters, at the Rate of Five-pence a Day for each private Centinel; and becauſe the Country People are bound to contribute Oats and Hay for the Maintenance of the Horſe that are gariſoned in the Towns, when the Troops are in *Flanders*, or in other Frontiers, they are likewiſe forced to convert thoſe Oats and Hay into Money; and this is called Contribution, which brings to the King a great Sum of Money; thoſe Commodities being valued at the Diſcretion of thoſe Officers who are appointed for that Purpoſe. Now, what Sum that Subſidy or Contributions produce, it is impoſſible to determine; but it cannot but be very great, conſidering the vaſt Number of Soldiers that the *French* King has in Pay, and the Numbers of the Towns he has in *France*.

And yet, how chargeable ſoever that Subſidy is, the *French* Soldiers are ſuch inſulting and ſawcy Gueſts, that the People would pay twice as much more, if they could but free themſelves from thoſe troubleſome Viſits: And this Inſolence is countenanced by the Government ſo much the more, becauſe of the great Advantage the King receiveth by it, many Towns paying more to be free from their Winter-Quarters, than they do for the Taille; which they ſhould not do, were theſe Soldiers kept under as ſevere a Diſcipline as they are in *England*, and only quartered in Publick Houſes.

ARTICLE II.

Of the GABELLE.

THIS is not ſo much a Tax laid by the *French* King upon his People, as it is the Engroſſing of a Trade to himſelf, whereby his Subjects are forced to buy the Salt from him at his Granaries, and at his own Price. How great a Profit he maketh of that Commodity, few People know; and, I am afraid, that few will believe what I am going to ſay upon that Subject: For, though we are uſed to hear of the great and advantageous Returns, that our Merchants receive from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, yet they are not to be compared to what the *French* King gets upon his Subjects by this *Gabelle*.

How common Salt is in *France*, thoſe that have travelled in the *Pays d'Aunix*, or *Xain-*

* Sixty-nine Pounds four Shillings and Six-pence Sterling.

tonge,

tonge, cannot be ignorant of; but, for thoſe who have not ſeen the Salt-Marſhes of that Country, I hope, it will be ſufficient to let them know, That a certain Meaſure, called *Muyds de Boſſe*, weighing five-thouſand two-hundred Pounds, is bought there, at ſome Times, for three Shillings and ſix Pence, and never dearer than four Shillings and ſix Pence of *Engliſh* Money. It is there that the *French* King buys that Commodity, to ſell it again to his Subjects, in all the Provinces of his Kingdom, except *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, *Guienne*, and *Britanny*, where the Gabelle is not as yet impoſed. There may be alſo ſome other Tracts of Land free from that Tax, but they are very inconſiderable.

Now, to underſtand what Profit he maketh upon that Merchandiſe, it ought to be obſerved, That the Muyds de Boſſe contains fifty-two other Meaſures, called *Minots*, that is, one-hundred Pounds Weight; and that each Minot is ſold, at this Time, in *Paris*, at the King's Granaries, for ſixty-four Livres: So that, there being fifty-two Minots in each Muyds de Boſſe, as I have ſaid, it follows, That the ſame Quantity of Salt that the *French* King buys for four Shillings and ſix Pence, at utmoſt, is ſold to his Subjects, at his Granaries in *Paris*, for three-thouſand three-hundred and twenty-eight Livres; that is, two-hundred and fifty-ſix Pounds Sterling. It is true, it is not ſold at that Rate in all the Provinces where the Gabelle is impoſed; but there is a very inconſiderable Difference; and now every where near *Paris*, as in *Normandy*, &c. it bears the ſame Price.

I do not queſtion, but that, at the firſt Sight of ſo extravagant a Price, many People will be apt to think, that I impoſe upon their Credulity; but there are ſo many conſiderable Witneſſes of what I ſay, in this Kingdom, it is very eaſy for any Man to enquire into the Truth of this Matter: I muſt only give you this Caution, That, in Time of Peace, the Minot, which is now ſold for ſixty-four Livres, was then bought for forty-four Pounds, but, with this Difference alone, the whole Account is but pure Matter of Fact.

How neceſſary ſoever the Commodity of Salt be, that high Price would diſcourage many People from making Uſe of it; but, to prevent that, there are ſuch good Orders made, that it is impoſſible to avoid it. *Firſt*, The Importing of foreign Salt is forbidden, upon Pain of Death: So that, let the Salt of the King's Granaries be never ſo dear, yet, becauſe it is abſolutely neceſſary, the *French* are forced to buy it. *Secondly*, Salt is impoſed upon the People there, as the Taille; ſo that each Family muſt take every Year a certain Quantity of it, proportioned to the Number of their Family and Eſtate; and ſo, let them be never ſo willing to eat their Bread and Meat without Salt, yet the King will loſe nothing by it.

This is the Reaſon that ſome Provinces are ſaid to be liable to the Salt of Granaries, and others to the Salt of Impoſition. To underſtand this Diſtinction, it muſt be obſerved, That in *Paris*, and ſome other Cities and Countries, Salt is not impoſed upon the Inhabitants as the Taille; and that, if they buy any, it is out of Neceſſity, and not from any other Violence: But, in *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *Champaigne*, *Anjou*, and other Places, there are Officers appointed to examine each Family, and to aſſeſs them a Minot more or leſs, according to their Number and Eſtate. Let People ſay what they will, as, That they are ſo poor, as that they are unable to pay it, they muſt take the Quantity aſſeſſed; and, if they do not pay it within ſix Months after, they muſt expect a Military Execution; and God knows how ſevere that is.

A Man ſo compelled to buy a Commodity, which is a great deal too dear for his Purſe, would gladly ſell it again, could he find a favourable Opportunity. And there is nothing in this, but what is very natural; but there are ſuch Penalties, both for the Buyer and Seller, that it is very dangerous for either of them to drive on ſuch a Trade. The firſt Offence is puniſhed with a Fine; but, in Caſe the Offender be unable to pay it, he is condemned to the Penalty of the ſecond Offence, which is Corporal; *viz.* To be branded with a red Flower-de-Lis upon the Cheek, or the Shoulder. And ſo hard a Puniſhment ought, one would think, to deter any Man from offending twice: Yet there are ſome who offend a third Time; and thoſe, upon Conviction, are ſent Slaves to the Gallies, were it only for a Pound of Salt, given, ſold, lent, or bartered. The ſame Puniſhment is inflicted upon the *Faux Sauniers*; that is, a Sort of People, who, invited by the high Price of Salt, convey it ſecretly from *Poictou* and *Britanny*, into the Provinces liable to the Gabelle.

The Fiſhermen, and other Inhabitants of the Sea-coaſts, would have a very officious Neigh-

Neighbour, were they but ſuffered to make Uſe of Salt-water: But, to hinder it, there are Watches appointed; and, were a Man once convicted for having made Uſe of it, he would be no leſs ſeverely puniſhed than a *Faux Saunier*.

How heavy that curſed Gabelle is upon the *French* Nation, will appear, I hope, by what I have already ſaid: But yet, were it fairly managed, it would not however be intolerable: For it is certain, that the Cheats and Knaveries, committed on that Account, are more to be feared than the Impoſition itſelf. This Tax robs a Man but of his Money; but the Managers of it can deprive him both of his Reputation, Life, and Eſtate: For the Tools of Slavery and Arbitrary Power being always, and every where alike, I mean covetous, baſe, unmerciful, and treacherous, it happens, many Times, that, under Colour of ſearching a Man's Houſe upon Pretence of forbidden Salt, they will hide ſome themſelves in a Corner, where they are ſure to find it again upon a ſecond Viſit; and this is ſufficient to fine a Man, perhaps, more than he is worth in the World. But, if a Man ſhould have an Enemy, who is ſo baſe as to bribe the Officers of the Salt into his Intereſts, and oblige them to ſerve that Trick thrice upon him, which he can do for a little Sum of Money, that Man ſhall be ſent a Slave to the Gallies, which is a Puniſhment worſe a thouſand Times than Death itſelf. This Obſervation is not grounded only upon a bare Peradventure, but there are many Examples of it; and, were it not for Fear of bringing a Diſgrace upon ſome Families that are now in *England*, I could produce very good Authorities.

I have ſaid, that the Provinces of *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, *Britanny*, and *Guienne*, are free from the Gabelle; and, perhaps, ſome will wonder at it; and, ſhould I omit to ſay what I know upon that Point, likely enough I ſhould be blamed. That Diſtinction, in my Opinion, is grounded upon three Reaſons:

Firſt, *Britanny* being united to the Crown of *France* but ſince *Charles the Eighth*, who married the Heireſs of that fine Duchy, it is no Wonder that the Inhabitants of that Province have greater Privileges than others. And ſo I may ſay the ſame Thing as to *Poictou* and *Guienne*, thoſe Countries being formerly ſubjected to the Crown of *England*. But as for *Xaintonge*, or *Pays d'Aunix*, truly there is another particular Reaſon: For,

Firſt, Would it not be too ſevere, nay, and inconſiſtent too with the *French* King's Intereſts, to impoſe the Gabelle in that very Place where the Salt is made?

Secondly, If we conſider how commo[illegible] general the Inſurrections were in *Britan[illegible]* *Guienne*, in 1674, when the *French* Kin[illegible] tempted to put that burthenſome Exciſe [illegible] on them, perhaps we ſhall find a reaſonable Cauſe to conclude, That, if the Gabelle be not introduced in thoſe Provinces, it is purely becauſe the Inhabitants are no Ways diſpoſed to ſuffer it. Their Inſurrection was ſo great, that they were forced to give over that Deſign; and, had the Confederates but made Uſe of that favourable Opportunity, it might have proved of fatal Conſequence to the Grandeur of that Prince.

Thirdly, Though theſe Reaſons ſeem very probable, and it is poſſible that they have in a Meaſure contributed to the Eaſe of thoſe Provinces; yet I take the *French* King to be ſo great an Enemy to every Thing that has but the Shadow of Liberty, and ſo jealous of his arbitrary Power, that, I do verily believe, he would have cruſhed the pretended Privileges of thoſe Provinces, and impoſed upon them the Gabelle, had he not been kept from it by other Conſiderations: What they were, I cannot tell, except thoſe great Sums of Money which thoſe Counties have, *finance*, from Time to Time, preſented to the King; at leaſt, I know this, That they were given for that End, that ſo they might be free from that terrible Tax: And I ſee no Cauſe why I may not conclude, That this is the principal Reaſon, why they have not yet undergone a Fate that is common to all the other Provinces of *France*.

Now an Exciſe that is ſo heavy and burthenſome, would bring into the King's Coffers a World of Money, were he not forced to be at ſuch vaſt Expences; *firſt*, in tranſporting of Salt from the Place where it is made, into other Provinces; and, *ſecondly*, in maintaining above Twenty-thouſand Men, that are employed about raiſing the Gabelle, or for Watching over the *Faux Sauniers*, and others, who would cheat the King otherwiſe, in all Probability.

ARTICLE III.

Des AIDES. *Of* AIDS.

LES Aides are an Exciſe upon Wine, which is very conſiderable; but, for the better Underſtanding of it, I muſt, in the firſt Place, tell you ſomething of the Meaſures that are uſed in *Paris*. We had ſo great a Trade at *Bourdeaux* for Wine, that, I believe, very few are ignorant of what the Meaſure is the *French* call there a *Tonneau*; but in *Paris*, and the Environs of that City, they ſpeak only of Muyds, which is the third Part of a Tonneau, and contains about Two-hundred and eighty Pints, *Paris* Meaſure, which is about as many *London* Quarts. And now, after this Explanation, I will proceed.

When the Proprietors of the Vineyards about *Paris* have ſold their Wine, they are obliged to declare it at a certain Office, which is appointed for that Purpoſe, in a convenient Place, and to tell the Officers, or Clerks, at what Price they ſold it *per* Muyd, and to pay one Penny *per* * Livre, beſides an additional Duty of ſix Pence half Penny *per* Muyd. The Wine-Coopers, or whoever have bought that Wine to be carried into *Paris*, are forced to make a like Declaration at the Gates of the City, and to pay the like Sum, *viz.* one Penny *per* Livre, and ſixteen Pence half Penny *per* Muyd for the additional Duty. But here we muſt take Notice, That this ſecond Office has a greater Power than the firſt; for, by their own Authority, they may arbitrarily put what Price they pleaſe upon the Wine, which very much increaſes the Duties upon it; and, God knows, they ſeldom, if ever, fail of this. But, over and above all theſe Impoſitions, they pay for the Duty of Entry twenty-two Livres *per* Muyd to the King, beſides ſome other Duties to the Town-Houſe. Wine being thus brought into their Cellars, they then muſt pay yearly to the King eight Livres one Sous, or Penny half Penny, for having the Liberty to ſell it again: And, when they ſell it, they muſt make again the like Declaration as before, and pay the like Sums. As theſe Duties and Declarations were too frequent, the Wine-Coopers uſed formerly to conceal the true Price of Wine; but now they dare not do it, for Fear of being catched: For the Exciſemen knowing the general Price of Wine, as well as the Wine-Coopers themſelves, and having Power to take it, paying to the Coopers the Price he has put upon it in his Declaration, they would run the Riſque of ſuffering great Loſs and Damage.

We have hitherto ſeen what the Duties are that the Wine-Merchants pay; let us ſee now what thoſe are that are impoſed upon the Vintners, I mean, thoſe who ſell Wine by Retail. It is not free for any Man in *Paris* to ſet up a Sign and ſell Wine, as it is in *London*; I mean, after he has ſerved an Apprenticeſhip, the Time appointed by the Cuſtoms: This Liberty muſt be obtained from the *French* King; and, for it, a Man muſt pay yearly eight Livres one Sous, or Penny half Penny; this is called *The Duty of Sign*. Beſides, they were formerly obliged to give the eighth Part of the Money they received for the Sale of their Wine; but, becauſe this was too troubleſome, as well to the King's Officers, as to the Vintners themſelves, they made an Agreement to pay eight Livres one Sous half Penny, for every Muyd of Wine they ſell, let it be good or bad. This is what the *French* call *Le Huitieme*, and in what Duties that great Exciſe upon Wine doth conſiſt, call *Les Aides*, I think now not improper to re-capitulate, all thoſe Duties, that we may ſee, in one View, what they amount to.

And, the better to illuſtrate the Matter, I muſt put a Price upon the Muyd of Wine, and ſee what Money comes to the King by the Sale of that Muyd, that is ſomewhat like our Hogſhead, but a little larger, containing about two-hundred and eighty Quarts. The common Price, about *Paris*, was, in Time of Peace, eighteen or twenty Livres *per* Muyd, but now it is four Times as dear again: Suppoſing, however, for our Purpoſe, that a Muyd of Wine be ſold in the Vineyards for eighteen Livres, that is, near twenty-ſeven Shillings of our Money, the Proprietor muſt pay, in the firſt Place, two Shillings and Ten-

* The *French* Livre is Eighteen-pence Sterling.

pence

pence Half penny, for the firſt Duty of the Declaration; the like Sum muſt be paid by the Wine Merchant at the Gates of the City, ſuppoſing the Officers to be honeſt (but, if they will put a higher Price upon it, for it abſolutely depends on their Roguery, or Caprichio, I cannot ſay Nothing to that) and twenty-two Livres, beſides, for the Duty of Entry; ſo that it is manifeſt, a Hogſhead of Wine, which was ſold for twenty-ſeven Shillings Sterling, pays to the King, beſides ſome Duties to the *Town-Houſe*, thirty-eight Shillings and Nine pence.

Theſe are the Duties of the firſt Sale: Now let us ſuppoſe, that the ſame Muyd be ſold to a Vintner: As the Wine Merchant muſt get Something to live, he cannot ſell it for leſs than ſixty Livres, having laid out forty-three already, beſides the Expences of the Carriage; upon which, he muſt pay again, for the Declaration, one Penny *per* Livre, and the additional Duty, which comes to five Shillings and Ten pence Half-penny; and the Vintner, beſides, being obliged to pay eight Livres, one Penny Half-penny; it followeth, that the King receiveth, from this ſecond Sale, twelve Livres and Seven-pence, that is, nineteen Shillings and Six-pence one Farthing, of our *Engliſh* Money, which, being joined to thirty-nine Shillings and Nine-pence of the firſt Sale, it appears, that a Muyd of Wine, ſold at firſt for twenty-ſeven Shillings, pays to the King, two Pounds, nineteen Shillings, and Three-pence Farthing.

Now, it is not only in *Paris* that theſe *Aides* are impoſed, but all the Provinces of this Kingdom, except *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, *Limoſin* and *Britanny*, are liable to this Exciſe. Indeed, the Entries are not ſo conſiderable in the other Towns, as they are in *Paris*; but they pay every where the *Huitieme*, that is, the eighth Part of the Price for their Wine. And as to the Countries, becauſe there can be no Duty of Entry laid on them, they buy therefore, in Lieu of it, another, which, in my Opinion, is much worſe. As ſoon as ever the Vintage is over, the *Rats de Cave*, *Cellar Rats* (ſo the People call the Officers for the *Aides*) go into every Man's Cellar, be he of what Sort ſoever, and take an exact Account of the Wine they have in them: And, three Months after, they make a ſecond Search, to ſee what is become of that Wine; and, if any has been ſold, they muſt ſtraight produce the Acquittances of the Office, which is appointed for the Declaration of the Price, and of the additional Duty, which I have already explained. And as for Wine which has been drank in the Family, they pay another Duty, called *Le trop bew*, that is to ſay, *Too much drunk*; and this Tax amounts to eight Livres, or twelve Shillings Sterling. Now, this Viſit, coming Quarterly, muſt needs be very troubleſome: But is not this an undeniable Proof of the fatherly Care the *French* King takes of his People? Perhaps, they would otherwiſe make an immoderate Uſe of the Creature; but this Duty indoctrinates them to be ſober, in Pity to their Purſes.

I had forgot, the Province of *Normandy* muſt alſo be excepted; though others pay only the eighth Part, but this pays the Fourth of all the Liquors that are ſold in Publick Houſes, as Wine, Beer, Cyder, Aquavite, and the like; ſo that, if a Quart of Wine ſhould be ſold for two Shillings, the King muſt have Six-pence out of it, beſides all other Duties of Entry, *&c.* which I have before mentioned. Theſe Duties of Entry are different one from the other, almoſt in every Town; but at *Rouen*, the Capital City of the Province, they amount to fifteen Livres *per* Muyd, that is, twenty-two Shillings and Six-pence Sterling. I cannot ſay poſitively, what it is they pay for Cyder, or Beer, but, as much as I can remember of it, it is about the fourth Part of what they pay for Wine. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that, becauſe *Normandy* produces no Wine, and there are exceſſive Cuſtoms every where upon the Frontiers of that Province, as well as the Sea Ports; therefore, inſtead of the *Quatrieme*, or fourth Part, the King receives above one Half.

When I ſaid, that the Duty of Entry for Wine amounts, at *Paris*, but to twenty-two Livres, or thirty-three Shillings and Nine-pence Sterling, it is to be underſtood, of the moſt common Wine; for the beſt pay a great deal more. The Muſcadine, for Inſtance, pays two Pounds ten Shillings, and the Aquavite three Pounds, ſixteen Shillings, and Six-pence: But I muſt obſerve to you, that the Aquavite pays a double Duty, that is, the fourth Part inſtead of the Eighth.

Though *Britanny* be a *Pays d' Etats*, as the *French* call it, yet it hath a terrible Exciſe there upon Wine. Such are the great and little Duties of the States, which come to a hundred Livres, or ſeven Pounds, thirteen

Shillings,

Shillings, and Nine-pence Sterling, *per Tonneau*, *Bourdeaux* Meaſure, that is, four Hogſheads of Wine, containing, in all, about eight hundred and forty of our *London* Quarts. And, though this Exciſe is raiſed upon Wine, ſold only in Publick Houſes, and no where elſe, yet, about ſix Years ago, was it let to Farm for three Millions of Livres, which amounts to two-hundred thirty-thouſand ſeven-hundred ſixty-nine Pounds, four Shillings, and Six-pence Sterling, whereof, two Millions five-hundred-thouſand Livres are paid to the King, and the other Five-hundred-thouſand, are to bear the Charges of the States of the ſaid Province. Over and above theſe Duties, there is another, called *Impoſt* and *Billot*, belonging only to the King, which brings every Year into his Coffers five-hundred-thouſand Livres. This Duty conſiſts in thirty-four Shillings and Seven-pence, which the King takes there upon every Ton of Wine. He hath alſo a Cuſtom of three Shillings and Nine-pence upon every Ton of Wine, brought to *Britanny* by Sea: So that all theſe Duties, when compared together, make it plainly manifeſt, that the Exciſe upon every Ton of Wine amounts to nine Pounds, four Shillings, and Six-pence, which is more than the Price of the Wine. This, I think, is ſufficient to explain the Matter I was to make out, *viz.* Wherein conſiſted the Exciſe upon Wines, which the *French* call *Les Aides*; but, to have it more clearly underſtood, I would again deſire the Reader, to read it with Care and Attention.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the ENTRIES.

THIS is a general Exciſe upon every Thing that comes to *Paris*; for Nothing there is free, but Air, beſides the River, which runs through the Middle of the City. I wiſh I could be as particular upon this Article, as I have been upon the others; but it cannot reaſonably be expected, that the Memory of a Man is able to ſupply him, for ſuch an Undertaking; however, I will do my Endeavour to explain it, as well as I can.

In the Entries of *Paris* and *Rouen*, there is included a Duty, which the *French* call *Piefourchie*, that is, an Exciſe upon all Cloven-footed Beaſts; as Oxen, Sheep, Swine, and the like. They pay for every Ox, at this Time, nine Shillings Sterling; for a Cow, ſeven Shillings and Six-pence; three Shillings and Four-pence, for a Calf, or a Hog; half a Crown for a Sheep, and five Groats for a Lamb. I ſay, at this Time, for in Times of Peace, this Duty was not ſo high by one half. There is a Duty too upon Fowls, which is Four-pence *per* Livre, let unto Farm, near twenty-five thouſand Pounds.

The Impoſition that is laid upon Timber, and other Wood, fit for Work and Service, is lett, or, at leaſt, was ſo ſome Years ago, for fifteen-thouſand three-hundred eighty-four Pounds, twelve Shillings Sterling, *per Annum*.

That upon Fire-wood amounts to much more; but, indeed, I cannot now remember, nor learn, how much the juſt Sum is: But this I can ſay, that they pay one Shilling and Three-pence, for every Load of Fire-wood; and whoſoever will conſider the Largeneſs of the City of *Paris*, the Number of Families in it, and, that they burn no Sea-Coal, cannot but agree, That this Tax muſt bring in a vaſt Sum of Money to the Exchequer. I muſt plead the like Excuſe, as to the Duties of Entry laid upon Charcoal, and Hay, and both ſalt and freſh Fiſh; but the Reader may eaſily gueſs, that they are not in any Diſproportion to thoſe I have already mentioned.

Eggs, Butter, Cheeſe, and all Manner of Herbs, pay Four-pence per Livre, that is, four Shillings *per* Pound.

If all the Money, accruing from thoſe Impoſitions, were brought into the King's Treaſury, it would amount to a vaſt Sum; but it muſt be obſerved, that, from Time to Time, the *French* King createth, to uſe the *French* Phraſe, many Employments *en Titre d'Office*, that is, Hereditary Employments, to be Overſeers of the Sales of certain Commodities, with a Privilege, that no Body ſhall ſell what they ſell themſelves; and, beſides, they take for their own Uſe one Part of the Duties that are laid upon ſome certain Commodities. Some Years ago, there there were forty-four *Jurez*, ſo they call them, created all at once, to ſell, or appraiſe Fowls, and each of them paid down above three-

thouſand Pounds, and, to repay themſelves, they took three Half-pence *per* Livre. A like Number was created for Fiſh, with the ſame Salary. Thoſe for Hay are far more numerous, but then they are not altogether ſo dear, for they may be bought for two-thouſand three-hundred ſeven Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Six-pence. Thoſe upon Charcoal coſt above three-thouſand Pounds, but they are not many; but thoſe upon Wood are innumerable; and I am very well informed, that the *French* King has received, out of thoſe Offices for Wood, near two Millions four-hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling. Now, to repay themſelves, they are allowed, as I have ſaid, ſome Duties; but the King, very often, demands from them ſome ready Money, and this increaſeth their Duties ſo much the more, and is the Reaſon, that all Manner of Things are grown, *gradatim* in *Paris*, to ſuch an exceſſive Price; for there is a general Exciſe upon all Things that come into that City, even to the very Aſhes, and old Lees of Wine; and the Duty, laid upon them, was lett at twelve-hundred twenty-three Pounds, one Shilling, and Sixpence.

And this Duty of Entry is not particular only to *Paris*; for it is impoſed upon moſt Parts of *France*, with this only Difference, That the Duties are not exacted ſo high, everywhere. One Example of this, I hope, will be ſufficient:

At *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Place well known to our *Engliſhmen*, they pay, for every Pound of Butter, a Half-penny.

For a Load of Firewood, Ten-pence.

For a Load of Timber, thirteen Shillings and Four-pence.

For a Load of Hay, one Shilling and Eight-pence.

For a Horſe-Load of Wood, as they uſe in that Country, Two-pence Half-penny.

For a Horſe-Load of Fiſh, three Shillings and Five-pence.

For the Load of a Man, or Woman, of Fiſh, Eight-pence. And,

For a Horſe-Load of Corn, one Shilling.

ARTICLE V.

Of the King's DEMESN *and* CUSTOMS.

I Have but very little to ſay upon theſe Heads, for I do not look on them to be an Effect of Arbitrary Power: All Crowns in the World muſt have a ſufficient Revenue, either in Lands, or Cuſtoms, to ſupport them; and ſo has the Crown of *France*. But, as the *French* Kings have, within this laſt Century, very much enlarged their Primitive Power, it is no Wonder, if they have increaſed, likewiſe, their ancient Patrimony. The Duty joined to the Demeſn, which I take to be Tyrannical, is that called *Lods & Ventes*; that is, a certain Sum of Money, which People are forced to pay, whenever they ſell their Eſtates, or any Part of them. Indeed, this Duty is not in all Places alike; in the Country, where the Cuſtomary Law of *Paris* is received, the Buyer is obliged to pay the King the Twelfth-penny: That is to ſay, out of Twelve-thouſand Pounds, one Thouſand: But, at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, they pay three Shillings and Four-pence, out of every Pound; and that Duty is paid, the one Half by the Buyer, and the other Half by the Seller. This is very hard.

This Tax, for truly it deſerves no better a Name, is not of the Creation of this *French* King; but, about twelve Years ago, he created another very like it: For he ordered, That all People ſhould pay the ſame Duty, whenever they bartered their Lands, as if they had ſold them for ready Money. This was harder yet than the other; and never were the *French* King's Subjects ſo much harraſſed and plagued upon Account of any Tax, as they have been of this: For they have been forced to pay the Arrears thereof, if I may ſo call it, having been called to give an Account for theſe twenty Years laſt paſt.

The *Traites Foraines*, or Cuſtoms, are a Duty laid upon all Commodities, that are exported from *France*, or imported into it: But this, in itſelf, is not very ſurpriſing; ſince ſome ſuch Duty as this is generally over all the World, and is, no Doubt, the ſlighteſt of all Taxes; yet the *French* King has raiſed it to ſuch a vaſt Degree, that it is become abſolutely Tyrannical and Slaviſh. I will give you but one Inſtance, *viz.* upon Sugar, which pays

pays Three-pence *per* Pound. Another Obſervation, I ſhall make upon theſe Cuſtoms, is, That the following Provinces, to wit, *Britanny*, *Poictou*, *Xaintonge Guienne*, *Languedock*, *Provence*, *Dauphine*, *Lorrain*, and the *New Conqueſts*, being looked upon all of them as Foreign States, there is another Cuſtom upon all Commodities that are exported or imported into theſe Provinces, which is ſo ſevere and rigorous, as if they were exported into *Holland*. Why theſe Provinces ſhould be accounted Foreign States, I could never hear any other Reaſon given, but that formerly they were ſubjected to ſome particular Princes, and not to the Crown of *France*; but pray, Was not *Normandy* ruled by her own Dukes, as well as *Aquitain*?

ARTICLE VI.

Of ſeveral Taxes, and Creations of Offices.

THE Offices of Counſellors in Parliament, in *France*, are not diſpoſed of like thoſe in *England*, for theſe are given *Gratis*, but the others are ſold by the *French* King. There is alſo another conſiderable Difference between them, *viz.* That the Place of a Judge, here, is, *Quam diu bene ſe geſſerit*; whereas the Employments of Counſellors in Parliament in *France* are Hereditary: But this muſt be obſerved, that, to keep thoſe Places to their Families, they are obliged to pay every Year a Duty, which is called *Paulette*, from one *Paulet*, who was the firſt that contrived this Tax. This Duty amounts to fifty Pounds *per Annum* for each Counſellor; and, beſides all this, they are forced likewiſe to make a Loan, or rather, a Gift to the King, every five Years, which is nine Times as much as the Annual Duty; and, ſhould they fail Performing theſe Conditions, they preſently loſe their Right of Inheritance. Whenever a Counſellor dies, or, by any Reſignation, his Son comes into his Place, he muſt pay another Duty, which amounts to the eighth Part of the Price of the Place, whatever it be; ſo that, if the Place be valued at fifty-thouſand Crowns, he muſt pay above Six-thouſand. There is an Office appointed, for the Receiving of this Money, and for the Sale of vacant Places, called *Le Bureau des Parties caſuelles*.

The *Decimes*, or Tenths of the Clergy, is a Tax, which all the Clergy-men of the Kingdom pay to the King out of their Livings. This Tax, at firſt, was granted the Kings of *France*, upon Pretence of a War againſt the *Infidels*; and, if I am not miſtaken, it began in 1189. It was very inconſiderable at firſt, as appears by its very Name, and granted only for a certain Time; but ſucceeding Kings have found out a Way to raiſe it, and not only ſo, but to make it perpetual. This preſent King eſpecially, the moſt ingenious and exquiſite Prince in the World, for Increaſing his Revenues, has raiſed it, as he hath done other Taxes, according to his own Pleaſure; and from the Tenth he has brought it up now to the fourth Part; ſo that, if a Curate hath a Living but of a hundred Pounds *per Annum*, he muſt pay every Year to the King twenty-five Pounds of it, beſides what he is obliged to contribute towards the Free-Gift, that the Clergy make every five Years to the King. If the Clergy, who are Favourites, be ſo much oppreſſed, What muſt be the Condition of the Laity?

The Paper and Parchment marked was impoſed in the Year 1672. And they are ſo called from a *Flower-de Luce*, wherewith they are ſtamped; all Indentures, Bonds, Agreements, Leaſes; in a Word, all Manner of Writings, except private Letters, and Bills of Exchange, muſt be written upon this Paper or Parchment only, otherwiſe they are void in Law. The Paper is divided into Sheets, Half-ſheets, and Quarters of a Sheet. The whole Sheet is ſold for Three-pence, the Half for three Half-pence, and the Quarter for three Farthings. The Parchment is dearer, for you muſt give Twenty-pence for a Skin. Now whoſoever conſiders the great Extent of *France*, muſt needs agree, that this muſt bring in a mighty Sum of Money.

At much about the ſame Time, that this Paper-Tax was impoſed, there was another Tax found out, called *Controlle*. Now to rightly underſtand, what this is, I muſt obſerve to you, that, whereas Law-ſuits generally begin, here in *England*, by Arreſts, they be-

gin in *France* by a Summons, to appear before the Judges. This Summons muſt be controlled, that is, viewed and ſigned by an Officer, called Comptroller, whoſe Fee is Five pence.

All the Silver and Gold Plate that is made, throughout the Kingdom, muſt be alſo ſtamped with the King's Mark, and the Goldſmith pays for that three Shillings and Four-pence, for every Mark, that is, for every eight Ounces. This Duty was yearly ſet to Farm for twenty-five Thouſand Pounds.

Pewter muſt be alſo ſtamped with the King's Mark, which coſts one Penny *per* Pound.

The Stockings coming from Foreign Countries are alſo marked, and the King hath, for his Mark, Two-pence *per* Pair.

So are alſo all Hats, and the Duty upon them is Ten-pence a Piece.

Iron, Steel, Copper, and Leather muſt be alſo marked; but, indeed, I cannot poſitively ſay now, what the Duty is.

Every Hackney-Horſe, in the Kingdom, pays yearly to the King two Crowns.

The new Tax upon Chocolate, Tea, and Coffee was let yearly at thirty-thouſand ſeven-hundred and ſixty-nine Pounds, four Shillings, and Six-pence.

In many Provinces of *France*, as in *Normandy*, *&c.* the Pigeon-houſes are aſſeſſed in ten Years; ſome of them pay twenty-five Crowns, others, more or leſs according to the Bigneſs of them.

The *French* Nobility and Gentry being obliged, or, at leaſt, uſed to ſpend more than their yearly Revenue, it often happens, that they contract ſo many Debts, as makes them forced to ſell their Eſtates. Now, if their noble Manors are ſold to any Merchant, or other, under the Quality of a Nobleman, they muſt pay, every twentieth Year, a whole Year's Revenue to the King, and this is what the *French* call *Francfief*.

There is another Duty all over the Kingdom, called Barrage, which is paid by the Waggoners and Carriers, and this was employed for the Repairing of Bridges and Highways; now the King hath appropriated it all to his own Uſe, under the Promiſe, That he himſelf would take Care of Pavements, Bridges, *&c.* But, he has kept his Word herein, as religiouſly, as he hath the Treaty of *Nimeguen*.

Every Houſe in *Paris* was aſſeſſed at a certain Sum for the Poor, and the Scavengers, as they are here in *London*; but the King hath obliged the Proprietors of each Houſe, to redeem that Tax, by paying a certain Sum into his Coffers, and he hath taken upon him the Care of Keeping the Poor, and of Cleanſing the Streets; but, how he hath performed what he had promiſed, we may learn from publick Intelligences, wherein, we are told, That all the Inhabitants of *Paris* have been now lately aſſeſſed, upon the Account of the Poor.

Beſides the Duties of the Cuſtom-Houſe, there is a Kind of Tax upon Tobacco, I ſay, a Kind of Tax: Becauſe it is rather, in Reality, an Engroſſing of the Trade of that Commodity. There are a Company of People, that pay to the King a Sum of Money yearly, to have the Privilege of ſelling Tobacco, and that at their own Word. This Sum amounts to about ſixty-thouſand Pounds Sterling.

All People who let Lodgings furniſhed in *Paris*, and all the Inn-keepers, upon Highways, have been taxed within theſe three Months.

Though the Counſellors in Parliament be very numerous, yet the *French* King hath lately, I mean, ſince the Beginning of this War, increaſed their Number an Eighth in each Parliament, who have paid ready Money for their Places, each of them an hundred-thouſand Livres, that is, ſeven-thouſand ſix-hundred ninety-two Pounds, ſix Shillings, and one Penny Half-penny Sterling; and, over and above this Sum, they pay the annual Duty, as well as others; and each of them have been taxed, ſince that Time, twelve-thouſand Livres, or nine-hundred ſeventy-ſix Pounds eighteen Shillings Sterling.

The *French* King hath erected *en Titre d'Office* the Mayors of all the Cities of the Kingdom; and, becauſe this Place is hereditary, and thoſe in Poſſeſſion of them are free from Quartering of Soldiers, and other publick Charges, beſides the Honour, they have been ſold very dear. I will give but an Inſtance: The Mayor of *Caen* in *Normandy*, which is not one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *France*, has paid about four-thouſand Pounds Sterling.

Thoſe, who ſell any Brandy by Retail in their Shops, or in the Streets, at a Half-penny a Glaſs (as they uſe in moſt Parts of *France*)

have been erected alſo, ſince this War, *en Titre d' Office*, and have paid twenty-three Pounds, one Shilling, and Six-pence.

A very poor Sort of People, called, *Criers of old Shoes, Hats, and Rags*, have alſo been erected *en Titre d' Office*, and each of them has paid ſeven Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Six-pence.

The Barbers, who were Peruke-makers, were erected *en Titre d' Office* in 1672, and then they paid one-hundred fifty-three Pounds eighteen Shillings; and, ſoon after, they were forced to pay a like Sum; and, ſince this War, they have been taxed a-new, each of them at thirty-eight Pounds, ſeven Shillings, and Six-pence.

I will not, however, ſay, that in all the Cities of *France* they have paid ſo much; for I would have this be underſtood of *Paris* only; for, in the other Cities, they have paid proportionable to their Trade. Another Obſervation, I muſt make, is, That the very Country-village Barbers have been forced to take Letters of Licenſe from the King; and, I ſuppoſe, No-body will think that they are granted *gratis*, when they are ſo forced upon them.

The *French* King begun by the Peruke-makers to tax Tradeſmen; for, in a little While after, all the other Tradeſmen and Artificers throughout the Kingdom were aſſeſſed likewiſe. To be particular in this Point would require a Volume, and ſo I muſt content myſelf, for Brevity's Sake, with one Example, which ſhall be of the Weavers of *Paris*, the moſt miſerable Tradeſmen in *France*, who were aſſeſſed at ſeven Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Six-pence.

All Officers of Juſtice, as Judges, Attornies, Regiſters, Bailiffs, Notaries, *&c.* have alſo been taxed, every one of them, according to the Fees of their ſeveral reſpective Places.

The Packers have been alſo erected *en Titre d' Office*, but I cannot yet tell what they have paid.

Every Month produces ſome new found out Offices; and, about a Year ago, the Porters were erected *en Titre d' Office*, under the Title of *Bouteurs a Port*, that is, with the Privileges of unloading the Boats laden with Wine, and ſome other Commodities. They paid each of them about eight-hundred Pounds Sterling, and they are allowed about five Pence *per* Ton. This will look ſomewhat romantick, at leaſt, very ſurpriſing; but it muſt be conſidered, that, theſe Places being hereditary, and of a great Revenue, a Man can make no better Uſe of his Money, than in Purchaſing of them.

Since the Beginning of this War, the *French* King has created ſome Officers for Funerals, called *Criers*. When any Perſons die, theſe Officers are appointed to take Care of their Funerals, which they make at what Expence they pleaſe, for No-body can oppoſe them, under a very great Penalty. They are allowed for their Trouble a certain Sum of Money; and, beſides, they enjoy ſome Privileges and Immunities, as, from Quartering of Soldiers, and other Pariſh-charges.

There is a World of other Duties, Taxes, and Offices, which it would be too tedious to relate, and, in a Manner, impoſſible: But, I hope, what I have ſaid is ſufficient to convince any Man of Brains and Senſe, that is not of a reſolved and obſtinate Inflexibility, that this *French* King hath carried his Tyranny, as well as his Prerogative, to a Degree unknown unto all former Ages; I will therefore leave this Subject, after this ſhort Remark, That, in the new Conqueſts, People are no better treated, than in *France*. The Brewers in *Mons* have been lately erected *en Titre d' Office*, and have been forced to pay a hundred Crowns a-piece; a Man cannot be admitted into holy Orders without paying four Crowns, nor contract Matrimony without a Licenſe, which coſts ten Shillings.

I had almoſt forgot Mentioning one Thing, which is even more intolerable, than the heavieſt Tax I have yet ſpoke of, I mean, the Raiſing, or Leſſening the current Coin; and, to explain my Meaning, I muſt obſerve to you, That, when the *French* King is at a Pinch for Money, then he raiſes his Coin as high as he pleaſeth; and afterwards he leſſeneth it, when he hath no ſuch Need. Thus *Louis d'Ors* are riſen, at this Time, from eleven to fourteen Livres, and his Crowns in Proportion; ſo that, whenever this War ſhall be at an End, People will loſe four Shillings and Six-pence in every *Louis d' Or*, and ſooner too, if this War continues. For the King, by his Royal Edict, will, as he hath already done ſeveral Times, ſet a lower Value upon the ſame Pieces, and command them all to be brought into the Mint, by a certain ſtated Time, under ſevere Penalties, to be new

ſtamped;

ſtamped; and then afterwards he will raiſe the Price as high as he pleaſes; by which Means he will get a vaſt Profit himſelf, to the Depreſſion and Ruin of his People. One Inſtance will ſerve to clear up this: The *Louis d'Ors*, which are current now at fourteen Livres, will be valued but at twelve, and they muſt be carried to the Mint, where the King will pay them in, at that Price, with his new-ſtamped Coin; and, ſome Time after, thoſe very *Louis d'Ors*, with the new Royal Stamp, ſhall be worth fourteen and fifteen Livres, or whatever other higher Value the King is pleaſed to put them at.

I muſt not forget neither the five Millions of Livres, that the City of *Paris* is now at this Day, obliged to pay to the King, as we may ſee in our *Gazette*. This forced Payment, which amounts near to four-hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, is a little hard, conſidering the other Taxes, which that City is charged withal.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the French *King's yearly Revenue, and how it is collected.*

NOtwithſtanding all the Taxes I have already mentioned, and the many others, which I have here omitted, yet the *French* King's yearly Revenue amounts not to ſo great a Sum, as one would be eaſily tempted, at firſt, to imagine. I have been often told, that it came to above an hundred and fifty Millions of Livres; but, after a narrow Inquiry into it, I found, that, at the Death of Monſieur *Colbert*, it came only to an hundred thirty-three Millions, two-hundred thouſand Livres, or ten Millions, two-hundred forty-ſix thouſand, one-hundred and fifty-three Pounds, ſixteen Shillings, and Six-pence of our *Engliſh* Money. Now, when we conſider, that, ſince this War, the *French* King hath raiſed his Taxes higher than ever they were, and created many Offices and Employments, we ſhall be apt to think, that his Revenues muſt needs be ſo much the more increaſed; but yet, if, at the ſame Time, we do but reflect upon the lamentable Decay of his Trade in that Kingdom, we ſhall find, upon a ſerious Examination, that the Increaſing of his Taxes can hardly make Amends for the Loſs of his Cuſtoms, and, conſequently, that his Revenue is much about what it was at the Time I ſpeak of.

But, perhaps, Somebody will ſay, How can the *French* King keep ſuch great Armies in Pay, if his yearly Revenue be no more? The Anſwer to this Objection is very eaſy to any one, who knows, that twenty-thouſand Horſe ſtand this Nation in more, than an hundred-thouſand coſt the *French* King. Our ſingle Troopers have near two Shillings and Six-pence a Day, and the *French* have hardly five Pence; our Foot-ſoldiers have eight Pence, or, at leaſt, Six-pence in the Field, and the *French* have only ſix Farthings and the Ammunition-bread.

Here I could very well put an End to this Diſcourſe, but that I think myſelf obliged to remove one Objection more, which, I know, ſome People will be apt to make againſt me, *viz.* That, if the *French* pay yearly but ten Millions, and *England* five, we lie under harder Circumſtances, than they do, ſince *France* is twice as big as *England*, at leaſt.

This, I confeſs, ſeems, at firſt, to be a very ſpecious and conſiderable Objection; but, in Anſwering of it, I would deſire my Reader to make, with me, theſe following Remarks: *Firſt*, It is a Truth beyond Contradiction, That the Taxes laid in *England*, how heavy ſoever they may ſeem to be, are but for one Year, and theſe, too, laid on as by our own Conſent; but thoſe in *France* have been made perpetual, by the grand Impoſer on his Subjects Eſtates and Liberties, for above theſe twenty Years. This is a very notable Difference. *Secondly*, It muſt be obſerved, That all Taxes in *France*, except the *Taille*, are let to Farm, whereby it is manifeſt, that they muſt produce more, than what the King receives: For, as a Farm, in any Country, muſt not only produce enough to make the Farmer able to pay his Landlord his Rent, but alſo to repay his Expences, and to maintain himſelf and his Family: Even juſt ſo it is, in Relation to the Taxes that are laid on the *French*, but with a far more comfortable Difference to the Farmers of the *French* King's Revenues, I mean, to thoſe who have the leaſt Finger in them;

them: for they, in a ſhort Time, become ſo vaſtly rich, that the greateſt Lords in *France*, as the Marſhal *de Lorges*, and ſeveral others, have thought themſelves happy in marrying their Daughters.

Theſe Farmers advance Money to the King, and then they repay themſelves out of the People's Pockets, and God knoweth with what Vexations and tyrannical Oppreſſions, for they are impowered to do whatever they pleaſe. Thoſe, who have computed, as near as poſſibly they could, how many Men are employed in the Levying the King's Revenues, do aſſure us, that they are above eighty Thouſand, who are kept at the People's Charges, the Keeping of whom is dearer by far, than the barely Maintaining of an hundred-thouſand Soldiers: But a Man muſt have ſeen this to believe it.

Now, whoſoever will conſider theſe Things, will, no Doubt, agree with me, that the *French* Nation groans under a very ſlaviſh and worſe than *Egyptian* Bondage, and that they pay a great Deal more, than what appears in the Books of the Royal Treaſury. I was, one Day, diſcourſing in *France* upon this Point with a very learned Man, and one that very well underſtood this Buſineſs; and he told me, That, upon a very modeſt Computation, he had found, that the Kingdom of *France* paid yearly above two-hundred thouſand Millions, upon Account of the King's Taxes, that is, above fifteen Millions, three-hundred eighty-four thouſand, ſix-hundred fifteen Pounds, ſeven Shillings, and Six-pence Sterling. Tho' I will not abſolutely rely on my Friend's Account, yet this ſmall Treatiſe, I hope, will be enough to convince any unprejudiced Perſon, that it is not altogether improbable.

I will only now deſire my Readers to peruſe this little Book with Care, and then to conſider how much they are obliged to thoſe, who are indefatigable in their Labour and Induſtry to bring this Nation under the dreadful Tyranny of *France*.

A Catalogue of Books, of the neweſt Faſhion, to be ſold by Auction, at the *Whigs* Coffee-Houſe, at the Sign of the *Jackanapes*, in *Prating-Alley*, near the *Deanery* of St. *Paul's*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

1. *Ecebolius Anglicus*: The *Oxford* Turn-coat, or the Duty of conforming to all Times and Circumſtances of prevailing Wickedneſs of the contrary, by *Hum--y Ho—y*, an humble Aſſerter of that Doctrine, dedicated to his Maſter, *St.*——

2. *Mercurius Deformatus*: Or the Picture of *Mercury*, with a Calf's Head on, and no Brains in it; by that contemptible Witling, the Weekly Obſervator: Dedicated to the learned and worthy Dr. *Welwood*.

3. *Lues Germanica*: The *Dutch* Pox in *Folio*. A modern Treatiſe, holding forth a ſurer Way of clapping our Conſciences, than a Land Fire-ſhip can our Cod-pieces.

4. *Si fortuna velit fies, de*, &c. *Gravel-lane* to Day, D—n of *P—l*'s to Morrow, and *Gravel-lane* again, as moody Fortune or Spouſe pleaſes: By Smock-pecked *Sh——k*.

5. *Quos Jupiter vult perdere*, &c. *England* firſt made a *Bethlem*, by Prieſts of Latitude, and then an *Aceldama*, by the *Dutch* Pilgrims in *Soho*; publiſhed as a Specimen of the Bleſſings we may rationally expect from a general Comprehenſion of all Religions, as well as of a general Naturaliſation of all Nations.

6. *Non magna loquimur ſed*, &c. By the pious Author, and religious Practiſer, of the Letter to the dying Lord *Ruſſ—l*, addreſſed chiefly to his Arch-Brother and *quondam* Pupil Dr. *Sh*——, as an Antidote againſt Shame and Remorſe; with a Uſe of Inſtruction, that thoſe Things, you cannot get fairly rid of by Argument or Banter, you muſt learn ſolidly to out-face.

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7. *Clodius accuſat mœchos:* Or three Diſcourſes againſt *Tom Fir—n*, and a Fourth, againſt Hell-Torments; the firſt Tract extorted from the Author, by the importunate Clamours of thoſe who hate Hereticks in Maſquerade, as the Author himſelf tells you, leſt you ſhould think he drew his Pen in the Defence of Chriſtianity voluntarily; the ſecond publiſhed as a brief Summary of his Creed, by Way of communicatory Letter: Dedicated to his Sub-Intruders.

8. *Heu quantum nobis profuit*, &c. A Treatiſe ſhewing that Hypocriſy's the beſt Religion, by him that gain'd ſix-thouſand Pounds, *per Annum*, by it; theſe three laſt, by the ſame Hand.

9. *Dux fœmina facti:* Conqueſt the beſt Title to Body and Conſcience, by Dr. *Sh—k*'s Wife, dedicated to her humble Servant her Huſband; wherein theſe two Points are proved at large: *Firſt*, That no Man is a good Huſband, who will not ſacrifice his Conſcience, to the Importunity of a Wife: And *Secondly*, That the Doctor was viſibly under her Power, and, therefore, he was forced to ſubmit, and might do ſo according to his Hypotheſis of Force, which diſſolves all Obligation, eſpecially ſince the Female Uſurpation had been for a long Time, and thoroughly ſettled.

10. *Dum vitium fugiunt ſtulti*, &c. An infallible Cure for the Cramp in the great Toe, by cutting both Legs off; the Operation performed by the Aſſociated Conventioners of Eighty-eight, and approved by ſome of the Taſk-maſters of laſt Seſſions: Together with Apologies for the ſame, by thoſe two Foxes, *John—n* and *Bar—t*, each of which, though their Heads ſtand different Ways, has the *Fire*-brand of Rebellion in his Tail.

11. *Parturiunt montes, naſcetur*, &c. An exact Liſt of all the Countries, Cities, Towns, Fortreſſes, Caſtles, laden Veſſels, Cannon, Baggage, &c. taken from the *French*, ſince the Commencement of the laſt War; by *Johannes Pudendus*, a Speaker of Short-Hand: Dedicated to the inviſible, invulnerable, and thrice puiſſant Protector of theſe three once flouriſhing Kingdoms.

12. *Manus manum fricat:* Or, a King-maker deſerves to be a Wages-taker; by a Club of thoſe confiding Kn—s that ſold their Country laſt Seſſion; dedicated to their Pay-maſter; wherein they gratefully own they have taken his Money, but withal tell him they have not been behind-hand, but, for every hundred Pounds they have received from him, they have given him Ten-thouſand.

13. *E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius:* Clearly demonſtrating, that you will ſooner make a ſweet Punch-Bowl of a wooden Cloſe-Stool, than an orthodox Biſhop of an old ſtinking Fanatick; humbly offered to the crack-brained frantick Window-breaker of *Cripplegate*, a lively and living Teſtimony of the Truth of that Treatiſe.

14. *Semper idem:* Or, a Covenanter in 47, an Engager in 52, a Negative and &c. Oath-man in 57, a Surplice-Renouncer in 61, a Conformiſt and Covenant-Renouncer in 64, a Rebel in 88, a ſcandalous Intruder in 90, and a *Judas* always; by *R——d K——r*, and ſeveral others: Dedicated to undipt *John*, and are to be ſold at the *Windmill* in *Turncoat-Alley*; where are Alcorans or Bibles, Common-Prayers or Maſs Books, *Geneva* Cloaks or Gowns, and Caſſocks, Mitres or Turbants of all Sorts and Sizes, for the Uſe of the perſevering Confeſſors aforeſaid.

15. *Quæ genus & flexum variant*, &c. Or, a Prophecy of the ſix grand Intruders; proving them to be Heteroclites and Heterodox, from the Rudiments of Grammar and Chriſtianity.

16. *Nos patriæ fines*, &c. Room for Sooterkins, or, the neighbourly Kindneſs of a general Naturaliſation; ſhewing, that, ſince Foreigners have naturaliſed and adopted all our Money, it is but reaſonable that we ſhould adopt and naturaliſe ſome of their Men; becauſe we have Nothing left now to oblige them with, but our *Terra Firma*, and, ſince it is not poſſible to tranſport our Mountains to them, we ſhould bring them to our Mountains.

17. *Græculus eſuriens*, &c. A Catalogue of Refugees turned Witches, in Hopes of the Honours and Revenues of *Engliſh* Biſhopricks: By *Gil—t Bu—t*, Founder of that Order: Dedicated to Monſieur *Alix*, already a Treaſurer of one Cathedral, and a forward Putter for the Government of another.

18. *Exorciſta:* Or, *England* diſpoſſeſſed of a *Low-Country* Devil, by the *High-Dutch* Conjurer of the *Savoy*.

19. *Eccleſia liberata.* The Eſtabliſhed Church preſerved, by damning her Doctrines to ſteal her Pelf: By Brother *I——n* of the *Char—r-Houſe*; preſented for a New Year's-Gift to Siſter *Sym—n*; wherein is learnedly proved, that Paſſive Obedience, without a Parſonage

and,

and Prebendary, and *Pater-noſters* without Pence, are unedifying Tenets, and, that no Church is worth the Saving, that will not allow Tent and Eggs to one's Breakfaſt.

20. *Proximus ſum egomet mihi:* Near is my King, but nearer is my Skin: By that renowned Vindicator of the Church, the Martyr Dr. *Pel—g:* Dedicated to M. G. *Ludlow*, as a thankful Return to his laſt obliging Letter on that Subject; containing the Reaſons of *Jeſhurun*'s Kicking, and the Doctor's Deſerting. Printed for *Aminadab Rebellis*, and are to be ſold at the Sign of the *Jack-Pudding*, in *Taylor*'s *Court*, near *Weſt——r*.

21. *Aſperius nihil eſt humili, &c.* A new-invented Mathematical Inſtrument, by the Help of which one may diſcover, that, the higher a Jackanapes climbs, the more he ſhews his Arſe: Publiſhed for a Warning to Dr. *Birch*'s Fathers that never were Sons, that they may take effectual Care to double-line their Breeches, becauſe there is an old Saying, That *Fools will be peeping*.

22. *Octavus Sapientum:* Or, Bog-witticiſms improved, for the Diverſion of both Sexes; being ſome ſmall Gleanings from the plentiful Stock of the Worſhipful Sir *Sal—l Lov—l* R—r *L——*.

23. *Aſinus ad Lyram:* An Argument in Law, proving, That Killing of Horſes is downright Murder: Publiſhed as a Caution to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood: By the ſame ingenious Author.

24. *In dubiis tutior pars:* Or, the broad Way to ſave a Man's Bacon, and damn his Soul.

25. *Junius Brutus Redivivus.* The Loyal Converter of the 30th of *January*, into a Day of Preparation for the Sacrament; to be received only by ſuch, who make it the firſt Article of their Religion, That the Murdering, or Driving away lawful Kings, is not only lawful, but ſaint-like, performed on the laſt Anniverſary. By *W—ms* of the *Poultry*.

26. *Filius ante diem:* A Vindication of Diſobedience and Parricide, proving, that Children owe no Duty to Parents, unleſs ſo long as they did not underſtand it; but, when they come to Years of Diſcretion, they may, and ought to maintain their Liberty of Diſobedience, even to the Deſtruction of their Parents, if they but ſuſpect that they will labour to prevent ſuch Undutifulneſs: Dedicated to a very dutiful Lady, at the great Houſe near *Ch—ng-Croſs*; by the Plier at St. *Andrew's*, *Holborn*.

27. *Semel inſanivimus omnes:* Or, a Treatiſe ſhewing, That he is no good Philoſopher, that has not committed one Folly: But, at the ſame Time, ſhewing, That he is an Aſs and a Knave, that purſues it, when he ſees the Cheat: Publiſhed by a Club of relenting Abdicators; and by them, dedicated to the ſeveral Counties, Cities, Towns Corporate, and Boroughs they repreſent.

28. *Unguentum Ophthalmicum:* Sovereign Eye-bright, to remove the Miſts from the People's Eyes, that they may ſee their Condition, and reward their Riders: Addreſſed to the unfeigned Lovers of *England*, of what Condition or Perſuaſion ſoever.

29. *Nolumus hunc regnare.* An Epitome of all the learned Reaſons given by our Intruders, and preſent Riders, againſt Returning to our Senſes, and Reſtoring the King; with an Appendix of Fear of Puniſhment and Diſgrace: Dedicated to half a Dozen of henpecked *London* Divines.

30. *Nunquam ſera eſt ad bonos, &c.* Or, the Reſurrection of Allegiance and Diſcipline, from the Grave of Rebellion and Schiſm, by the oppreſſed and abuſed Sons of the old true Church of *England:* Publiſhed to the Confuſion of thoſe Sons of Latitude and *Belial*, that make Heaven pimp to their Intereſt.

31. *Ex nihilo nihil fit:* Or, a Diſſertation of the no Power of a no Parliament, making a no King, that will always be doing us no Good, by leaving us no Parliaments without Perjury and Penſioners, no Church without Knaves and Intruders, no Trade without Hazard and Loſſes, no Credit at Home or Abroad, no Honour nor Conſcience, no Blood in our Veins, nor Money in our Pockets, none but *Holland* Frogs and Caterpillars in the Nation, and Nothing but Repentance at the laſt.

Caſes of Conſcience, and Queries.

1. WHether a Penſioner be not ten Times worſe than a *Lapland* Wizard, ſince the latter only ſells his own Soul to the Devil, but the Penſioner ſells other Men's Souls, Bodies, and all?

2. Whether a Coachman may not drive Poſt to the D—l, by profaning the *Lord's-day*, notwithſtanding the Licenſe of the Houſe?

3. Whether the remaining four of the unrepealed Commandments ought not to be caſhiered next Seſſion?

4. Whether the Members were aſleep in St. *Margaret's*, or St. *Stephen's*, when they voted Dr. *Birch* a Saint in one Place, and a Malignant in the other?

5. Whether the Fifth Commandment be Part of the Coronation-oath, ſince our Governors obſerve it ſo ſtrictly?

6. Whether Proteſtant Tyranny be not better than Popiſh Tyranny, by ſix Millions, *per Annum?*

7. Whether Popiſh Knives and Gridirons have done us half ſo much Miſchief, as *Dutch* Declarations and *Engliſh* Penſioners?

8. Whether it is not a Cordial to an *Engliſhman's* Stomach, to hear a naſty *Dutchman* ſwear, that they have given us a King to wipe their Stadtholder's Backſide?

9. Whether it is better to have ſome Religion, all Peace, and moderate Taxes; or no Peace, no Religion, and all Taxes?

10. Whether, when the roguy Engraver fixed old *Noll's* Head on *W*———*m's* Shoulders, the Figure were not all of a Piece?

11. Whether ſix-hundred thouſand Pounds were not too ſmall a Gratuity to our dear Saviours, the *Dutch?* And whether we had not better openly give them all, than let them take it underhand, and laugh at us into the Bargain?

12. Whether our Governors do not act wiſely, in ſacrificing our Seamen, and ſtarving their Wives, ſince they deſign ſhortly we ſhall have no Ships?

13. Whether it was not a true Blunder, in him that took the Pope's Picture for that of K. *W.* ſince he interpreted the two Keys to be thoſe of our Coffers and Conſciences?

14. Whether *Julian*, or *Sherlock*, deſerve the Whetſtone; ſince *Julian* has been always true to a falſe Principle, and *Sherlock* a Traitor, and falſe to a true one?

15. Whether *S*—— be not the moſt excuſable Inſtrument in our preſent Slavery, ſince Treaſon and Rebellion, in him, are Original Sin?

16. Whether *Cumb*——*d* and *Ten*——*n* ever confuted ten *Hobbiſts* by their Bawling and Printing? And whether they have not made Ten-thouſand by their Practice?

17. Whether *Julian*, the Houſe, or the Hangman have made the beſt ſecond Treble to *Gilbert's* Paſtoral?

18. Whether Father *Sim*——*n* has been rebaptiſed, ſince he publickly renounced Chriſtianity in *Peter*———*gh* Cathedral?

19. Whether the *Scotch Conferences* and the *Friendly Debate* are not damnably aſhamed of their raſcally Authors?

20. Whether the *Pilgrim's Progreſs*, or the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, had the better Tinker to their Author, ſince they both ſet up for a Pair of Church-menders?

21. Whether *Richard of Kidderminſter* had not much more Epiſcopacy and Uniformity in him, than our St. *Richard Kidder?*

22. Whether the *Latin* Reaſon of *Auri ſacra fames*, or the *Engliſh* of the *Grey Mare is the better Horſe*, did operate moſt in making *Sherlock* a Changeling?

23. Whether *Bedlam* ever produced any Thing half ſo lewd and frantick, as *Creſner's* Lampoons upon the *Apocalypſe?*

24. Whether the old *Welch* Seer may not, with the Help of a ſmall Looking-glaſs, ſee an old crazy-crowned Infidel, ſince he pawned his Creed in 88, that *Lewis the Grand* and *Old Nick* ſhould be Chamber-fellows in the other World, before the End of 92?

25. Whether *J. C.* or *J. Y.* have not all the Reaſon imaginable to admit Ranters, Sweet-ſingers, Muggletonians, *Jews*, *Turks*, and Infidels to be Church-members, ſince their own Hearts tell them, they are as good Chriſtians as themſelves?

26. Whether, in the next Edition of his Shame, the renowned Author of the *Contempt of the Clergy* ought not to add one other lamentable Reaſon, beſides thoſe of Ignorance and Poverty, *viz.* Time-ſerving, together with his own Phiz in the Frontiſpiece?

27. Whe-

2. Whether Dame *Britannia* was not leſs culpable in being forced to endure a thirteen Years Rape from *Oliver* and the Rump, than by living a five-years Adultereſs now by Conſent?

A ſhort Account of the Siege of *Bantam*: And its Surrender to the Rebels, who were aſſiſted by the *Dutch*, and their Fleet, in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In a Letter from an *Engliſh* Factor to a Merchant of *London*. *London*, printed for *John Smith*, 1683. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

SIR,

GREAT was our Expectation upon the Succeſs of our late Ambaſſador *Kaia Nebbe*'s Negotiation into *England*; of Settling a a Commerce with that Kingdom; which, as it is of all Nations in moſt Eſteem with, ſo is it moſt earneſtly deſired by the *Bantamites*, who have a natural Kindneſs for the *Engliſh* in theſe Parts.

Whilſt we were big with theſe Joys, a ſudden and unexpected Storm happened, which blaſted all our Hopes in an Inſtant, and unmercifully expoſed us, not only to the Fury of a Domeſtick Enemy, but the Spoil and Rapine of a Foreign Foe.

Sir, it would be but a needleſs Trouble to tell you the true Correſpondence, and real Friendſhip, that has been preſerved between the *Engliſh* and the *Bantamites*: Theſe allowing them a Factory, and a Place of Reſidence for their Conſult within the Walls of the Town of *Bantam*, which is the Capital City of *Java*, whereas all other Foreigners, as the *Bengallians*, *Cuſarats*, *Malayans*, *Abyſſins*, *Chineſe*, *Portugueſe*, and *Hollanders*, are placed without the Town; nay the very *Indians* themſelves, who come from the Borders of the Country, have their Places allotted them without the City, where they have their Markets for their particular Commodities, the grand *Bazar*, or *Exchange*, being in the Eaſt Part of the Town, wholly employed in the *Engliſh* Factory, and for ſtowing up the Commodities they trade in.

Since the laſt Maſſacre of the *Dutch* in this Nation, they have not dealt ſo freely amongſt us, but keep within their own Plantation at *Batavia*, which is ſome twelve Leagues from *Bantam*.

The *Portugueſe*, that deal at *Bantam*, live out of Town in the ſame Quarter with the *Chineſe*. They drive here a great Trade in Pepper, Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, Sandal-wood, Cubebs, long Pepper, and other Commodities that are ſent them from *Malacca*; for the greater Part of them are Factors, and Commiſſioners of the Governor of *Malacca*, and the Archbiſhop of *Goa*.

The *Engliſh*, beſides their Liberty of Reſiding within the Town of *Bantam*, have free Acceſs through the whole Country of *Java Major*, which is a vaſt and ſpacious Iſle; for from Eaſt to Weſt, it ſtretches one-hundred and fifty Leagues, or of Miles, four-hundred and fifty, and from North to South, ninety Leagues, which is two-hundred and ſeventy Miles, *Engliſh*.

The *Dutch* joined with the Rebels, in this unnatural Incurſion, to invade our City with the more Eaſe, we being ſo unprovided of Ammunition, and all other Conveniencies to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance; in which they had found much more Difficulty, and, it is probable, we might have held out as yet, had we received that Recruit of Arms and Ammunition, as was every Day expected by the Ambaſſador from *England*, who is not yet come.

And

And this, Sir, leads me to the tragical Part of my Letter, which muſt needs create Pity in you, when you conſider in what Conſternation this ſudden Change hath left us in, not able to call our Lives or Fortunes our own; nor can we yet tell, whether we are Freemen, or Slaves.

During the Abſence of our Ambaſſador in *England*, a Match was propoſed, by the King of *Bantam*, between his eldeſt Son, *Zerombia Zebbe*, and the Daughter of the King of *Mitram*.

This was a Match well propoſed, and had been fortunate for the *Engliſh*, had it taken its wiſhed Succeſs, the King of *Mitram* being, as it were, Emperor of *Java Major*.

The young Prince, going upon this Expedition, fell in Love, by the Way, with the King of *Tuban*'s Daughter, which, next to *Bantam*, is the chiefeſt Town in *Java*.

The Prince having forgot all other Obligations, it was not long before the Marriage was unhappily ſolemniſed, though it was much inferior to what had been formerly propoſed. the King of *Tuban*'s Territories being but ſmall, and he himſelf a Tributary to the King of *Bantam*: Beſides, the King of *Tuban* having four Wives, ſix Sons, and two Daughters, beſides natural Children, and Concubines innumerable, the Princeſs, which was the former Match propoſed, being ſole Heireſs to the Emperor.

This ſo incenſed the King of *Bantam*, that he excludes his Son out of the Kingdom, making his younger Son, by a ſecond Wife, his Heir.

The Prince, no leſs incenſed, on the other Hand, marched with a ſmall Army of the *Tubanites* towards *Batavia*, deſiring Aid of the *Dutch*, who were forward enough to aſſiſt him, as well for the old Grudge, that continued between them and the *Bantamites*, as to enlarge their Dominions, upon any Opportunity that preſents.

There being a *Dutch* Fleet at *Batavia*, they took Shipping, and lay before *Bantam* on the Twenty-third of *November*, playing with their great Cannon upon the Town; during which Time, the King made ſeveral Proffers of Accommodation, but nothing would be accepted.

At laſt, all our Ammunition being ſpent, and our Walls battered down, on the Second of *December* they entered the Town, ſeizing upon the *Bazor*, and all Places of Factory and Store, killing and plundering all before them.

The King, with the chief Officers of the City, keeps his Army in the Field; where, by daily Recruits, which flock to him from all Parts, he hopes yet, in ſome Time, to recover his former Loſſes.

The *Hollanders* have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Port, and the Rebels of the City. We are every Day threatened to be turned out, and a *Dutch* Factory and Conſul eſtabliſhed in our Place. All the Hopes, we have, are of the Return of the Ambaſſador, and the Succeſs of the King's Army; of which we hope to give you a better Account by the next.

The

The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner *, made by the moſt vertuous and right gratious Ladie, Queene *Catherine*, bewailing the Ignorance of hir blind Life, led in Superſtition ; verie profitable to the Amendment of our Liues. *Quarto*, containing Forty-ſeven Pages.

William Cicill *hauing taken much Profit, by the Reading of this Treatiſe following, wiſheth vnto euerie Chriſtian, by the Reading thereof, like Profit, with Increaſe from God.*

MOST gentle and Chriſtian Reader, if Matters ſhould be rather confirmed by their Reporters, than the Reports warranted by the Matters, I might iuſtlie bewaile our Time, wherin euill Deeds be well worded, and good Deeds euill cleaped. But ſincere Truth is, that Things be not good for their Praiſes, but be praiſed for their Goodneſſe. I doo not mooue thee to like this Chriſtian Treatiſe, bicauſe I haue Mind to praiſe it ; but I exhort thee to mind it, and, for the Goodneſſe, thou ſhalt allow it, for whoſe Liking I labour not to obteine, onelie, mooued by mine Example, their Iudgement I regard, chieflie confirmed by the Matter. Truelie, our Time is ſo diſpoſed to grant good Names, to euill Fruits, and excellent Termes to meane Works, that neither can good Deeds enioie, their due Names, being defrauded by the Euill ; neither excellent Works can poſſeſſe their woorthie Termes, being foreſtalled by the Meane ; inſomuch that Men ſeeke, rather, how much they can, than how much they ought to ſaie ; inclining more to their Pleaſure, than to their Iudgement, and to ſhew themſelues rather eloquent, than the Matter good ; ſo that neither the Goodneſſe of the Cauſe can mooue them to ſaie more, neither the Euilneſſe leſſe. For, if the Excellencie of this Chriſtian Contemplation, either for the Goodneſſe herein to Maruell appearing, either for the Profit, hereupon, to the Reader enſuing, ſhould be, with due Commendation, followed : I, of Neceſſitie, ſhould either trauell, to find out new Words, the old being anticipated by euill Matters, or wiſh, that the common Speech of Praiſing were ſpared, vntill conuenient Matters were found to ſpend it ; ſuch is the Plentie of Praiſing, and Scarſeneſs of Deſeruing.

Wherefore, lacking the Maner in Words, and not the Matter, in deed of high Commendation, I am compelled to keepe in my Iudgement with Silence, truſting whom my Report could not haue mooued to like this preſent Treatiſe, the Worthineſſe of the Matter ſhall compell to giue it Honour.

Anie earthlie Man would ſoon be ſtirred, to ſee ſome Miſterie of Magike, or Practiſe of Alchumie, or, perchance, ſome Inchantment of Elements ; but thou, which art chriſtened, haſt here a wonderfull Myſterie of the Mercie of God, a heauenlie Practiſe of Regeneration, a ſpiritual Inchantment of the Grace of God. If Ioie and Triumph be ſhewed, when a Kings Child is born into the World, What Ioie is ſufficient, when Gods

* This is the 140th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Child is regenerated from Heauen? The one is Fleſh, which is borne of Fleſh; the other is Spirit, which is borne of Spirit. The one, alſo, ſhall wither like the Graſſe of the Earth, in ſhort Time; the other ſhall liue in Heauen, beyond all Time. If the Finding of one loſt Sheepe be more ioifull, than the Hauing of Ninetie and nine; What Ioie is it, to conſider the Returne of a ſtraie Child of Almightie God, whoſe Returne teacheth the Ninetie and nine to come to their Fold? Euen ſuch Cauſe of Ioie is this, that the Angels, in Heauen, take Comfort herein. Be thou, therefore, ioifull, when a noble Child is newlie born; ſhew thy ſelfe glad, when the loſt Sheepe hath wonne the whole Flocke; be thou not ſad, where Angells reioiſe.

Here maiſt thou ſee one, if the Kind may mooue thee, a Woman; if Degree may prouoke thee, a Woman of high Eſtate; by Birth made noble, by Marriage moſt noble, by Wiſedome godlie, by a mightie King, an excellent Queene; by a famous Henrie, *a renowned* Catherine, *a Wife to him that was a King to Realmes; refuſing the World, wherein ſhe was loſt, to obtaine Heauen, wherein ſhe may be ſaued; abhorring Sinne, which made hir bound to receiue Grace, wherby ſhe may be free; deſpiſing Fleſh, the Cauſe of Corruption, to put on the Spirit, the Cauſe of Sanctification; forſaking Ignorance, wherein ſhe was blind, to come to Knowledge, whereby ſhe may ſee; remoouing Superſtition, wherewith ſhe was ſmothered, to imbrace true Religion, wherewith ſhe may reuiue.*

The Fruit of this Treatiſe, good Reader, is thine Amendment; this onlie had, the Writer is ſatisfied. This good Ladie thought no Shame to deteſt hir Sinne, to obteine Remiſſion; no Vilenes, to become nothing, to be a Member of him, which is all Things in all; no Follie to forget the Wiſedome of the World, to learne the Simplicitie of the Goſpell at the laſt; no Diſpleaſantneſſe, to ſubmit hir ſelfe to the Schoole of the Croſs, the Learning of the Crucifix, the Booke of our Redemption, the verie abſolute Librarie of Gods Mercie and Wiſedome. This Waie, thought ſhe, hir Honour increaſed, and hir State pirmanent, to make hir earthlie Honour Heauenlie, and neglect the Tranſitorie for the Euerlaſting.

Of this I would thee warned, that the Profit may enſue. Theſe great Myſteries and Graces be not well perceiued, except they be ſurelie ſtudied; neither be they perfectlie ſtudied, except they be diligentlie practiſed; neither profitablie practiſed, without Amendment. See and learne, hereby, what ſhe hath doone, then maiſt thou practiſe, and amend that thou canſt do; ſo ſhalt thou practiſe with Eaſe, hauing a Guide, and amend with Profit, hauing a Zeale. It is eaſier to ſee theſe, than to learne; begin at the Eaſieſt, to come to the Harder; ſee thou hir Confeſſion, that thou maieſt learne hir Repentance; practiſe hir Perſeuerance, that thou maieſt haue like Amendment; deſpiſe thy ſelfe, in eſchewing Vice, that thou maieſt pleaſe God, in aſking Grace; let not Shame hinder the Confeſſion, which hindered not the Offenſe. Be thou ſure, if we knowledge our Sins, God is faithfull to forgiue vs, and to clenſe vs from all Vnrighteouſnes. Obeie the Prophets Saieng: Declare thy Waies to the Lord.

Thus far thou maiſt learne to knowe thy ſelfe; next this, be thou as diligent to releeue thy ſelfe in Gods Mercie, as thou haſt beene to reueale thy ſelfe in thine owne Repentance. For God hath concluded all Thinges vnder Sinne, becauſe he would haue Mercie upon all; who hath alſo borne our Sinnes in his Bodie vpon the Tree, that we ſhould be deliuered from Sinne, and ſhould liue vnto Righteouſnes, by whoſe Stripes we be healed. Here is our Anchor; here is our Shepheard; here we be made whole; here is our Life, our Redemption, our Saluation, and our Bliſſe; let vs, therefore, now feed, by this gratious

Queenes

Queenes Example, and be not aſhamed to become in Confeſſion Publicanes, ſince this noble Ladie will be no Phariſie.

And, to all Ladies of Eſtate, I wiſh as earneſt Mind, to followe our Queene in Vertue, as in Honour, that they might once appeare to prefer God before the World, and be Honourable in Religion, which now be Honourable in Vanities; ſo ſhall they, as in ſome vertuous Ladies, of right high Eſtate, it is, with great Comfort ſeen, taſte of this Freedome of Remiſſion of the euerlaſting Bliſſe, which exceedeth all Thoughts and Vnderſtandings, and is prepared for the Holie in Spirit. For the which, let vs, with our Interceſſion in Holines and Purenes of Life, offer our ſelues, to the Heauenlie Father, an vndefiled Hoſt: To whom be eternall Praiſe and Glorie, throughout the Earth, without End. Amen.

The Firſt Chapter.

Of an humble Confeſſion of Sinnes, to the Glorie of God.

WHEN I conſider, in the Bethinking of mine evil and wretched former Life, mine obſtinate, ſtonie, and vntractable Heart, to haue ſo much exceeded in Euilneſſe, that it hath not onelie neglected, yea contemned, and deſpiſed Gods holie Precepts and Commandements; but, alſo, imbraced, receiued, and eſteemed, vaine, fooliſh, and feined Trifles, I am partlie, by the Hate I owe to Sinne, who hath reigned in me, and partlie, by the Loue I owe to all Chriſtians, whom I am content to edifie; euen, with the Example of mine owne Shame, forced, and conſtrained, with my Hart and Words, to confeſſe and declare to the World, how ingrate, negligent, vnkind, and ſtubborne, I have been to God my Creator, and how beneficiall, mercifull, and gentle, he hath been alwaies to me his Creature, being ſuch a miſerable and wretched Sinner.

Trulie, I haue taken no little ſmall Thing vpon me. *Firſt*, To ſet foorth my whole Stubborneſſe, and Contempt in Words; the which is incomprehenſible in Thought, as it it is in the twelfth *Pſalm*, 'Who vnderſtandeth his Faults?' Next this, to declare the excellent Beneficence, Mercie, and Goodneſſe of God, which is infinite, and vnmeaſurable. Neither can all the Words of Angels and Men make Relation thereof, as apperteineth to his moſt high Goodneſſe. Who is he, that is not forced to confeſſe the ſame, if he conſider what he hath receiued of God, and doth dailie receiue? Yea, if Men would not acknowledge and confeſſe the ſame, the Stones would crie it out. Trulie, I am conſtrained and forced to ſpeake, and write thereof, to mine owne Confuſion and Shame, but to the Glory and Praiſe of God. For he, as a louing Father, of moſt abundant and high Goodneſſe, hath heaped vpon me innumerable Benefits; and I, contrarie, haue heaped manifold Sinnes, deſpiſing that which was good, holie, pleaſant, and acceptable in his Sight, and chooſing that which was delicious, pleaſant, and acceptable, in my Sight.

And no Maruell it was, that I ſo did, for I would not learne to knowe the Lord, and his Waies, but loued Darkneſſe better than Light, yea Darkneſſe ſeemed to me Light. I embraced Ignorance, as perfect Knowledge, and Knowledge ſeemed to me ſuperfluous and vaine. I regarded little Gods Word, but gaue my ſelfe to Vanities, and Shadowes of the World. I forſooke him, in whom is all Truth, and followed the vaine, fooliſh Imaginations of my Hart. I would haue couered my Sinnes with the Pretence of Holineſſe; I called Superſtition godlie Meaning, and true Holineſſe Errour. The Lord did ſpeake manie pleaſant and ſweet Words vnto me, and I would not heare; he called me diuerſlie, but, through Frowardneſſe, I would not anſwere.

Mine Euils and Miſeries be ſo manie, and ſo great, that they can accuſe me euen to my Face. Oh, how miſerable and wretchedlie

am I confounded, when, for the Multitude and Greatneſſe of my Sinnes, I am compelled to accuſe my ſelfe! Was it not a maruellous Vnkindneſſe, when God did ſpeake to me, and alſo call to me, that I would not anſwere him? What Man, ſo called, would not haue heard? Or what Man, hearing, would not haue anſwered? If an earthlie Prince had ſpoken, either called, I ſuppoſe there be none, but would willinglie haue done both. Now, therefore, what a Wretch and Caitife am I, that, when the Prince of Princes, the King of Kings, did ſpeake manie pleaſant and gentle Words vnto me, and alſo called me ſo manie and ſundrie Times, that they can not be numbred; and yet, notwithſtanding theſe great Signes and Tokens of Loue, I would not come vnto him, but hid my ſelfe out of his Sight, ſeeking manie crooked and Biwaies, wherein I walked ſo long, that I had clean loſt his Sight: And no Maruell, or Wonder, for I had a blind Guide, called *Ignorance*, who dimmed ſo mine Eies, that I could neuer perfectlie get anie Sight of the faire, goodlie, ſtreight, and right Waies of his Doctrine; but continuallie trauelled, vncomfortablie, in foule, wicked, crooked, and perverſe Waies; yea, and bicauſe they were ſo much haunted of manie, I could not thinke, but that I walked in the perfect and right Waie, hauing more Regard to the Number of the Walkers, than to the Order of the Walking; beleeuing alſo, moſt aſſuredly, with Companie, to haue walked to Heauen, whereas, I am moſt ſure, they would haue brought me down to Hell.

I forſooke the ſpirituall Honouring of the true liuing God, and worſhipped viſible Idols, and Images made of Mens Hands, beleeuing, by them, to haue gotten Heauen; yea, to ſaie the Truth, I made a great Idole of my ſelfe, for I loued my ſelfe better than God. And, certainlie, looke how manie Things are loued, or preferred, in our Harts, before God, ſo manie are taken and eſteemed for Idols, and falſe Gods. Alas! How haue I violated this holie, pure, and moſt high Precept and Commandment of the Loue of God? Which Precept bindeth me to loue him with my whole Hart, Mind, Force, Strength, and Vnderſtanding: And I, like vnto an euill, wicked, and diſobedient Child, haue giuen my Will, Power, and Senſes, to the Contrarie, making, almoſt, of euerie earthlie and carnall Thing, a God.

Furthermore, the Bloud of Chriſt was not reputed, by me, ſufficient for to waſh me from the Filth of my Sinnes; neither ſuch Waies, as he had appointed by his Word; but I ſought for ſuch Riffraffe, as the Biſhop of *Rome* hath planted, in his Tyrannie and Kingdome, truſting, with great Confidence, by the Vertue and Holineſſe of them, to receiue full Remiſſion of my Sinnes. And ſo I did, as much as was in me, obfuſcate and darken the great Benefit of Chriſtes Paſſion, than the which, no Thought can conceiue anie Thing of more Value. There can not be done ſo great an Iniurie and Diſpleaſure to Almightie God, our Father, as to tread vnder Foot Chriſt, his onlie begotten and welbeloued Sonne. All other Sinnes in the World, gathered together in one, be not ſo heinous, and deteſtable, in the Sight of God. And no Wonder, for, in Chriſt crucified, God doth ſhewe himſelfe moſt noble and glorious, euen an Almightie God, and moſt louing Father, in his onlie deare and choſen bleſſed Sonne.

And, therefore, I count my ſelfe one of the moſt wicked and miſerable Sinners in the World, bicauſe I haue beene ſo much contrarie to Chriſt my Sauiour. Saint *Paule* deſired to knowe nothing, but Chriſt crucified; after he had beene rapt into the third Heauen, where he heard ſuch Secrets, as were not conuenient and meete to vtter to Men, but counted all his Works and Doings as nothing, to win Chriſt. And I, moſt preſumptuouſlie thinking nothing of Chriſt crucified, went about to ſet foorth mine owne Righteouſneſſe, ſaieng, with the proud Phariſie: 'Good Lord, 'I thanke thee, I am not like other Men; I 'am none Adulterer, nor Fornicator, and ſo 'forth;' with ſuch like Words of vaine Glorie, extolling my ſelfe, and deſpiſing others, working as an hired Seruant for Wages, or elſe for Reward, and not, as a louing Child, onlie for verie Loue, without Reſpect of Wages or Reward, as I ought to haue done. Neither did I conſider, how beneficiall a Father I had, who did ſhew me his Charitie and Mercie of his owne meere Grace and Goodneſſe, that, when I was moſt his Enemie, he ſent his onlie begotten and welbeloued Sonne, into this World of Wretched-

neſſe and Miſerie, to ſuffer moſt cruell and ſharpe Death for my Redemption. But my Hart was ſo ſtonie and hard, that this great Benefit was neuer trulie and liuelie printed in my Hart, although, with my Words, it was oft rehearſed, thinking my ſelfe to be ſufficientlie inſtructed in the ſame, and being, indeede, in blinde Ignorance; and yet I ſtoode ſo well in mine owne Iudgement and Opinion, that I thought it vaine to ſeeke the Increaſe of my Knowledge therein.

Paul calleth Chriſt *the Wiſdome of God*; and, euen the ſame Chriſt, was, to me Fooliſhneſſe. My Pride and Blindneſſe deceiued me, and the Hardneſſe of my Hart withſtoode the Groning of Truth within it. Such were the Fruits of my carnall and humane Reaſons, to haue rotten Ignorance in Price for ripe and ſeaſonable Knowledge; ſuch, alſo, is the Malice and Wickneſſe that poſſeſſeth the Harts of Men; ſuch is the Wiſdome and Pleaſing of the Fleſh. I profeſſed Chriſt in my Baptiſme, when I began to liue, but I ſwarued from him after Baptiſme, in Continuance of my Liuing, euen as the Heathen, which neuer had begun.

Chriſt was innocent, and void of all Sinne, and I wallowed in filthie Sinne, and was free from no Sinne. Chriſt was obedient vnto his Father, euen to the Death of the Croſſe; and I diſobedient, and moſt ſtubborn, euen to the Confuſion of Truth. Chriſt was meeke and humble in Hart, and I moſt proud and vaine-glorious. Chriſt deſpiſed the World, with all the Vanities thereof, and I make it my God, bicauſe of the Vanities. Chriſt came to ſerue his Brethren, and I coueted to rule ouer them. Chriſt deſpiſed worldlie Honour, and I much delighted to attaine the ſame. Chriſt loued the baſe and ſimple Things of the World, and I eſteemed the moſt faire and pleaſant Things. Chriſt loued Pouerty, and I Wealth. Chriſt was gentle and mercifull to the Poore, and I hard-harted and vngentle. Chriſt praied for his Enemies, and I hated mine. Chriſt reioiced in the Conuerſion of Sinners, and I was not greeued to ſee their Reuerſion to Sinne. By this Declaration, all Creatures may perceiue, how far I was from Chriſt, and without Chriſt; yea, how contrarie to Chriſt, although I bare the Name of a Chriſtian: Inſomuch that, if anie Man had ſaid, I had beene without Chriſt, I would haue ſtiffelie denied, and withſtoode the ſame; and yet, in deede, I neither knew Chriſt, nor wherefore he came.

As concerning the Effect and Purpoſe of his Coming, I had a certaine, vaine, and blind Knowledge, both cold and dead, which may be had with all Sinne; as doth plainlie appeare by this my Confeſſion and open Declaration.

The Second Chapter.

A Lamentation of a Sinner, with hartie Repentance in Faith, to obtaine Abſolution and Remiſſion, through the Merits of Chriſt.

WHAT Cauſe now haue I to lament, ſigh, and weepe, for my Life and Time ſo euill ſpent? With how much Humilitie, and Lowlineſſe, ought I to come, and knowledge my Sinnes to God, giuing him Thanks, that it hath pleaſed him, of his abundant Goodneſſe, to giue me Time of Repentance. For I knowe my Sinnes, in the Conſideration of them, to be ſo greeuous, and, in the Number, ſo exceeding, that I haue deſerued, uerie often, eternall Damnation. And for the Deferring of God's Wrath, ſo manifoldlie due, I muſt vnceſſantlie giue Thanks to the Mercie of God; beſeeching alſo, that the ſame Delaie of Puniſhment cauſe not his Plague to be the ſorer, ſince mine owne Conſcience condemneth my former Doings. But his Mercie exceedeth all Iniquitie. And if I ſhould not thus hope, alas, what ſhould I ſeeke for Refuge and Comfort? No mortall Man is of Power to help me; and, for the Multitude of my Sinnes, I dare not lift vp mine Eies to Heauen, where the Seate of Iudgement is, I haue ſo much offended my God. What, ſhall I fall in Deſperation? Naie, I will call vpon Chriſt, the Light of the World, the Fountaine of Life, the Reliefe of all carefull Conſciences, the Peacemaker betweene God and Man, and the onlie Health and Comfort of all true repentant Sinners.

He can, by his almightie Power, ſaue me, and deliuer me out of this miſerable State, and hath Will, by his Mercie, to ſaue euen the whole Sin of the World. I haue no Hope nor Confidence in anie Creature, neither in Heauen nor Earth, but in Chriſt, my whole and onlie Sauiour. He came into the World to ſaue Sinners, and to heale them that are ſicke; for he ſaid, 'The Whole haue 'no Neede of the Phyſician.' Behold, Lord, how I come to thee, a Sinner ſicke, and grieuouſlie wounded; I aſke not Bread, but the Crums that fall from the Childrens Table. Caſt me not out of thy Sight, although I haue deſerued to be caſt into Hell Fire.

If I ſhould looke vpon my Sinne, and not vpon thy Mercie, I ſhould deſpaire; for, in my ſelfe, I find nothing to ſaue me, but a Dunghill of Wickedneſſe to condemne me. If I ſhould hope, by mine owne Strength and Power, to come out of this Maze of Iniquitie and Wickedneſſe, wherein I haue walked ſo long, I ſhould be deceiued. For I am ſo ignorant, blind, weake, and feeble, that I can not bring my ſelfe out of this intangled and wayward Maze; but, the more I ſeeke Means, and Waies, to winde my ſelfe out, the more I am wrapped and tangled therein.

So that I perceiue my Striuing therein to be Hinderance, my Trauell, to be Labour ſpent, in Going backe. It is the Hand of the Lord that can, and will, bring me out of the endleſſe Maze of Death. For, without I be preuented, by the Grace of the Lord, I can not aſke Forgiueneſſe, nor be repentant, or ſorie for them. There is no Man can auow, that Chriſt is the onlie Sauiour of the World, but by the Holie Ghoſt; yea, as St. *Paule* ſaith, no Man can ſaie, The Lord *Jeſus*, but by the Holie Ghoſt. The Spirit helpeth our Infirmitie, and maketh continuall Interceſſion for vs; with ſuch ſorrowfull Gronings, as can not be expreſſed.

Therefore, I will firſt require, and praie the Lord, to giue me his Holie Spirit, to teach me to auow, that Chriſt is the Sauiour of the World, and to vtter theſe Words, The Lord *Jeſus*; and, finallie, to helpe mine Infirmities, and to intercede, or intreate for me. For I am moſt certaine and ſure, that no Creature, in Heauen nor Earth, is of Power, or can, by anie Meane, helpe me; but God, who is Omnipotent, almightie, beneficiall, and mercifull, welwilling, and louing, to all thoſe that call, and put their whole Confidence and Truſt in him. And, therefore, I will ſeeke none other Meanes, nor Aduocate, but Chriſtes Holie Spirit, who is, onlie, the Aduocate, and Mediatour, betweene God and Man, to helpe and releeue mee.

The Third Chapter.

What true Faith worketh in the Soule of a Sinner.

BUT now, What maketh me ſo bold and hardie, to preſume to come to the Lord with ſuch Audacitie and Boldneſſe, being ſo great a Sinner? Trulie nothing, but his owne Word. For he ſaith, 'Come to 'me, all ye that labour, and are burdened, 'and I ſhall refreſh you.' What gentle, mercifull, and comfortable Words are theſe, to all Sinners? Were he not a frantike, madde, beaſtlie, and fooliſh Man, that would runne for Aide, Helpe, or Refuge, to anie other Creature? What a moſt gratious, comfortable, and gentle Saieng was this, with ſuch pleaſant and ſweete Words, to allure his verie Enimies to come vnto him? Is there anie worldlie Prince, or Magiſtrate, that would ſhew ſuch Clemencie, and Mercie, to their diſobedient and rebellious Subiects, hauing offended them? I ſuppoſe they would not, with ſuch Words, allure them, except it were to call them, whom they cannot take, and puniſh them, being taken. But euen, as Chriſt is Prince of Princes, and Lord of Lords, ſo his Charitie and Mercie exceedeth, and ſurmounteth all others. Chriſt ſaith, 'If carnall Fathers 'do giue good Gifts to their Children, when 'they aſke them, How much more ſhall 'your Heauenlie Father, being, in Subſtance, 'all holie, and, moſt highlie, good, giue 'good Gifts, to all them that aſke him?'

It is no ſmall nor little Gift that I now require, neither thinke I my ſelfe worthie to receiue

receiue ſuch a noble Gift, being ſo ingrate, vnkind, and wicked a Child. But, when I behold the Benignitie, Liberalitie, Mercie, and Goodneſſe of the Lord, I am encouraged, boldened, and ſtirred, to aſke ſuch a noble Gift. The Lord is ſo bountifull and liberall, that he will not haue vs ſatisfied and contented with one Gift, neither to aſke ſimple and ſmall Gifts; and, therefore, he promiſeth, and bindeth himſelfe, by his Word, to giue good and beneficiall Gifts, to all them that aſke him with true Faith, without which, nothing can be done acceptable, or pleaſing, to God; for Faith is the Foundation and Ground of all other Gifts, Vertues, and Graces; and, therefore, I will praie and ſaie, 'Lord increaſe my Faith.'

For this is the Life euerlaſting, Lord, that I muſt beleeue thee to be the true God, and whom that thou didſt ſend *Jeſus Chriſt*. By this Faith I am aſſured, and, by this Aſſurance, I feele the Remiſſion of my Sins. This is it that maketh me bold; this is it that comforteth me; this is it that quencheth all Deſpaire?

I knowe, O my Lord, thine Eies looke vpon my Faith. St. *Paule* ſaith, 'We be 'iuſtified by Faith in Chriſt, and not by the 'Deeds of the Lawe; for, if Righteouſnes 'come by the Lawe, then Chriſt died in 'vaine.' St. *Paule* meaneth not here, a dead, humane, and hiſtoricall Faith, gotten by humane Induſtrie; but a ſupernaturall and liuelie Faith, which worketh by Charitie, as he himſelf plainlie expreſſeth. This Dignitie of Faith is no Derogation to good Works; for, out of this Faith, ſpring all good Works, yet we may not impute, to the Worthineſſe of Faith or Works, our Iuſtification before God, but aſcribe, and giue the Worthineſſe of it, wholie to the Merits of Chriſts Paſſion, and refer and attribute the Knowledge and Perceiuing thereof, onlie to Faith; whoſe verie, true, and onlie Propertie it is, to take, apprehend, and hold faſt the Promiſes of Gods Mercie, the which maketh vs righteous; and to cauſe me continuallie to hope for the ſame Mercie, and, in Loue, to work all Maner of Waies, allowed in the Scripture, that I may be thankfull for the ſame.

Thus I feele my ſelfe to come, as it were, in a new Garment before God; and now, by his Mercie, to be taken iuſt and righteous, which, of late, without his Mercie, was ſinfull and wicked; and, by Faith, to obteine his Mercie, the which the Vnfaithfull can not enioie. And although St. *John* extolleth Charitie, in his Epiſtle, ſaieng, 'That God 'is Charitie, and he that dwelleth in Chari-'tie, dwelleth in God.' Truelie, Charitie maketh Men liue like Angels, and, of the moſt furious, vnbrideled, and carnall Men, maketh meeke Lambes.

Yea, with how feruent a Spirit ought I to call, crie, and praie to the Lord, to make his great Charitie to burne and flame my Hart, being ſtonie, and euill affected, that it neuer would conceiue, nor regard, the great ineſtimable Charitie and Loue of God, in ſending his onlie begotten, and deere beloued Sonne, into this Vale of Miſerie, to ſuffer the moſt cruell and ſharpe Death of the Croſs, for my Redemption: Yea, I neuer had this vnſpeakeable and moſt high Charitie, and abundant Loue of God, printed, and fixed in my Hart duelie, till it pleaſed God, of his meere Grace, Mercie, and Pittie, to open mine Eies, making me to ſee, and behold, with the Eie of liuelie Faith, Chriſt crucified, to be mine onlie Sauiour and Redeemer. For then I began (and not before) to perceiue, and ſee mine owne Ignorance and Blindneſſe; the Cauſe thereof was, that I would not learne to knowe Chriſt my Sauiour and Redeemer.

But when God, of his meere Goodneſſe, had thus opened mine Eies, and made me ſee and behold Chriſt, the Wiſedome of God, the Light of the World, with a ſupernaturall Sight of Faith, all Pleaſures, Vanities, Honor, Riches, Wealth, and Aids of the World, began to waxe bitter vnto me: Then I knew, it was no Illuſion of the Diuell, nor falſe, ne humane Doctrine I had receiued. When ſuch Succeſſe came thereof, that I had in Deteſtation and Horrour that, which I erſt ſo much loued and eſteemed; being, of God, forbidden, that we ſhould loue the World, or the vaine Pleaſures and Shadowes in the ſame: Then began I to perceiue, that Chriſt was my onlie Sauiour and Redeemer; and the ſame Doctrine to be all Diuine, Holie, Heauenlie, and infuſed, by Grace, into the Harts of the Faithfull, which neuer can be attained by humane Doctrine, Wit, nor Reaſon, although they ſhould trauell and labour for the ſame,

to

to the End of the World. Then began I to dwell in God by Charitie, knowing, by the louing Charitie of God, in the Remiſſion of my Sinnes, that God is Charitie, as St. *John* ſaith. So that of my Faith (whereby I came to knowe God, and, whereby, it pleaſed God, euen bicauſe I truſted in him, to iuſtifie me) ſprang this excellent Charitie in my Hart.

I thinke no leſſe, but manie will wonder, and maruell at this my Saieng, that I neuer knewe Chriſt for my Sauiour and Redeemer, vntill this Time. For many haue this Opinion, ſaieng: 'Who knoweth not there 'is a Chriſt? Who, being a Chriſtian, doth 'not confeſſe him his Sauiour?' And thus, beleeuing their dead, humane, hiſtoricall Faith and Knowledge (which they haue learned in their ſcholaſticall Bookes) to be the true infuſed Faith and Knowledge of Chriſt, which may be had, as I ſaid before, with all Sinne: They vſe to ſaie, by their owne Experience of themſelues, that their Faith doth not iuſtifie them. And, true it is, except they haue this Faith, the which I haue declared here before, they ſhall neuer be iuſtified.

And yet it is not falſe, that, by Faith onlie, I am ſure to be iuſtified. Euen this is the Cauſe, that ſo manie impugne this Office and Dutie of true Faith, bicauſe ſo manie lacke the true Faith. And, euen as the Faithfull are forced to allow this true Faith, ſo the Vnfaithfull can, in no Wiſe probablie, intreate thereof; the one feeling in himſelfe that he ſaith, the other hauing not in him for to ſaie.

I haue, certeinlie, no curious Learning, to defend this Matter withall, but a ſimple Zeale, and earneſt Loue, to the Truth inſpired of God, who promiſeth, to powre his Spirit vpon all Fleſh; which I haue, by the Grace of God (whom I moſt humblie honour) felt in my ſelfe to be true.

The Fourth Chapter.

Of the great Loue of God towards Mankind, and of the inward Beholding of Chriſt crucified.

LET vs, therfore, now, I praie you, by Faith, behold and conſider the great Charitie and Goodneſſe of God, in ſending his Sonne, to ſuffer Death for our Redemption, when we were his mortall Enemies; and, after what Sort and Maner he ſent him.

Firſt, It is to be conſidered, yea to be vndoubtedlie, and, with a perfect Faith, beleeued, that God ſent him to vs freelie; for he did giue him, and ſold him not; a more noble and rich Gift he could not haue giuen. He ſent not a Seruant, or a Friend, but his onlie Sonne, ſo deerelie beloued; not in Delights, Riches, and Honours, but in Croſſes, Pouerties, and Slanders; not as a Lord, but as a Seruant, yea, and in moſt vile and painefull Paſſions, to waſh us; not with Water, but with his owne pretious Bloud; not from Mire, but from the Puddle and Filth of our Iniquities. He hath giuen him, not to make vs Poore, but to enrich vs with his Diuine Vertues, Merits, and Graces; yea, and in him, he hath giuen vs all good Things, and, finallie, himſelfe, and with ſuch great Charitie, as can not be expreſſed.

Was it not a moſt high and abundant Charitie of God, to ſend Chriſt to ſhed his Bloud, to looſe Honour, Life, and all, for his Enemies? Euen, in the Time, when he had done him moſt Iniurie, he firſt ſhewed his Charitie to vs, with ſuch Flames of Loue, that greater could not be ſhewed. God, in Chriſt, hath opened vnto vs (although we be weake and blind of our ſelues) that we may behold, in this miſerable Eſtate, the great Wiſedome, Goodneſſe, and Truth, with all the other godlie Perfections, which be in Chriſt. Therefore, inwardlie to behold Chriſt crucified vpon the Croſſe, is the beſt and goodlieſt Meditation that can be.

We may ſee alſo, in Chriſt crucified, the Beautie of the Soule, better than in all the Bookes of the World: For who, that with a liuelie Faith, ſeeth and feeleth, in Spirit, that Chriſt, the Sonne of God, is dead, for the Satisfieng and Purifieng of the Soule, ſhall ſee, that his Soule is appointed for the uerie

Tabernacle

Tabernacle and Manſion of the ineſtimable and incomprehenſible Maieſtie and Honour of God. We ſee alſo, in Chriſt crucified, how vaine and fooliſh the World is, and how that Chriſt, being moſt wiſe, deſpiſed the ſame. We ſee, alſo, how blind it is, becauſe the ſame knoweth not Chriſt, but perſecuteth him. We ſee alſo, how vnkind the World is, by the Killing of Chriſt, in the Time he did ſhew it moſt Fauour. How hard and obſtinate was it, that would not be mollified with ſo manie Tears, ſuch Sweate, and ſo much Bloudſhead of the Sonne of God, ſuffering with ſo great and high Charitie?

Therefore, he is now verie blind, that ſeeth not how vaine, fooliſh, falſe, ingrate, cruell, hard, wicked, and euill the World is. We may alſo, in Chriſt crucified, weigh our Sinnes, as in a Diuine Ballance, how greeuous, and how weightie they be, ſeeing they haue crucified Chriſt; for they would neuer haue beene counterpaiſed, but with the great and pretious Weight of the Bloud of the Sonne of God. And, therefore, God, *of his high* Goodneſſe, determined, that his bleſſed Sonne ſhould rather ſuffer Bloudſhead, than our Sinnes ſhould haue condemned vs. We ſhall neuer knowe our owne Miſerie and Wretchedneſſe, but with the Light of Chriſt crucified; then we ſhall ſee our owne Crueltie, when we feele his Mercie; our owne Vnrighteouſneſſe and Iniquitie, when we ſee his Righteouſneſſe and Holineſſe. Therefore, to learne to knowe trulie our owne Sinnes is to ſtudie in the Booke of the Crucifixe, by continuall Conuerſation in Faith; and to haue perfect and plentifull Charitie is to learne, firſt by Faith, the Charitie that is in God towards vs.

We may ſee alſo, in Chriſt upon the Croſſe, how great the Paines of Hell, and how bleſſed the Ioies of Heauen be; and what a ſharpe and painefull Thing it ſhall be to them, that, of that ſweet, happie, and glorious Ioie, Chriſt, ſhall be depriued. Then this Crucifixe is the Booke, wherein God hath included all Things, and hath moſt compendiouſle written, therein, all Truth, profitable and neceſſarie for our Saluation. Therefore, let vs endeuour, our ſelues, to ſtudie this Booke, that we, being lightened with the Spirit of God, may giue him Thanks for ſo great a Benefit.

The Fift Chapter.

Of the glorious Victories of Chriſt ouer all Enemies.

IF we looke further in this Booke, we ſhall ſee Chriſts great Victorie vpon the Croſſe, which was ſo noble and mightie, that there neuer was, neither ſhall be ſuch. If the Victorie and Glorie of wordlie Princes were great, becauſe they did ouercome great Hoſtes of Men, How much was Chriſtes greater, which vanquiſhed, not onelie the Prince of this World, but all the Enemies of God; triumphing ouer Perſecution, Iniuries, Villanies, Slanders, yea Death, the World, Sinne, and the Diuell, and brought to Confuſion all carnall Prudence?

The Princes of the World neuer did fight, without the Strength of the World: Chriſt contrarilie went to Warre, euen againſt all the Strength of the World. He fought, as *Dauid* did with *Golias*, vnarmed of all humane Wiſdome and Policie, and without all wordlie Power and Strength. Neuertheleſſe, he was fullie repleniſhed, and armed with the whole Armour of the Spirit; and, in this one Battell, he ouercame, for euer, all his Enemies. There was neuer ſo glorious a Spoile, neither a more rich and noble, than Chriſt was upon the Croſſe, which deliuered all his Elect from ſuch a ſharpe and miſerable Captiuitie. He had, in his Battell, manie Stripes, yea, and loſt his Life, but his Victorie was ſo much the greater. Therefore, when I looke vpon the Sonne of God, with a ſupernaturall Faith and Light, ſo vnarmed, naked, giuen vp, and alone, with Humilitie, Patience, Liberalitie, Modeſtie, Gentleneſſe, and with all other his Diuine Vertues, beating downe to the Ground all Gods Enemies, and making the Soule of Man ſo faire and beautifull: I am forced to ſaie, that his Victorie and Triumph was maruellous; and, therefore, Chriſt well deſerued to have this noble Title, Ieſus *of* Nazareth, *King of the* Iewes.

But, if we will particularlie vnfold and ſee his great Victories, let vs firſt behold, how he ouercame Sinne with his Innocencie, and confounded Pride with his Humilitie; quenched all worldlie Loue with his Charitie, appeaſed the Wrath of his Father with his Meekeneſſe, and turned Hatred into Loue, with his ſo manie Benefits and godlie Zeale.

Chriſt hath not onlie ouercome Sinne, but, rather, he hath killed the ſame; in aſmuch as he hath ſatisfied for it himſelfe, with the moſt Holie Sacrifice and Oblation of his pretious Bodie, in ſuffering moſt bitter and cruell Death. Alſo, after another Sort, that is, he giueth all thoſe that loue him, ſo much Spirit, Grace, Vertue, and Strength, that they may reſiſt, impugne, and ouercome Sinne, and not conſent, neither ſuffer it to reigne in them. He hath alſo vanquiſhed Sinne, becauſe he hath taken awaie the Force of the ſame; that is, he hath cancelled the Lawe, which was, in euill Men, the Occaſion of Sinne. Therefore, Sinne hath no Power againſt them, that are, with the Holie Ghoſt, vnited to Chriſt; in them there is nothing worthie of Damnation. And although the Dregs of *Adam* do remaine, that is, our Concupiſcences, which, in deede, be Sinnes; neuertheleſſe, they be not imputed for Sinnes, if we be trulie planted in Chriſt. It is true, that Chriſt might haue taken awaie all our immoderate Affections, but he hath left them for the great Glorie of his Father, and for his owne greater Triumph. As for Example: When a Prince fighteth with his Enemies, which, ſometime, had the Souereigntie ouer his People, and, ſubduing them, may kill them if he will, yet he preſerueth and ſaueth them; and, whereas they were Lords ouer his People, he maketh them after to ſerue, whome they before had ruled. Now, in ſuch a Caſe, the Prince doth ſhewe himſelfe a greater Conquerour, in that he hath made them, which were Rulers, to obeie; and the Subiects to be Lords ouer them, to whome they ſerued, than if he had vtterlie deſtroied them vpon the Conqueſt. For now he leaueth continuall Victorie to them, whome he redeemed, whereas, otherwiſe, the Occaſion of Victorie was taken awaie, where none were left to be the Subiects. Euen ſo, in like Caſe, Chriſt hath left in vs theſe Concupiſcences, to the Intent they ſhould ſerue vs, to the Exerciſe of our Vertues, where firſt they did reigne ouer vs, to the Exerciſe of our Sinne. And it may be plainlie ſeene, that whereas, firſt, they were ſuch Impediments to vs, that we could not moue our ſelues towards God; now, by Chriſt, we haue ſo much Strength, that, notwithſtanding the Force of them, we may aſſuredlie walke to Heauen. And although the Children of God, ſometime, do fall, by Frailtie, into ſome Sinne; yea, that Falling maketh them to humble themſelues, and to reknowledge the Goodneſſe of God, and to come to him for Refuge and Helpe.

Likewiſe Chriſt, by his Death, hath ouercome the Prince of Diuells, with all his Hoaſt, and hath deſtroied them all. For, as *Paule* ſaith, it is verified, That Chriſt ſhould breake the Serpents Head, propheſied by God. And although the Diuell tempt vs, yet if, by Faith, we be planted in Chriſt, we ſhall not periſh, but rather, by his Temptation, take great Force and Might. So it is euident, that the Triumph, Victorie, and Glorie of Chriſt is the greater, hauing, in ſuch Sort, ſubdued the Diuell; that, whereas he was Prince and Lord of the World, holding all Creatures in Captiuitie, now Chriſt vſeth him as an Inſtrument to puniſh the Wicked, and to exerciſe and make ſtrong the Elect of God in Chriſtian Warfare.

Chriſt, likewiſe, hath ouercome Death in a more glorious Manner, if it be poſſible, becauſe he hath not taken it awaie, but leauing vniuerſallie all ſubiect to the ſame. He hath giuen ſo much Vertue and Spirit, that, whereas afore we paſſed thereto with great Feare, now we be bold through the Spirit, for the ſure Hope of the Reſurrection, that we receiue it with Ioie. It is now no more bitter, but ſweete; no more feared, but deſired; it it no Death, but Life.

And, alſo, it hath pleaſed God, that the Infirmities and Aduerſities do remain to the Sight of the World; but the Children of God are, by Chriſt, made ſo ſtrong, righteous, whole, and ſound, that the Troubles of the World be Comforts of the Spirit, the Paſſions of the Fleſh are Medicines of the Soul; for all Maner of Things worke to their Commoditie and Profite; for they, in Spirit, feele, that God, their Father, doth gouerne them

them, and diſpoſeth all Things for their Benefit; therefore they feele themſelues ſure. In Perſecution, they are quiet and peacefull; in Trouble, they are without Weerineſſe, Feares, Anxieties, Suſpicions, Miſeries; and, finallie, all the Good and Euill of the World worketh to their Commoditie.

Moreouer, they ſee that the Triumph of Chriſt hath beene ſo great, that not onelie he hath ſubdued and vanquiſhed all our Enemies, and the Power of them, but he hath ouerthrowne and vanquiſhed them, after ſuch a Sort, that all Things ſerue to our Helth. He might and could haue taken them all awaie, But where then ſhould haue beene our Victorie, Palme, and Crowne? For we dailie haue Fights in the Fleſh, and, by the Succour of Grace, haue continuall Victories ouer Sinne; whereby we haue Cauſe to glorifie God, that, by his Sonne, hath weakened our Enemie, the Diuell, and, by his Spirit, giueth vs Strength to vanquiſh his Ofſpring.

So doo we knowledge, dailie, the great Triumph of our Sauiour, and reioice in our own Fights; the which we can no Wiſe impute to anie Wiſdome of this World, ſeeing Sinne to increaſe by it; and, where worldlie Wiſedome moſt gouerneth, there moſt Sinne ruleth; for, as the World is Enemie to God, ſo alſo the Wiſdome thereof is aduerſe to God, and, therefore, Chriſt hath declared, and diſcouered the ſame for Fooliſhneſs. And, although he could haue taken awaie all worldlie Wiſedome, yet he hath left it for his greater Glorie, and Triumph of his choſen Veſſels. For before, whereas it was our Ruler againſt God, now, by Chriſt, we are ſerued of it for God, as of a Slaue in worldlte Things; albeit, in ſupernaturall Things, the ſame is not to be vnderſtood. And further, if, at anie Time, Men would impugne, and gainſaie vs, with the Wiſedome of the World, yet we haue, by Chriſt, ſo much ſupernaturall Light of the Truth, that we make a Mocke of all thoſe that repugne the Truth.

Chriſt alſo, vpon the Croſſe, hath triumphed ouer the World. *Firſt*, Bicauſe he hath diſcouered the ſame to be naught; that whereas it was couered with the Vaile of Hypocriſie, and the Veſture of morall Vertues: Chriſt hath ſhewed, that, in Gods Sight, the Righteouſneſſe of the World is Wickedneſſe, and he hath yeelded Witnes, That the Works of Men, not regenerated by him in Faith, are euill; and ſo Chriſt hath iudged and condemned the World for naught. Furthermore, he hath giuen to all his ſo much Light and Spirit, that they knowe it, and diſpraiſe the ſame; yea and tread it vnder their Feet, with all vaine Honours, Dignities, and Pleaſures; not taking the faire Promiſes, neither the Offers which it doth preſent; naie, they rather make a Scorne of them. And, as for the Threatnings and Force of the World, they nothing feare.

Now, therefore, we may ſee how great the Victorie and Triumph of Chriſt is, who hath deliuered all thoſe, the Father gaue him, from the Power of the Diuell, cancelling, vpon the Croſſe, the Writing of our Debts. For he hath deliuered vs from the Condemnation of Sinne, from the Bondage of the Lawe, from the Feare of Death, from the Danger of the World, and from all Euills in this Life, and in the other to come. And he hath inriched vs, made vs noble, and moſt highlie happie, after ſuch a glorious and triumphant Waie, as can not with Tongue be expreſſed; and, therefore, we are forced to ſaie, his Triumph is maruellous.

It is alſo ſeene and knowne, that Chriſt is the true *Meſſias*; for he hath deliuered Man from all Euills, and, by him, Man hath all Goodneſſe, ſo that he is the true *Meſſias*. Therefore, all other Helpers be but vaine, and counterfeited Sauiours; ſeeing that, by this, our *Meſſias*, Chriſt, wholie and onlie we be deliuered from all Euils, and, by him, we haue all Goodneſſe. And that this is true, it is euident and cleare, bicauſe the verie true Chriſtian is a Chriſtian by Chriſt. And the true Chriſtian feeleth inwardlie, by Chriſt, ſo much Goodneſſe of God, that euen troublous Life and Death be ſweet vnto him, and Miſeries happie. The true Chriſtian, by Chriſt, is diſburdened from the Seruitude of the Lawe, hauing the Lawe of Grace, grauen by the Spirit, inhabiting his Hart, and from Sinne that reigned in him, from the Power of the infernall Spirits, from Damnation, and from euerie Euill; and is made a Sonne of God, a Brother of Chriſt, Heire of Heauen, and Lord of the World; ſo that, in Chriſt and by Chriſt, he poſſeſſeth all good Things.

But let vs knowe, that Chriſt yet fighteth in Spirit, in his elect Veſſels, and ſhall fight euen to the Daie of Iudgment; at which Daie ſhall that great Enemie, Death, be wholie deſtroied, and ſhall be no more. Then ſhall the Children of God reioice on him, ſaieng, O Death, where is thy Victorie and Sting? There ſhall be then no more Trouble nor Sinne; naie, rather, none Euill, but Heauen for the Good, and Hell for the Wicked. Then ſhall, wholie, be diſcouered, the Victorie and Triumph of Chriſt, who, after *Paule*, ſhall preſent vnto his Father the Kingdome, together with his Choſen ſaued by him.

It was no little Fauour towards his Children, that Chriſt was choſen of God to ſaue vs, his Elect, ſo highlie, by the Waie of the Croſſe. *Paule* calleth it a Grace. and a moſt ſingular Grace. We may well thinke, that he, hauing beene, to the World, ſo valiant a Captaine of God, was full of Light, Grace, Vertue, and Spirit; therefore, he might iuſtlie ſaie, *Conſummatum eſt.* Wee ſeeing then, that the Triumph and Victorie of our Captaine, Chriſt, is ſo maruellous, glorious, and noble, to the which War we be appointed; let vs force our ſelues to folowe him, with bearing our Croſſe, that we may haue Felowſhip with him in his Kingdome.

The Sixt Chapter.

That we ought to ſubmit our ſelues to the Schoole of the Croſſe, and ſtill looke and learne in the Booke of the Crucifix.

TRULIE, it may be moſt iuſtlie verified, that to behold Chriſt crucified, in Spirit, is the beſt Meditation that can be. I certeinlie neuer knew mine owne Miſeries, and Wretchednes, ſo well by Booke, Admonition, or Learning, as I haue done, by looking into the ſpirituall Booke of the Crucifix. I lament much, I haue paſſed ſo manie Yeeres, not regarding that Diuine Booke; but I iudged, and thought my ſelfe to be well inſtructed in the ſame; whereas now I am of this Opinion, that if God would ſuffer me to liue here a thouſand Yeeres, and I ſhould ſtudie continuallie in the ſame Diuine Booke, I ſhould not be filled with the Contemplation thereof. Neither hold I my ſelfe contented, but alwaies haue a great Deſire, to learne and ſtudie more therein. I neuer knewe mine owne Wickednes, neither lamented for my Sinnes trulie, vntill the Time God inſpired me with his Grace, that I looked in this Booke; then I began to ſee perfectlie, that mine owne Power and Strength could not help me, and that I was in the Lords Hand, euen as the Claie is in the Potters Hand; then I began to crie, and ſaie:

'Alas! Lord, that euer I haue ſo wickedlie offended thee, being to me, from the 'Beginning, ſo gratious, and ſo good a 'Father, and, moſt ſpeciallie, now haſt declared and ſhewed thy Goodneſſe vnto me, 'when, in the Time, I haue done thee moſt 'Iniurie, to call me, and alſo to make me 'knowe, and take thee for my Sauior and 'Redeemer.'

Such be the wonderfull Works of God, to call Sinners to Repentance, and to make them to take Chriſt, his welbeloued Sonne, for their Sauiour; this is the Gift of God, and of all Chriſtians to be required and deſired. For, except this great Benefit of Chriſt crucified be felt and fixed ſurelie in Mans Hart, there can be no good Worke done, acceptable before God; for, in Chriſt, is all Fulneſſe of the Godhead, and, in him, are hid all the Treaſures of Wiſdome and Knowledge: Euen he is the Water of Life, whereof whoſoeuer ſhall drinke, he ſhall neuer more thirſt, but it ſhall be in him a Well of Water, ſpringing vp into euerlaſting Life. St. *Paule* ſaith, There is no Damnation to them that are in Chriſt, which walke not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit. Moreouer he ſaith, If, when we were Enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the Death of his Son, much more, ſeeing we are reconciled, we ſhall be preſerued by his Death. It is no little or ſmall Benefit we haue receiued by Chriſt, if we conſider what he hath done for vs, as I haue perfectlie declared.

clared heretofore. Wherefore I praie the Lord, that this great Benefit of Chriſt crucified may be ſtedfaſtlie fixed and printed in all Chriſtians Harts, that they may be true Louers of God, and worke as Children for Loue, and not as Seruants, compelled with Threatenings, or prouoked with Hire.

The ſincere and pure Louers of God doo embrace Chriſt, with ſuch Feruencie of Spirit, that they reioice in Hope, be bold in Danger, ſuffer in Aduerſitie, continue in Praier, bleſſe their Perſecutors. Further, they be not wiſe in their owne Opinion, neither high-minded in their Proſperitie, neither abaſhed in their Aduerſitie, but humble and gentle alwaies to all Men: For they knowe, by their Faith, they are Members all of one Bodie, and that they haue poſſeſſed all one God, one Faith, one Baptiſme, one Ioie, and one Saluation. If theſe pure and ſincere Louers of God were thicke ſowne, there ſhould not be ſo much Contention and Strife growing on the Fields of our Religion, as there is. Well, I ſhall praie to the Lord, to take all Contention and Strife awaie, and that the Sowers of Sedition may haue Mind to ceaſe their Labour, or to ſowe it among the Stones, and to haue Grace to ſowe gratious Vertues, where they may both take Roote, and bring foorth Fruit, with ſending alſo a godlie Vnitie and Concord amongſt all Chriſtians, that we may ſerue the Lord in true Holineſſe of Life.

The Seuent Chapter.

A Chriſtian bewailing of the miſerable Ignorance and Blindneſſe of Men.

THE Example of good Liuing is required of all Chriſtians, but ſpeciallie in the Eccleſiaſticall Paſtors and Shepheards. For they be called, in Scripture, Workmen with God, Diſburſers of Gods Secrets, The Light of the World, The Salt of the Earth; at whoſe Hands all other ſhould take Comfort in working, Knowledge of Gods Will, and Sight to become Children of Light, and taſte of ſeaſonable Wiſdome. They haue, or ſhould haue, the Holie Spirit, abundantlie to pronounce and ſet foorth the Word of God, in Veritie and Truth. If Ignorance and Blindneſſe reigne amongſt vs, they ſhould, with the Truth of God's Word, inſtruct and ſet vs in the Truth, and direct vs in the Waie of the Lord.

But Thanks be giuen vnto the Lord, that hath now ſent vs ſuch a godlie and learned King, in theſe latter Daies, to reigne ouer vs; that, with the Vertue and Force of Gods Word, hath taken awaie the Vailes and Miſts of Errours, and brought vs to the Knowledge of the Truth, by the Light of Gods Word; which was ſo long hid, and kept vnder, that the People were nigh famiſhed, and hungred, for Lacke of ſpirituall Food. Such was the Charitie of the ſpirituall Curats and Shepheards. But our *Moſes*, and moſt godlie wiſe Gouernour and King, hath deliuered vs out of the Captiuitie and Bondage of *Pharao*. I meane by this *Moſes*, King *Henrie the Eight*, my moſt ſouereigne fauourable Lord and Huſband; one (if *Moſes* had figured anie more than Chriſt) through the excellent Grace of God, meete to be an other expreſſed Veritie of *Moſes* Conqueſt ouer *Pharao*. And I meane by this *Pharao*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, who hath beene, and is a greater Perſecutor of all true Chriſtians, than euer was *Pharao* of the Children of *Iſrael*; for he is a Perſecutor of the Goſpell and Grace, a Setter foorth of all Superſtition and counterfeit Holineſſe, bringing manie Soules to Hell with his Alchimie and counterfeit Monie, deceiuing the poore Soules, vnder the Pretence of Holineſſe; but ſo mvch the greater ſhall be his Damnation, bicauſe he deceiueth and robbeth vnder Chriſts Mantell. The Lord keepe and defend all Men from his Iuglings and Sleits, but ſpeciallie the poore, ſimple, and vnlearned Soules. And this Leſſon I would all Men had of him, that, when they begin to miſlike his Dooing, then onlie begin they to like God, and certeinlie not before.

As for the ſpirituall Paſtors and Shepherds, I thinke they will cleaue and ſticke to the Word of God, euen to the Death; to vanquiſh all Gods Enemies, if Neede ſhall re-

quire;

quire; all Reſpects of Honour, Dignitie, Riches, Welth, and their priuate Commodities, laid apart; following alſo the Examples of Chriſt, and his choſen Apoſtles, in preaching and teaching ſincere and holeſome Doctrine, and ſuch Things as make for Peace, with godly Leſſons, wherewith they may edifie others; that euerie Man may walke after his Vocation, in Holineſſe of Life, in Vnite and Concord, which Vnitie is to be deſired of all true Chriſtians.

It is much to be lamented, the Schiſmes, Varieties, Contentions, and Diſputations, that haue beene, and are in the World, about Chriſtian Religion, and no Agreement nor Concord of the ſame among the learned Men. Truelie, the Diuell hath beene the Sower of the Seede of Sedition, and ſhall be the Mainteiner of it, euen till Gods Will be fulfilled. There is no War ſo cruell and euill as this; for the War, with Sword, killeth but the Bodies, and this ſlaieth manie Soules; for the poore vnlearned Perſons remaine confuſed, and almoſt euerie one beleeueth and worketh after his owne Waie; and yet there is but one Truth of Gods Word, by the which we ſhall be ſaued. Happie be they that receiue it, and moſt vnhappie are they which neglect and perſecute the ſame: For it ſhall be more eaſie for *Sodom* and *Gomor*, at the Daie of Iudgement, than for them. And not without iuſt Cauſe, if we conſider the Beneuolence, Goodneſſe, and Mercie of God, who hath declared his Charitie towards vs, greater, and more ineſtimable, than euer he did to the *Hebrues*. For they liued vnder Shadowes and Figures, and were bound to the Lawe. And Chriſt, we being his greateſt Enemies, hath deliuered vs from the Bondage of the Lawe, and hath fulfilled all that was figured in their Lawe, and alſo in their Propheſies; ſheading his owne pretious Bloud, to make vs the Children of his Father, and his Brethren, and hath made vs free, ſetting vs in a godlie Libertie: I meane not Licence to Sinne, as manie be glad to interpret the ſame, when as Chriſtian Libertie is godlie intreated of.

Truelie, it is no good Spirit that moueth Men to find Fault at euerie Thing, and, when Things may be well taken, to peruert them into an euill Senſe and Meaning. There be, in the World, manie Speakers of Holines and good Works, but verie rare and ſeldome is declared, which be the good and holie Works. The Works of the Spirit be neuer almoſt ſpoken of, and, therefore, verie few knowe what they be. I am able to iuſtifie the Ignorance of the People to be great, not in this Matter alone, but in manie other, the which were moſt neceſſarie for Chriſtians to knowe. Becauſe I haue had iuſt Proofe of the ſame, it maketh me thus much to ſaie, with no little Sorowe and Greefe in my Hart, for ſuch a miſerable Ignorance and Blindneſſe amongeſt the People.

I doubt not, but we can ſaie all, Lord, Lord; but I feare, God may ſaie vnto vs, This People honoureth me with their Lips, but their Harts be far from me. God deſireth nothing but the Hart, and ſaith, He will be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth. Chriſt condemned all Hypocriſie and feigned Holines, and taught ſincere, pure, and true Godlineſſe; but we, worſe than frantike, or blinde, will not followe Chriſts Doctrine, but truſt to Mens Doctrines, Iudgements, and Saiengs, which dimmeth our Eies, and ſo the Blind leadeth the Blind, and both fall into the Dich. Trulie, in my ſimple and vnlearned Iudgement, no Mans Doctrine is to be eſteemed, or preferred, like vnto Chriſts and the Apoſtles; nor to be taught, as a perfect and true Doctrine, but euen as it doth accord and agree with the Doctrine of the Goſpell.

But yet, thoſe that be called ſpirituall Paſtours (although they be moſt carnall, as it doth verie euidentlie and plainelie appeare by their Fruites) are ſo blinded with the Loue of themſelues, and the World, that they extoll Mens Inuentions and Doctrines, before the Doctrine of the Goſpell. And when they be not able to mainteine their own Inuentions and Doctrines, with anie Iot of the Scripture, then they moſt cruellie perſecute them that be contrarie to the ſame. Be ſuch the Louers of Chriſt? Naie, naie, they be the Louers of the wicked *Mammon*, neither regarding God, nor his Honour. For filthie Lucre hath made them almoſt mad, but frantike they be doubtleſſe. Is not this miſerable State of ſpirituall Men in the World much

much to be lamented of all good Chriſtians? But yet I cannot allowe, neither praiſe all Kind of Lamentation, but ſuch as may ſtand with Chriſtian Charitie.

The Eight Chapter.

Of the Fruites and Rules of true Chriſtianitie for Men to followe.

CHARITIE ſuffereth long, and is gentle, enuieth not, vpbraideth no Man, caſteth, frowardlie, no Faults in Mens Teeth, but referreth all Things to God; being angrie without Sinne, reforming others without Slanders, carrieng euer a Store-houſe of mild Words to pearce the ſtonie-harted Men. I would all Chriſtians, that, like as they haue profeſſed Chriſt, would ſo endeuour themſelues to folowe him in godlie Liuing. For we haue not put on Chriſt, to liue anie more to our ſelues, in the Vanities, Delightes, and Pleaſures of the World, and the Fleſh; ſuffering the Concupiſcence and Carnalitie of the Fleſh to haue his full Swinge, for we muſt walke after the Spirit, and not after the Fleſh; for the Spirit is ſpirituall, and coueteth ſpirituall Things, and the Fleſh carnall, and deſireth carnall Things. The Men, regenerate by Chriſt, deſpiſe the World, and all the Vanities and Pleaſures thereof; they be no Louers of themſelues, for they feele how euill and infirme they be, not being able to do anie good Thing, without the Helpe of God, from whome they knowledge all Goodneſſe to proceede.

They flatter not themſelues, with thinking euerie Thing, which ſhineth to the World, to be good and holie; for they knowe, all externe and outward Works, be they neuer ſo glorious and faire to the World, may be done of the Euill, as well as of the Good: And, therefore, they haue, in verie little Eſtimation, the outward Shew of Holineſſe, becauſe they be all ſpirituall, caſting vp their Eies vpon heauenlie Things; neither looking, nor regarding the earthlie Things, for they be to them vile and abiect. They haue alſo the Simplicitie of the Doue, and the Policie of the Serpent; for, by Simplicitie, they haue a Deſire to do Good to all Men, and to hurt no Man, no, though they haue Occaſion giuen; and, by Policie, they giue not, nor miniſter anie iuſt Cauſe to anie Man, whereby their Doctrine might be reproued. They be not, alſo, as a Reede ſhaken with euerie Winde; but, when they be blaſted with the Tempeſts and Stormes of the World, then remaine they moſt firme, ſtable, and quiet, feeling in Spirit, that God, as their beſt Father, doth ſend, and ſuffer all Things for their Benefit and Commoditie. Chriſt is to them a Rule, a Line, an Example of Chriſtian Life; they be neuer offended at anie Thing, although Occaſion be miniſtred vnto them: For, like as Chriſt, when *Peter* would haue withdrawne him from Death, anſwered, and ſaid, Go backe from me, Sathan, for thou offendeſt me; that is, As much as lieth in thee, thou giueſt me Occaſion, with thy Words, to make me withdrawe my ſelfe from Death, although I yeelded not thereto; for this, thy Procurement, can not extinguiſh the burning Deſire I haue, to ſhed my Bloud for my Choſen. Euen ſo the perfect Men are neuer offended at anie Thing; for, although the World were full of Sinne, they would not withdrawe themſelues from doing of Good, nor waxe cold in the Loue of the Lord. And much leſſe they would be moued to do Euill, yea rather, they be ſo much the more moued to do Good.

The Regenerated, by Chriſt, are neuer offended at the Works of God, becauſe they knowe, by Faith, that God doth all Things well; and that he can not erre, neither for Want of Power, nor by Ignorance, nor Malice; for they knowe him to be Almightie, and that he ſeeth all Things, and is moſt abundantlie good. They ſee, and feele in Spirit, that, of that Will moſt highlie perfect, can not but proceede moſt perfecte Works. Likewiſe, they be not offended at the Works of Men; for, if they be good, they are moued, by them, to take Occaſion to folowe them, and to reknowledge the Goodnes of God, with Giuing of Thanks, and Praiſing his Name dailie the more. But if they be indifferent, and ſuch as may be done with

with good and euill Intents, they iudge the beſt Part, thinking they may be done to a good Purpoſe, and ſo they be edified. But, if they be ſo euill, that they can not be taken in good Part, by anie Meanes, yet they be not offended, although Occaſion be giuen; naie, rather, they be edified, in aſmuch as they take Occaſion to be better, though the Contrarie be miniſtred to them.

Then begin they to thinke, and ſaie thus: 'If God had not preſerued me with his 'Grace, I ſhould haue committed this Sinne, 'and worſſe. O how much am I bound to 'confeſſe and knowledge the Goodneſſe of 'God!' They go alſo thinking and ſaieng further: 'He, that hath ſinned, may be one 'of Gods Elect; peraduenture the *Lord hath* 'ſuffered him to fall, to the Intent he may 'the better knowe *himſelfe*. I knowe he 'is one of them, that Chriſt hath ſhed his 'Bloud for, and one of my Chriſtian Bre-'thren; trulie, I will admoniſh and rebuke 'him, and, in Caſe I find him deſperate, I 'will comfort him, and ſhewe him the great 'Goodneſſe and Mercie of God in Chriſt; 'and, with godlie Conſolations, I will ſe 'if I can lift him vp.' And thus ye may ſee, how the Men, regenerated by Chriſt, of euerie Thing, win and receiue Fruit.

The Nint Chapter.

Of the Fruits of Infidelitie, and Offence of Weakelings.

AND, contrariwiſe, the Yonglings, and, Vnperfect, are offended at ſmall Trifles, taking euerie Thing in euill Part, grudging and murmuring againſt their Neighbour; and ſo much the more, as they ſhew themſelues feruent in their ſo doing, they are iudged, of the blind World, and of themſelues, great Zeale-bearers to God. If this were the greateſt Euill of theſe Yonglings, it were not the moſt Euill; but I feare they be ſo blind and ignorant, that they are offended, alſo, at good Things, and iudge nothing good, but ſuch as they embrace and eſteeme to be good, with murmuring againſt all ſuch, as folowe not their Waies. If there be anie of this Sort, the Lord giue them the Light of his Truth, that they may increaſe and growe in godlie Strength. I ſuppoſe, if ſuch Yonglings and Vnperfect had ſeen Chriſt, and his Diſciples, eate Meate with vnwaſhen Hands, or not to haue faſted with the Phariſies, they would haue beene offended, ſeeing him a Breaker of Mens Traditions. Their Affections diſpoſe their Eies to ſee through other Men, and they ſee nothing in themſelues; where Charitie, although it be moſt ful of Eies, to ſee the Faults of others, whome it coueteth to amend, thinketh none euill, but diſcreetlie, and rightlie, interpreteth all Things, by the which, more iuſtlie and trulie eueri Thing is taken.

Now, theſe ſuperſtitious Weaklings, if they had been conuerſant with Chriſt, and ſeene him leade his Life ſometime with Women, ſometime with *Samaritans*, with Publicanes, Sinners, and with the Phariſies, they would haue murmured at him. Alſo, if they had ſeene *Marie* powre vpon Chriſt the pretious Ointment, they would haue ſaid, with *Iudas*, 'This Ointment might haue beene 'ſold, and giuen to the Poore.' If they alſo had ſeene Chriſt, with Whips, driue out of the Temple thoſe that bought and ſold, they would, foorthwith, haue iudged Chriſt to haue beene troubled and moued with Anger, and not by Zeale of Charitie. How would they haue beene offended, if they had ſeene him go to the *Iewes* Feaſt, heale a ſicke Man vpon the Sabbath Daie, practiſe with the Woman of *Samaria*, yea, and ſhew vnto hir of his moſt Diuine Doctrine and Lif? They would haue taken Occaſion to haue hated and perſecuted him, as the Scribes and Phariſies did; and euen ſo ſhould Chriſt, the Sauiour of the World, haue beene to them an Offence and Ruine.

There be an other Kind of little ones vnperfecte, which are offended after this Sort and Maner. As when they ſee one, that is reputed and eſteemed holie, to commit Sinne, foorthwith they learne to do that, and wooxe, and waxe cold in dooing of Good, and confirme themſelues in Euill; and then they excuſe their wicked Life, publiſhing the ſame with

with the Slander of their Neighbour. If anie Man reprooue them, they ſaie: Such a Man did this, and woorſe. So it is euident, that ſuch Perſons would denie Chriſt, if they ſawe other Men doo the ſame. If they went to *Rome*, and ſawe the Enormities of the Prelates, which is ſaid to reigne there amongſt them, I doubt not, if they ſawe one of them ſinne, which were reputed and taken for holie, their Faith ſhould be loſt, but not the Faith of Chriſt, which they neuer poſſeſſed; but they ſhould looſe that humane Opinion, which they had of the Goodneſſe of the Prelates: For, if they had the Faith of Chriſt, the Holie Ghoſt ſhould be a Witnes vnto them; the which ſhould be mightie in them, that, in Caſe all the World would denie Chriſt, yet they would remaine firme and ſtable in the true Faith.

The Phariſies alſo tooke Occaſion of the Euill of others, to waxe hautie and proud, taking themſelues to be Men of greater Perfection than anie other, bicauſe of their Vertue; euen as the Phariſie did, when he ſawe the Publicans Submiſſion. And ſo they be offended with euerie little Thing, iudging Euill, murmuring againſt their Neighbour; and, for the ſame, they are, of manie, reputed, and taken for the more holie and good, whereas, in deed, they be the more wicked. The moſt wicked Perſons are offended, euen at themſelues; for, at their little Stabilitie in Goodneſſe, and of their delectable and euill Life, they take Occaſion to deſpaire, where they ought the more to commit themſelues to God, aſking Mercie for their Offences; and, foorthwith, to giue Thanks, that it hath pleaſed him, of his Goodneſſe, to ſuffer them ſo long a Time.

But what needeth it anie more to ſaie, The euill Men are offended, euen at the Works of God? They ſee God ſuffer Sinners, therefore, thinke they, Sinne diſpleaſeth him not. And, bicauſe they ſee not the Good rewarded with Riches, oftentimes they imagine, that God loueth them not: It ſeemeth to them God is parciall, bicauſe he hath elected ſome, and ſome reprooued. And, therefore, they ſaie, That the Elected be ſure of Saluation; taking, by that, Occaſion to doo Euill inough, ſaieng, Whatſoeuer God hath determined, ſhall be performed. If alſo they ſee the good Men oppreſſed, and the euill Men exalted, they iudge God vniuſt, taking Occaſion to liue euille, ſaieng, Inaſmuch as God fauoureth the naughtie Men, let vs doo Euill inough, to the Intent he doo vs Good. If then the Wicked be offended, euen at God, it is no Woonder if they be offended at thoſe that followe and walke in his Paths and Waies.

The Tenth Chapter.

Of carnall Goſpellers, by whoſe euill Liuing, Gods Truth is ſhamefullie ſlandered.

I Will now ſpeake with great Dolor and Heauineſſe in my Hart, of a Sort of People which be in the World, that be called Profeſſors of the Goſpell, and, by their Words, doo declare and ſhew, they be much affected to the ſame: But, I am afraid, ſome of them doo build vpon the Sand, as *Simon Magus* did, making a weake Foundation; I meane, they make not Chriſt their chiefeſt Foundation, profeſſing his Doctrine, of a ſincere, pure, and zealous Mind; but either, for bicauſe they would be called Goſpellers, to procure ſome Credit and good Opinion of the true and verie Fauourers of Chriſts Doctrine, either to find out ſome carnall Libertie, either to be contentious Diſputers, Finders, or Rebukers of other Mens Faults, or elſe, finallie, to pleaſe and flatter the World. Such Goſpellers are an Offence, and a Slander to the Word of God, and make the Wicked to reioice and laugh at them, ſaieng, Behold, I praie you, their faire Fruits. What Charitie, what Diſcretion, what Godlineſſe, Holineſſe, or Puritie of Life, is among them? Be not they great Auengers, foule Gluttons, Slanderers, Backbiters, Adulterers, Fornicators, Swearers, and Blaſphemers, yea, and wallowe and tumble in all Sinnes? Theſe be the Fruits of their Doctrine.

And thus it may be ſeene, how the Word of God is euill ſpoken of, through licentious and euill Liuing; and yet the Word of God is all holie, pure, ſincere, and godlie, being the Doctrine and Occaſion of all holie and pure Liuing. It is the Wicked that peruert all good Things into Euill, for an euill Tree can not bring foorth good Fruit; and, when good Seede is ſowne in a barren and euill Ground, it yeeldeth no good Corne; and ſo it fareth by the Word of God: For when it is heard, and knowne of wicked Men, it bringeth no good Fruit; but when it is ſowne in good Ground, I meane the Harts of good People, it bringeth foorth good Fruit abundantlie; ſo that the Want and Fault is in Men, and not in the Word of God. I praie God, all Men and Women may haue Grace to become meete Tillage for the Fruits of the Goſpell, and to leaue onlie the Iangling of it. For onlie Speaking of the Goſpell maketh not Men good Chriſtians, but good Talkers, except their Facts and Works agree with the ſame; ſo then their Speech is good, bicauſe their Harts be good. And euen as much Talke of the Word of God, without practiſing the ſame in our Liuing, is euill and deteſtable in the Sight of God; ſo it is a lamentable Thing to heare, how there be manie, in the World, that do not well digeſt the Reading of Scripture, and do commend and praiſe Ignorance, and ſaie, That much Knowledge of Gods Word is the Originall of all Diſſention, Sciſmes, and Contention; and maketh Men hautie, proud, and preſumptuous, by Reading of the ſame.

This Maner of Saieng is no leſſe than a plaine Blaſphemie againſt the Holie Ghoſt; for the Spirit of God is the Author of his Word, and ſo the Holie Ghoſt is made the Author of Euill, which is a moſt great Blaſphemie, and, as the Scripture ſaith, a Sinne that ſhall not be forgiuen in this World, neither in the other to come. It were all our Parts and Duties, to procure and ſeeke all the Waies and Meanes poſſible, to haue more Knowledge of Gods Word ſet foorth Abroade in the World, and not allow Ignorance, and diſcommend Knowledge of Gods Word, ſtopping the Mouthes of the Vnlearned, with ſubtile and craftie Perſuaſions of Philoſophie and Sophiſtrie, whereof commeth no Fruite, but a great Perturbation of the Mind, to the Simple and Ignorant, not knowing which Waie to turn them. For how, Is it not extreame Wickedneſſe, to charge the holie ſanctified Word of God with the Offences of Man? To alledge the Scriptures to be perillous Learning, becauſe certaine Readers thereof fall into Hereſies?

Theſe Men might be inforced, by this Kind of Argument, to forſake the Vſe of Fire, bicauſe Fire burneth their Neighbours Houſe; or to abſteine from Meate and Drinke, bicauſe they ſee manie ſurfet. O blind Hate! They ſlander God for Mans Offence, and excuſe the Man whome they ſee offend, and blame the Scripture, which they can not improue; yea, I haue heard of ſome, that haue verie well vnderſtood the *Latin* Tongue, that when they haue heard learned Men perſuade to the Credite and Beleefe of certaine vnwritten Verities, as they call them, which be not in Scripture expreſſed, and yet taught as Doctrine Apoſtolike, and neceſſarie to be beleeued; they haue beene of this Opinion, that the learned Men haue mo Epiſtles written by the Apoſtles of Chriſt, than we haue Abroad in the Canon of the Old and New Teſtament, or knowne of anie, but onlie to them of the Clergie. Which Beleefe I did not a little lament in my Hart to heare, that anie Creature ſhould haue ſuch a blind ignorant Opinion.

Some Kind of Simplicitie is to be praiſed, but this Simplicitie, without the Veritie, I can neither praiſe nor allow. And thus it may be ſeene, how we, that be vnlettered, remaine confuſed, without God, of his Grace, lighten our Harts and Minds with a heauenlie Light and Knowledge of his Will; for we be giuen, of our ſelues, to beleeue Men better than God. I praie God, ſend all learned Men the Spirit of God abundantlie, that their Doctrine may bring forth the Fruits thereof. I ſuppoſe there was neuer more Neede of good Doctrine to be ſet foorth in the World, than now in this Age; for the carnall Children of *Adam* be ſo wiſe in their Generation, that, if it were poſſible, they would deceiue the Children of Light. The World loueth his owne, and, therefore, their Facts and Doings be highlie eſteemed of the World; but the Children of God are hated, bicauſe they be not of the World; for their

Habita-

Habitation is in Heauen, and they do deſpiſe the World as a moſt vile Slaue.

The fleſhlie Children of *Adam* be ſo politike, ſubtile, craftie, and wiſe in their Kind, that the Elect ſhould be illuded, if it were poſſible; for they are cloathed with Chriſts Garment, in vtter Appearance, with a faire Shewe of all Godlines and Holines in their Words; but they haue ſo ſhorne, nopped, and turned Chriſts Garment, and haue ſo diſguiſed themſelues, that the Children of Light, beholding them with a ſpirituall Eie, do accompt and take them for Men which haue ſold their Maiſters Garment, and haue ſtolne a Peece of euerie Mans Garment; yet, by their ſubtile Art, and craftie Wits, they haue ſo ſet thoſe Patches and Peeces togither, that they do make the blind World, and carnall Men to beleeue, it is Chriſts verie Mantell.

The Eleuenth Chapter.

Of the vertuous Properties of Gods Children, of whome euerie one attendeth his Vocation.

BUT the Children of Light knowe the Contrarie; for they are led, by the Spirit of God, to the Knowledge of the Truth, and, therefore, they diſcerne and iudge all Things right, and knowe from whence they come, euen from the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Members, the Headſpring of all Pride, Vaineglorie, Ambition, Hypocriſie, and feigned Holines.

The Children of God be not abaſhed, although the World hate them; they beleeue they are in the Grace and Fauour of God, and that he, as a beſt Father, doth gouerne them in all Things, putting awaie from them all vaine Confidence and Truſt in their owne Doings; for they knowe they can do nothing but Sin of themſelues. They be not ſo fooliſh and childiſh, not to giue God Thanks for their Election, which was before the Beginning of the World; for they beleeue moſt ſurelie, they be of the Choſen; for the Holie Ghoſt doth witnes to their Spirit, that they be the Children of God, and, therefore, they beleeue God better than Man. They ſaie, with St. *Paule*, 'Who ſhall ſeparate vs from 'the Loue of God? Shall Tribulation, An-'guiſh, Perſecution, Hunger, Nakedneſſe, 'Perill, or Sword? As it is written, For thy 'Sake are we killed all Daie long, and are 'accounted as Sheepe appointed to be ſlaine; 'neuertheleſſe, in all theſe Things, we o-'uercome, through him that loueth vs. For 'I am ſure, that neither Death, nor Life, 'neither Angels, nor Rule, neither Power, 'neither Things preſent, neither Things to 'come, neither Quantitie or Qualitie, nei-'ther anie Creature, ſhall be able to depart vs 'from the Loue of God, which is in *Chriſt* '*Ieſu* our Lord.'

They are not, by this godlie Faith, preſumptuouſlie inflamed; nor, by the ſame, become they looſe, idle, or ſlowe in dooing of godlie Works, as carnall Men dreme of them; ſo much the more feruent they be in dooing moſt holie and pure Works, which God hath commanded them to walke in. They wander not in Mens Traditions and Inuentions, leauing the moſt holie and pure Precepts of God vndone, which they knowe they be bound to obſerue and keepe. Alſo, they worke not like Hirelings, for Neede, Wages, or Reward; but, as louing Children, without Reſpect of Lucre, Gaine, or Hire; they be in ſuch Libertie of Spirit, and ioie ſo much in God, that their inward Conſolation can not be expreſſed with Tongue. All Feare of Damnation is gone from them, for they haue put their whole Hope of Saluation in his Hands, which will and can performe it; neither haue they anie Poſt or Piller to leane to, but God, and his ſmooth vnwrinkled Church; for he is to them all in all Things, and to him they leane, as a moſt ſure ſquare Piller, in Proſperitie and Aduerſitie; nothing doubting of his Promiſes and Couenants, for they beleeue moſt ſurelie they ſhall be fulfilled.

Alſo, the Children of God be not curious in ſearching the high Myſteries of God, which be not meet for them to knowe; neither do go about, with humane and carnall Reaſons,

to interpret Scripture, perſuading Men, by their ſubtile Wits, and carnall Doctrine, that much Knowledge of Scripture maketh Men Heretikes, without they temper it with humane Doctrine, Sophiſtrie, Philoſophie, and Logicke, wherewith to be ſeduced, according to the Traditions of Men, after the Ordinances of the World, and not after Chriſt. St. *Paule* doth moſt diligentlie admoniſh vs, which Arts are not conuenient and meet to be made Checkmate with Scripture; for the Scriptures be ſo pure and holie, that no Perfection can be added vnto them; for, euen as fine Gold doth excell all other Mettals, ſo doth the Word of God all Mens Doctrines. I beſeech the Lord to ſend the Learned and Vnlearned ſuch Abundance of his Holie Spirit, that they may obeie and obſerue the moſt ſincere and holie Word of God, and ſhew the Fruits thereof, which conſiſteth, chieflie, in Charitie and godlie Vnitie; that, as we haue profeſſed one God, one Faith, and one Baptiſme, ſo we may be all of one Mind, and one Accord, putting awaie all Biting and Gnawing; for, in Backbiting, Slandering, and Miſ-reporting our Chriſtian Brethren, we ſhew not our ſelues the Diſciples of Chriſt, whom we profeſſe. In him was moſt high Charitie, Humilitie, and Patience, ſuffering, moſt patientlie, all Ignomine, Rebukes, and Slanders, praieng to his eternall Father for his Enemies with moſt perfect Charitie; and, in all Things, did remit his Will to his Fathers, as the Scripture doth witneſſe, when he praied in the Mount. A godlie Example and Leſſon for vs to followe at all Times and Seaſons, as well in Proſperitie, as in Aduerſitie; to haue no Will but Gods Will, committing, and leauing to him, all our Cares and Greefes, and to abandon all our Policies and Inuentions; for they be moſt vaine and fooliſh, and, indeed, uerie Shadowes and Dreames.

But we be yet ſo carnall and fleſhlie, that we run headlong, like vnbrideled Colts without Snaffle or Bridle. If we had the Loue of God printed in our Harts, it would keepe us backe from running aſtraie. And, vntill ſuch Time as it pleaſe God to ſend vs this Bit to hold vs in, we ſhall neuer run the right Waie, although we ſpeake and talke neuer ſo much of God and his Word. The true Followers of Chriſts Doctrine haue alwaies a Reſpect and an Eie to their Vocation. If they be called to the Miniſterie of Gods Word, they preach and teach it ſincerelie, to the Edifieng of others, and ſhew themſelues, in their Liuing, Followers of the ſame. If they be married Men, hauing Children and Familie, they nouriſh and bring them vp, without all Bitterneſſe and Fierceneſſe in the Doctrine of the Lord, in all Godlineſſe and Vertue; committing the Inſtruction of others, which apperteine not to their Charge, to the Reformation of God, and his Miniſters, which chieflie be Kings and Princes, bearing the Sword euen for that Purpoſe, to puniſh euill Dooers. If they be Children, they honour their Father and Mother, knowing it to be Gods Commandment, and that he hath, thereto, annexed a Promiſe of long Life. If they be Seruants, they obeie and ſerue their Maiſters with all Feare and Reuerence, euen for the Lords Sake, neither with Murmuring nor Grudging, but with a free Hart and Mind.

If they be Huſbands, they loue their Wiues as their owne Bodies, after the Example as Chriſt loued the Congregation, and gaue himſelfe for it, to make it to him a Spouſe without Spot or Wrinkle. If they be Women maried, they learne of St. *Paule* to be obedient to their Huſbands, and to keepe Silence in the Congregation, and to learne of their Huſbands at Home: Alſo, they weare ſuch Apparell, as becommeth Holineſſe, and comlie Vſage, with Soberneſſe; not being Accuſers, or Detractors; not giuen to much Eating of delicate Meats, and Drinking of Wine; but they teach honeſt Things, to make the yong Women ſober-minded, to loue their Huſbands, to loue their Children; to be diſcreet, chaſte, houſewifelie, good, and obedient vnto their Huſbands, that the Word of God be not euill ſpoken of. Verelie, if all Sorts of People would looke to their owne Vocation, and ordeine the ſame, according to Chriſts Doctrine, we ſhould not haue ſo manie Eies and Eares to other Mens Faults, as we haue; for we be ſo buſie and glad, to find and eſpie out other Mens Dooings, that we forget, and can haue no Time, to weigh and ponder our owne; which, after the Word of God, we ought firſt to reforme, and then we ſhall the better helpe an other with the Straw out of his Eies.

But, alas! we be ſo much giuen to loue and to flatter our ſelues, and ſo blinded with carnall Affections, that we can ſee and perceiue no Fault in our ſelues; and, therefore, it is a Thing verie requiſite and neceſſarie for vs, to praie all with one Hart and Mind to God, to giue vs an heauenlie Light and Knowledge of our owne Miſeries and Calamities; that we may ſee them, and acknowledge them trulie before him.

The Twelfe Chapter.

The Concluſion, with a Chriſtian Exhortation to the Amendement of Life.

IF anie Man ſhall be offended at this my Lamenting the Faults of Men, which be in the World, fantaſing with themſelues, that I do it either of Hatred or of Malice to anie Sort or Kind of People, verilie, in ſo dooing, they ſhall do me great Wrong; for, I thanke God, by his Grace, I hate no Creature; yea, I would ſaie more, to giue witneſſe of my Conſcience, that neither Life, Honour, Riches, neither whatſoeuer I poſſeſſe here, which appertaineth to mine owne priuate Commoditie, be it neuer ſo deerlie beloued of me, but moſt willinglie, and gladlie, I would leaue it, to win anie Man to Chriſt, of what Degree, or Sort, ſoeuer he were. And yet is this nothing, in Compariſon to the Charitie that God hath ſhewed me, in ſending Chriſt to die for me. No, if I had all the Charitie of Angels, and Apoſtles, it ſhould be but like a Sparke of Fire, compared to a greate Heape of burning Coales.

God knoweth, of what Intent and Mind I haue lamented mine owne Sinnes and Faults to the World. I truſt, no Bodie will iudge, that I haue done it for Praiſe or Thanke of anie Creature; ſince, rather, I might be aſhamed, than reioice in Rehearſall thereof. For, if they knewe how little I eſteeme and weigh the Praiſe of the World, that Opinion were ſoone remooued and taken awaie; for, I thanke God, by his Grace, I knowe the World to be a blind Iudge, and the Praiſes thereof vaine, and of little Moment; and, therefore, I ſeeke not the Praiſes of the ſame, neither to ſatisfie it, none otherwiſe than I am taught by Chriſt to do, according to Chriſtian Charitie. I would to God we would all, when Occaſion doth ſerue, confeſſe our Faults to the World, all Reſpects of our owne Commoditie laid apart. But, alas! Selfeloue doth ſo much reigne among vs, that, as I haue ſaid before, we can not eſpie our owne Faults. And although, ſomtime, we find our owne Guilt, either we be fauourable to interpret it no Sin, or elſe we be aſhamed to confeſſe ourſelues thereof; yea, and we be ſore offended, and greeued, to heare our Faults charitablie and godlie told vs of other, putting no Difference betweene charitable Warning, and malicious Accuſing.

Trulie, if we ſought Gods Glorie, as we ſhould do in all Things, we ſhould not be aſhamed to confeſſe our ſelues to digreſſe from Gods Precepts and Ordinances, when it is manifeſt we haue done, and dailie do. I praie God, our owne Faults and Deeds condemne vs not at the laſt Daie, when euerie Man ſhall be rewarded according to his Dooings. Trulie, if we do not redreſſe and amend our Liuing, according to the Doctrine of the Goſpell, we ſhall receiue a terrible Sentence of Chriſt the Sonne of God, when he ſhall come to iudge and condemne all Tranſgreſſours, and Breakers of his Precepts and Commandements, and to reward all his obedient and louing Children. We ſhall haue no Man of Lawe to make our Plea for vs, neither can we haue the Daie deferred; neither will the Iudge be corrupted with Affection, Bribes, or Reward; neither will he heare anie Excuſe or Delaie; neither ſhall this Saint, or that Martyr, helpe vs, be they neuer ſo holie; neither ſhall our Ignorance ſaue vs from Damnation; but yet wilfull Blindneſſe, and obſtinate Ignorance, ſhall receiue greater Puniſhment, and not without iuſt Cauſe. Then ſhall it be knowne who hath walked in the Darke; for all Things ſhall appeere manifeſt before him; no Mans Deeds ſhall be hidden, no, neither Words nor Thoughts. The poore and ſimple Obſeruers

ſeruers of Gods Commandements ſhall be rewarded with euerlaſting Life, as obedient Children to the heauenlie Father; and the Tranſgreſſors, Adders, and Diminiſhers of the Lawe of God, ſhall receiue eternall Damnation, for their iuſt Reward. I beſeech God we may eſcape this fearefull Sentence, and be found ſuch faithfull Seruants, and louing Children, that we may heare the happie, comfortable, and moſt ioifull Sentence, ordeined for the Children of God, which is:

'Come hither, ye Bleſſed of my Father, 'and receiue the Kingdome of Heauen, pre-'pared for you before the Beginning of the 'World.'

Vnto the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glorie, World without End. *Amen.*

Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at *Picquet:* Being acted from the Year 1653, to 1658, by *O. P.* and others, with great Applauſe.

Tempora mutantur, & nos ——

Printed in the Year 1659, *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

Oliver.

I AM like to have a good Beginning of it; I have thrown out all my beſt Cards, and got none but a Company of wretched ones; ſo I may very well be capetted.

Lambert. Now you have a good Pack, my Lord, I am content to play; but you knew every Card of the old ones, and could make your Game as you liſted.

Lawrence. I took a few, yet they make me a good Game; for I left all the little ones behind me.

Fleetwood. If your Highneſs had thoſe, my Lord *Laurence* left, you would have a better Game, than you have; I could wiſh you would look upon them; but yet, I know, you can hardly tell what to play well. I am for the little ones, if there be enough of them; for two *Quint Minors* will win the Game, before you come to reckon you are fourteen by Knaves.

Fines. It is fit you ſhould play at ſome common Game, where all the ſmall Cards are in, and where the Ace goeth but for One. I was too long at the Sport, and left it, becauſe I could make nothing of it; but, here, whoſoever gets one Card is like to make a good Hand: I have got a good Tearſe already.

Muſgrave. I was ſomewhat ſcrupulous, whether Play was lawful, or not; and ſo ſat out the laſt Game, which had like to have undone me: For the Future, I ſhall play what Game ſoever your Highneſs pleaſeth, eſpecially now I ſee you play ſo well, when you loſe.

Liſle. If I go into *France*, I muſt practiſe another Game; but, do what I can, I ſhall be over-reached by *hoc Mazarine.*

Deſborough. I am nothing but a Ruff, yet I ſhall do well; I have got a Card of a right Suit, and ſhould hope to have a better Game, if the Cards were in any other Hands, than your Lordſhip's.

Skippon. I ſit here, and hold the Cards, but know no more how to play, than a Poſt.

Rouſe. I am more diligent at this Game, than ever I was at any, but I got more the laſt Game, when I played *Cent*; for I had a Hundred, and all made: All, that I deſire, is to ſave myſelf, and help my Kindred to ſomething, by betting on my Side, while my Luck laſts.

Jones. I muſt needs loſe, for I have thrown out the Card that made me a good Game.

Ouſeley. A Pox on it, I left *Piccadilly*, and the *Three Kings*, to play here, and I ſhall get nothing all the Days of my Life.

Aſhley-

Aſhley-Cooper. I was *Picquet* at *Whitehall*, and thought to ſave myſelf amongſt the Cavalier Poſts; but, I doubt, I ſhall be deceived.

Pickering. I had rather play at another Game, where more may play; but, I thank the Lord, I can frame myſelf to any Sport, ſo my Lord *P.* be one at it.

Strickland. You play not here, as they do in *Holland*, where I learned this Game; for you make Lifting here, and there they deal by Turns.

Major. All, that I am, I had in my Riſe; I was the pitifulleſt Game in the World before.

Sydenham. I am pretty well, though I changed my Suit; I went in all One, and had another as good in the Stock.

Montague. You make me play at a Game, I never knew in my Life before; I muſt needs loſe.

Blake. I ſhall be a Kind of a Stander-by this Time, and ſo ſhall have Time enough to teach you the Game againſt the next, when you may play by yourſelf.

Thurloe. My Lord, it will not be ſo well for me to play; I will ſtand behind your Chair, and make and ſhuffle, with what you are to play, the next Game.

St. John. My Lord, I ſhall not play neither; but I will go your Halves, ſo you keep my Counſel.

Pierpoint. You play ſo raſhly, I will not bet a Farthing on your Head.

Salloway, I am but a Stander-by; yet I obſerve, the ſmall Cards, that are left, and not played with, are all very clean; but the reſt of the Pack are filthy foul already.

Bradſhaw. I diſpatched out one King, and went for another, but have miſſed him; yet he hath not a Card of his Suit with him; ſo I ſhall ſnap him, when he comes into my Hands.

Haſlerigge. May we not play Levet-coil? I have not Patience to ſtay till another Match be made, and I had as live be hanged, as ſit out.

Nevil. I will not play for a Farthing; beſides that I love not the Game, I am ſo dunned with the Spleen, I ſhould think on ſomething elſe all the While I were a playing, and take in all the ſmall Cards; for I am all Day dreaming of another Game.

Waller. My Lord, you have hanged my King, and I have no other Way, than to play into your Hands.

Whitlocke. I ſhall be content to play at any Game, but ſhall be unwilling to play for a dead Horſe; yet I care not if I keep Stakes.

Knightly. My Lord, give me Leave to ſpeak againſt your Game, that ſo I may be thought not to bet; and then I ſhall be able to give ſuch Advice, as I may help you to play.

Roberts. I have the Luck of it; I win as well at this Game, as at the laſt, when I played at *Loadam*; I had all the ſmall Cards then, and now I have all the great ones.

Gerrard. I do not like the Game ſo well, as to leave the Match I have made for myſelf; yet I do not care, if I venture a little on your Hand, and try if I can get a Stock to ſet up my youngeſt Son for a Gameſter.

Bernard. May I not talk as much as I will in your Play, ſo long as I am reſolved never to bet or play with you at this Game, for a Groat?

Vane. One had better, ſometimes, play with a good Gameſter, than a Bungler; for one knows not where to have him: If *Cromwell* had diſcarded, as he ought to have done, I had won my Stake at it; as it is, I ſhall ſave myſelf; which, I fear, he will hardly do, though he mingles the Cards well, when he deals himſelf, and hath excellent Luck in Cutting, when another deals.

Rich. I play a thouſand Times better, now I have a bad Game, than when I had a good one.

Harriſon. I played the Fool, and went in for a fifth King, when there were but four in the Stock.

Lawſon. My Lord, the Game was not dealt you, you took it; I throw up my Cards.

Streater. My Lord, if you would curſe and ſwear ſoundly, the Game would become you, better than it doth, in Regard you pretend ſo much to Religion; I ſhall diſturb you in the Game, if I ſtand by; I ſee you play in the Dark, therefore I muſt take my Leave of your Lordſhip, and bid you Good Night.

Noell. I make my Fortune by lending the Gameſters Money.

Young *Trevor.* Shall not I play? My Lord Protector has given me a Stock, and I will pack the Cards with all the *Cavalier*-Gameſters in the Town.

Sir *John Trevor.* Well ſaid, *Jack*; thou art none of my Son, if thou beeſt not in all Games, and canſt carry a Trump in thy Pocket.

Harvey.

Harvey. They caught me playing falſe, and would let me play no longer, though I was on my Lord Protector's Side.

Tichborne. I had Reaſon to deſire to play at *Council-picquet*, ſince I am like to loſe ſo much by another Man's ill Play.

Newdigate. I have loſt by Play, but I got by Leaving off.

Chute. There is ſuch Cheating, that I will play no longer.

Purefoy. I will play at ſmall Game, rather than ſit out; for I was never ſet at Work.

Pride. Baxter and I are at the old fooliſh *Chriſtmas* Game with Honours.

Monk. My Lord, when you came to play, your Stock was none of the greateſt; but, ſince I ſee your good Fortune, I am reſolved ſtill to play, as you do; eſpecially ſince you have made me Maſter of one of your great Play-houſes; but, above all Things, if you can keep the Bone in your Hand, the Dogs will follow you; if you can keep the Treaſure, the Gameſters all croud to you.

Diſſenting Army-members. My Lord, when you began the Game, you promiſed us fair Play above-board; but, ſince we ſee you begin to juggle, we will play no longer.

Exchequer. I muſt win at laſt, yet at preſent I have ill Luck; for I have three Knaves, and had caſt out the fourth.

Upper Bench. Sure you are no better than a Cheat; for I threw out one of them, and you have taken him up into your Hands.

Common-Pleas. You ſerved me the very ſame Trick the laſt Term, and took in one of them whom I diſcarded; but ye had beſt leave your Cheating and Wrangling, all of you, leſt ye be found what ye are, and be forbid to keep a *Chriſtmas* here any more; and then we be forced to ſet up a Mi[illegible]rule in the Country, where there are but ſmall Games, and the Box will be poorly paid.

Chancery and Duchy. I am blank; if it had not been for the Queen, I had caſt out a Knave, which now proves the beſt of my Game.

Truſtees. I have taken more than I ſhould, I muſt reckon nothing.

Commiſſioners for Exciſe and Cuſtoms. Gentlemen, pay the Box.

Preſbyterian. I loſt the laſt Game for Want of a King, and now have got one that doth me no Good in the World; I had a good Hand, but I played the Fool, and threw him out; ſo that all my Help depends on one Card.

Independent. I have none but ſmall Cards, and they of ſeveral Suits, ſo that I ſhall make little of it this Bout.

National Miniſter. I went in for thoſe Cards, the Biſhops and Deans parted with the laſt Game; but, though I miſſed them, yet, if my Tenths be good, I ſhall make Shift till another Dealing.

Divine. I was Picquet the laſt, but am now Re-picquet.

Papiſt. If you all complain, I hope I ſhall win at laſt.

EPILOGUE.

IT is to be noted, That the Gentlemen, that have been eminent in this laſt Dealing of the Cards, played very fair in the former Game here deſcribed, with a

PLAUDITE.

—— *Sic tranſit Gloria mundi.*

Caſes of Treaſon. Written by Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knight, His Majeſty's Sollicitor-General. Printed at *London*, by the Aſſigns of *John More*, and are ſold by *Matthew Walbanck*, and *William Coke*, *Anno* 1641. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages.

CHAP. I.

WHERE a Man doth compaſs or imagine the Death of the King, the King's Wife, the King's eldeſt Son, and Heir apparent, if it appear by any Overt-Act, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth violate the King's Wife, the King's eldeſt Daughter, unmarried, the Wife of the King's eldeſt Son, and Heir apparent, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth levy War againſt the King in the Realm, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man is adherent to the King's Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man counterfeiteth the King's Great Seal, Privy Signet, Sign Manual, it is Treaſon; likewiſe his Money.

Where a Man bringeth into this Realm falſe Money, counterfeited to the Likeneſs of *Engliſh*, with Intent to merchandiſe or make Payment thereof, and knowing it to be falſe Money, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man counterfeiteth any Coin current in Payment within this Realm, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth bring in any Money, being current within the Realm, the ſame being falſe and counterfeit, with Intent to utter it, and knowing the ſame to be falſe, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth clip, waſte, round, or file any of the King's Money, or any foreign Coin, current by Proclamation, for Gain's Sake, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth any Way impair, diminiſh, falſify, ſcale, or lighten Money current by Proclamation, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man killeth the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, the King's Juſtices in *Eyre*, the King's Juſtices of Aſſizes, the Juſtices of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, being in their ſeveral Places, and doing their Offices, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man procureth or conſenteth to Treaſon, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth perſuade or withdraw any of the King's Subjects from his Obedience, or from the Religion by his Majeſty eſtabliſhed, with Intent to withdraw any from the King's Obedience, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man is abſolved, reconciled, or withdrawn from his Obedience to the King, or promiſeth Obedience to any foreign Power, it is Treaſon.

Where any Jeſuit, or any other Prieſt ordained ſince the firſt Year of the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, ſhall come into or remain in any Part of this Realm, it is Treaſon.

Where any Perſon, being brought up in a College of Jeſuits, or Seminaries, ſhall not return within ſix Months after Proclamation made, and, within two Days after his Return, ſubmit himſelf to take the Oath of Supremacy, if otherwiſe he do return, and not within ſix Months after Proclamation made, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man, committed for Treaſon, doth voluntarily break Priſon, it is Treaſon.

Where a Jailer doth voluntarily permit a Man committed for Treaſon to eſcape, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man relieveth or comforteth a Traitor, and knoweth of the Offence, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man doth affirm or maintain any Authority of Juriſdiction ſpiritual, or doth put in Ure or execute any Thing for the Advance-

ment or Setting forth thereof, the third Time, it is Treaſon.

Where a Man refuſeth to take the Oath of Supremacy, being tendered by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, if he be any eccleſiaſtical Perſon; or by Commiſſion out of the Chancery, if he be a temporal Perſon; ſuch Offence the ſecond Time is Treaſon.

CHAP. II.

The Puniſhment, Trial, and Proceedings in Caſes of Treaſon.

IN Treaſon, the corporal Puniſhment is by Drawing on a Hurdle from the Place of the Priſon to the Place of Execution, by Hanging and being cut down alive, Bowelling and Quartering, and in Women, Burning.

In Treaſon, there enſueth a Corruption of Blood in the Line aſcending and deſcending.

In Treaſon, Lands and Goods are forfeited, and Inheritances, as well Intailed as Fee ſimple, and the Profits of Eſtates for Life.

In Treaſon, the Eſcheats go to the King, and not to the Lord of the Fee.

In Treaſon, the Land forfeited ſhall be in the King's actual Poſſeſſion, without Office.

In Treaſon, there be no Acceſſaries, but all are Principals.

In Treaſon, no Sanctuary, nor Benefit of Clergy, or peremptory Challenge is allowed.

In Treaſon, if the Party ſtand mute, yet nevertheleſs Judgment and Attainder ſhall proceed all one as upon Verdict.

In Treaſon, no Council is to be allowed, nor Bail permitted to the Party.

In Treaſon, no Witneſſes ſhall be received upon Oath for the Party's Juſtification.

In Treaſon, if the Fact be committed beyond the Seas, yet it may be tried in any County where the King will award his Commiſſion.

In Treaſon, if the Party be *non ſanæ memoriæ*, yet if he had formerly confeſſed it before the King's Council, and that it be certified that he was of good Memory at the Time of his Examination and Confeſſion, the Court may proceed to Judgment, without calling or arraigning the Party.

In Treaſon, the Death of the Party before Conviction diſchargeth all Proceedings and Forfeitures.

In Treaſon, if the Party be once acquitted, he ſhould not be brought in Queſtion again for the ſame Fact.

In Treaſon, no new Caſe not expreſſed in the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III, or made Treaſon by any ſpecial Statute ſince, ought to be judged Treaſon, without conſulting with the Parliament.

In Treaſon, there can be no Proſecution but at the King's Suit, and the King's Pardon diſchargeth.

In Treaſon, the King cannot grant over to any Subject Power and Authority to pardon it.

In Treaſon, a Trial of a Peer of the Kingdom is to be, by ſpecial Commiſſion, before the Lord High Steward, and thoſe that paſs upon him to be none but Peers: The Proceeding is with great Solemnity, the Lord Steward ſitting under a Cloth of State, with a White Rod of Juſtice in his Hand, and the Peers may confer together, but are not any Ways ſhut up; and are demanded, by the Lord Steward, their Voices one by one, and the Plurality of Voices carries it.

In Treaſon, it hath been an ancient Uſe and Favour, from the Kings of this Realm, to pardon the Execution of Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering; and to make Warrant for their Beheading.

The Proceeding, in Caſe of Treaſon, with a common Subject, is in the *King's Bench*, or by Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Caſes of Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

WHERE a Man concealeth High Treaſon only, without any Conforting or Abetting, it is Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

Where a Man counterfeiteth any foreign Coin of Gold or Silver, not current in the Realm, it is Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

Where a Man fixes an old Seal to a new Patent, it is Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

CHAP. IV.

The Puniſhment, Trial, and Proceedings in Caſes of Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

THE Puniſhment of Miſpriſion of Treaſon is by perpetual Impriſonment, Loſs of the Iſſues and Profits of their Lands during Life, and Loſs of Goods and Chattels.

The Proceeding and Trial is, as in Caſes of High Treaſon.

In Miſpriſion of High Treaſon, Bail is not admitted.

CHAP. V.

Caſes of petty Treaſon.

WHERE a Servant killeth his Maſter; the Wife the Huſband; the ſpiritual Man his Prelate, to whom he is ſubordinate, and oweth Faith and Obedience, it is petty Treaſon.

Where a Son killeth the Father or Mother, it hath been queſtioned, Whether it be petty Treaſon, and the late Experience and Opinion ſeemeth to ſway to the contrary, though againſt Law and Reaſon in my Judgment.

Where a Servant killeth his, or her Maſter or Miſtreſs, after they are out of Service, it is petty Treaſon.

CHAP. VI.

The Puniſhment, Trial, and Proceedings in Caſes of petty Treaſon.

IN petty Treaſon, the corporal Puniſhment is by Drawing on an Hurdle, and Hanging; and in a Woman Burning.

In petty Treaſon, the Forfeiture is the ſame with the Caſe of Felony.

In petty Treaſon, all Acceſſaries are but in the Caſe of Felony.

CHAP. VII.

Caſes of Felony.

WHERE a Man committeth Murder, or Homicide of Malice prepenſed, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Murder, that is breaking of an Houſe, with an Intent to commit Felony, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Man-ſlaughter, that is Homicide of ſudden Heat, and not of Malice prepenſed, it is Felony.

Where a Man rideth armed with a felonious Intent, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth maliciouſly and felonioufly burn any Man's Houſe, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth maliciouſly, *&c.* burn Corn upon the Ground, or in Stack, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth maliciouſly cut out another Man's Tongue, or put out his Eyes, it is Felony.

Where a Man robbeth or ſtealeth, *viz.* taketh away another Man's Goods, above the Value of twelve Pence, out of his Poſſeſſion, with Intent to conceal it, it is Felony.

Where a Man embezzleth and withdraweth any of the King's Records at *Weſtminſter*, whereby a Judgment is reverſed, it is Felony.

Where a Man, having the Cuſtody of the King's Armour, Ammunition, or other Habiliments or War, doth maliciouſly convey away the ſame, it is Felony, if it be to the Value of twenty Shillings.

Where a Servant hath Goods of his Maſter's, delivered unto him, and goeth away with them, it is Felony.

Where a Man conjures, or invokes wicked Spirits, it is Felony.

Where a Man doth uſe or practiſe Witchcraft, whereby any Perſon ſhall be killed, waſted, or lamed, it is Felony.

Where a Man practiſeth any Witchcraft, to diſcover Treaſure hid, or to diſcover ſtolen Goods, or to provoke unlawful Love, or to impair or hurt any Man's Cattle or Goods the ſecond Time, having been once before convicted of like Offence, it is Felony.

Where a Man uſeth the Craft of Multiplication of Gold or Silver, it is Felony.

Where a Man receiveth a Seminary Prieſt, knowing him to be ſuch a Prieſt, it is Felony.

Where a Man taketh away a Woman againſt her Will, not claiming her as his Ward or Bond-woman, it is Felony.

Where a Man or Woman marrieth again, his or her former Huſband or Wife being alive, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Buggery, with Man or Beaſt, it is Felony.

Where any Perſons, above the Number of Twelve, ſhall aſſemble themſelves with Intent to put down Incloſures, or bring down Prices of Victuals, *&c.* and do not depart after Proclamation, it is Felony.

Where a Man ſhall uſe any Words to encourage or draw any People together, *ut ſupra*, and they do aſſemble accordingly, and do not depart after Proclamation, it is Felony.

Where a Man being the King's ſworn Servant conſpireth to murder any Lord of the Realm, or any Privy-Counſellor, it is Felony.

Where a Soldier hath taken any Parcel of the King's Wages, and departeth without Licenſe, it is Felony.

Where a Recuſant, which is a Seducer, and Perſuader, and Inciter of the King's Subjects againſt the King's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, or a Perſuader of Conventicles, or ſhall refuſe to abjure the Realm, it is Felony.

Where Vagabonds be found in the Realm, calling themſelves *Egyptians*, it is Felony.

Where a Purveyor doth take without Warrant, or otherwiſe doth offend againſt certain ſpecial Laws, it is Felony.

Where a Man hunts in any Foreſt, Park, or Warren, by Night or by Day, with Vizard, or other Diſguiſements, and is examined thereof, and concealeth his Fact, it is Felony.

Where one ſtealeth certain Kind of Hawks, it is Felony.

Where a Man committeth Forgery the ſecond Time, having been once before convicted, it is Felony.

Where a Man tranſporteth Rams, or other Sheep, out of the King's Dominions the ſecond Time, it is Felony.

Where a Man, being impriſoned for Felony, breaks Priſon, it is Felony.

Where a Man procureth, or conſenteth to Felony to be done, it is Felony, as to make him acceſſary before the Fact.

Where a Man receiveth or relieveth a Felon, it is Felony, as to make him acceſſary after the Fact.

Where a Woman, by the Conſtraint of her Huſband, in his Preſence, joineth with him in committing of Felony, it is not Felony in her, neither as Principal, nor as Acceſſary.

Homicide, or the Killing of a Man, is to be conſidered in four Kinds, Chance-medley, *Se defendendo*, Man-ſlaughter, and wilful Murder.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Puniſhment, Trial, and Proceedings in Caſes of Felony.

IN Felony, the corporal Puniſhment is Hanging, and it is doubtful, whether the King may turn it into Beheading in the Caſe of a Peer, or other Perſon of Dignity, becauſe, in Treaſon, the Striking off the Head is Part of the Judgment, and ſo the King pardoneth the Reſt; but in Felony, it is no Part of the Judgment, and the King cannot alter the Execution of Law; yet Precedents have been both Ways: If it be upon Indictment, the King may, but upon an Appeal he cannot.

In Felony there followeth Corruption of Blood, except it be in Caſes made Felony by ſpecial Statutes, with a Proviſo, that there ſhall be no Corruption of Blood.

In Felony, Lands in Fee-ſimple, and Goods and Chattels are forfeited, and the Profits of Eſtates for Life are likewiſe forfeited, but not Lands intailed: And by ſome Cuſtoms, Lands in Fee-ſimple are not ſo forfeited:

The Father to the Bough,
The Son to the Plough.

as in *Gavelkind*, in *Kent*, and other Places.

In Felony, the Eſcheats go to the Lord of the Fee, and not to the King, except he be Lord: But Profits for the Eſtates for Lives, or in Tail, during the Life of Tenant in Tail, go to the King; and the King hath likewiſe *annum, & diem, & vaſtum.*

In Felony, Lands are not in the King, before Office, nor in the Lord before Entry or Recovery, in a Writ of Eſcheat, or Death of the Party attainted.

In Felony, there can be no Proceeding with the Acceſſary, before there be a Proceeding with the Principal: If he die, or plead his Pardon, or have his Clergy, before Attainder, the Acceſſary can never be dealt with.

In Felony, if the Party ſtand mute, and will not put himſelf upon Trial, or challenge peremptorily, above that the Law allows, he ſhall have Judgment, not of Hanging, but of Penance of preſſing to Death; but there he ſaves his Lands and forfeits only his Goods.

In Felony, at the Common Law, the Benefit of Clergy, or Sanctuary, was allowed; but now by Statute, it is taken away in moſt Caſes.

In Felony, Bail may be admitted where the Fact is not notorious, and the Perſon not of ill Name.

In Felony, no Council is to be allowed to the Party, no more than in Treaſon.

In Felony, if the Fact be committed beyond the Seas, or upon the Seas, *ſuper altum mare*, there is no Trial at all in one Caſe, nor by Courſe or Jury in the other, but by the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty.

In Felony, no Witneſs ſhall be received upon Oath for the Party's Juſtification, no more than in Treaſon.

In Felony, if the Party be *non ſanæ memoriæ*, although it be after the Fact, he cannot be tried nor adjudged, except it be in Courſe of Outlawry, and that is alſo erroneous.

In Felony, the Death of the Party, before Conviction, diſchargeth all Proceedings and Forfeitures.

In Felony, if the Party be once acquitted, or in Peril of Judgment of Life lawfully, he ſhall never be brought in Queſtion again, for the ſame Fact.

In Felony, the Proſecution may be either at the King's Suit, or by Way of Appeal; the Defendant ſhall have his Courſe, and produce Witneſſes upon Oath, as in Civil Cauſes.

In Felony, the King may grant hault Juſtice to a Subject, with the Regality of Power to pardon it.

In Felony, the Trial of Peers is all one as in Caſe of Treaſon.

In Felony, the Proceedings are in the *King's-Bench*, or before Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or of Jail Delivery, and in ſome Caſes before Juſtices of the Peace.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Caſes of Felony de ſe, *with the Puniſhment, Trial, and Proceedings*

IN the Civil Law, and other Laws, they make a Difference of Caſes of Felony *de ſe*; for where a Man is called in Queſtion upon any Capital Crime, and killeth himſelf to prevent the Law, there they give the Judgment in all Points of Forfeiture, as if they had been attainted in their Life-time: And, on the other Side, where a Man killeth himſelf upon Impatience of Sickneſs or the like, they do not puniſh it at all; but the Law of *England* taketh it all in one Degree, and puniſheth only with Loſs of Goods, to be forfeited to the King, who generally grants them to his Almoner, where they be not formerly granted unto ſpecial Liberties.

CHAP. X.

Caſes of Præmunire.

WHERE a Man purchaſeth or accepteth any *Proviſion*, that is, Collation of any *ſpiritual Benefice* or *Living*, from *the See of Rome*, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man ſhall purchaſe any Proceſs to draw any People off the King's Allegiance out of the Realm, in Plea whereof the Cogniſance pertains to the King's Court, and cometh not in Perſon to anſwer his Contempt in that Behalf before the King and his Council, or in his Chancery, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth ſue in any Court which is not the King's Court, to defeat or impeach any Judgment given in the King's Court, and doth not appear to anſwer his Contempt, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth purchaſe or purſue in the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere, any Proceſs, Sentence of Excommunication, Bull, or Inſtrument, or other Thing which toucheth the King in his Regality, or his Realm in Prejudice, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth affirm or maintain any foreign Kind of Juriſdiction ſpiritual, or doth put in Ure or Execution any Thing for the Advancement or Setting forth thereof; ſuch Offence the ſecond Time committed is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man refuſeth to take the Oath of Supremacy, being tendered by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, if he be an eccleſiaſtical Perſon; or by a Commiſſion out of the Chancery, if he be a temporal Perſon, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Dean and Chapter of any Church, upon the *Conge d'Elire* of an Archbiſhop or Biſhop, doth refuſe to elect any ſuch Archbiſhop or Biſhop, as is nominated unto them in the King's Letters miſſive, it is *Præmunire*.

Where a Man doth contribute or give Relief to any Jeſuit or Seminary Prieſt, or to any Perſon brought up therein, and called Home, and not returning, it is Caſe of *Præmunire*.

Where a Man is a Broker of an uſurious Contract above Ten in the Hundred, it is *Præmunire*.

CHAP. XI.

The Puniſhment, Trial, and Proceedings in Caſes of Præmunire.

THE Puniſhment is by Impriſonment during Life, Forfeiture of Goods, Forfeiture of Lands in Fee-ſimple, and Forfeiture of the Profits of Lands intailed, or for Life.

The Trial and Proceeding is as in Caſes of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and the Trial is by Peers, where a Peer of the Realm is the Offender.

Striking any Man, in the Face of the King's Courts, is Forfeiture of Lands, perpetual Impriſonment, and Loſs of that Hand.

CHAP. XII.

Caſes of Abjuration and Exile, and the Proceedings therein.

WHERE a Man committeth any Felony, for the which at this Day he may have Privilege of Sanctuary, and confeſſeth the Felony before the Coroner, he ſhall abjure the Liberty of the Realm, and chuſe his Sanctuary; and if he commit any new Offence, or leave his Sanctuary, he ſhall loſe the Privilege thereof, and ſuffer as if he had not taken Sanctuary.

Where a Man, not coming to the Church, and being a Popiſh Recuſant, doth perſuade any the King's Subjects to impugn his Majeſty's Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, or ſhall perſuade any Subject to come to any unlawful Conventicles, and ſhall not after conform himſelf within a Time, and make his Submiſſion, he ſhall abjure the Realm, and forfeit his Goods and Lands during Life; and, if he depart not within the Time prefixed, or return, he ſhall be in the Degree of a Felon.

Where a Man, being a Popiſh Recuſant, and not having Lands to the Value of *twenty* Marks *per Annum*, nor Goods to the Value of forty Pounds, ſhall not repair to his Dwelling or Place where he was born, and there confine himſelf within the Compaſs of five Miles, he ſhall abjure the Realm; and, if he return, he ſhall be in the Caſe of a Felon.

Where a Man kills the King's Deer in Chaces or Foreſts, and can find no Sureties after a Year's Impriſonment, he ſhall abjure the Realm.

Where a Man is a Treſpaſſer in Parks, or in Ponds of Fiſh, and after three Years Impriſonment cannot find Sureties, he ſhall abjure the Realm.

Where a Man is a Raviſher of any Child whoſe Marriage belongs to any Perſon, and marrieth the ſaid Child after Years of Conſent, and is not able to ſatisfy for the Marriage, he ſhall abjure the Realm.

CHAP. XIII.

Caſes of Hereſy, and the Trial and Proceedings therein.

THE Declaration of Hereſy, and likewiſe the Proceedings and Judgment upon Hereticks, is by the Common Laws of this Realm referred to the Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, and the Secular Arm is reached to them by the Common Laws, and not by any Statute for the Execution of them by the King's Writ *de Hæretico comburendo.*

CHAP. XIV.

The King's Prerogative in Parliament.

THE King hath an abſolute negative Voice to all Bills that paſs the Parliament, ſo as, without his Royal Aſſent, they have a mere Nullity, and not ſo much as *Authoritas præſcripta*, or *Senatus conſulta* had, notwithſtanding the Interceſſion of Tribunes.

The King may ſummon Parliaments, diſſolve them, prorogue them, and adjourn them, at his Pleaſure.

The King may add Voices in the Parliament, at his Pleaſure, for he may give Privilege to Borough Towns as many as he will, and may likewiſe call and create Barons, at his Pleaſure.

No Man can ſit in Parliament, except he take the Oath of Allegiance.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The King's Prerogative in Matters of War or Peace.

THE King hath Power to declare and proclaim War, and to make and conclude Peace, and Truce, at his Pleaſure.

The King hath Power to make Leagues and Confederacies with foreign States, more ſtrait and leſs ſtrait, and to revoke and diſannul them, at his Pleaſure.

The King hath Power to command the Bodies of his Subjects for the Service of his Wars, and to muſter, train, and levy Men, and to tranſport them by Sea or Land, at his Pleaſure.

The King hath Power, in Time of War, to execute Martial Law, and to appoint all Officers of War, at his Pleaſure.

The King hath Power to grant his Letters of Mart and Repriſal for Remedy to his Subjects upon foreign Wrongs, at his Pleaſure.

The King hath Power to declare Laws by his Letters Patents for the Government of any Place conquered by his Arms, at his Pleaſure.

The King may give Knighthood, and thereby enable any Subject to perform Knight's Service, at his Pleaſure.

CHAP. XVI.

The King's Prerogative in Matters of Money.

THE King may alter his Standard, in Baſeneſs or Fineneſs of his Coin, at his Pleaſure.

The King may alter his Stamp in Form, at his Pleaſure.

The King may alter the Valuations of his Coin, and raiſe and fall Monies, at his Pleaſure.

The King, by his Proclamation, may make Monies of his own current, or not current, at his Pleaſure.

The King may take or refuſe the Subjects Bullion and Coin, more or leſs Money.

The King, by his Proclamation, may make foreign Money current, or not current.

CHAP. XVII.

The King's Prerogative in Matters of Trade and Traffick.

THE King may conſtrain the Perſon of any of his Subjects not to go out of the Realm at all.

The King may reſtrain any of his Subjects to go out of the Realm into any ſpecial Part foreign.

The King may forbid the Exportation of any Commodities out of the Realm.

The King may forbid the Importation of any Commodities into the Realm.

The King may ſet a reaſonable Impoſt upon any foreign Wares, that come into the Realm, and ſo of native Wares, that go out of the Realm.

CHAP. XVIII.

The King's Prerogative in the Perſons of his Subjects.

THE King may create any Corporation or Body Politick, and enable them to purchaſe, and grant, and to ſue, and be ſued, and that with ſuch Reſtrictions and Modifications as he pleaſes.

The King may denizen and enable any Foreigner for him and his Deſcendants after the Charter, though he cannot naturaliſe nor enable him to make Pedigree from Anceſtors Paramount.

The

The King may enable any attainted Perſon; *by* his Charter of Pardon, to purchaſe, and to purge his Blood for the Time to come, tho' he cannot reſtore his Blood for the Time paſt.

The King may enable any dead Perſon in Law, as Men profeſſed, to take and purchaſe to the King's Benefit.

CHAP. XIX.

An Anſwer to the Queſtion propoſed by Sir Alexander Hay, *Knight, touching the Office of Conſtables.*

1. TO the *Firſt*, Of the Original of the Authority of Conſtables, it may be ſaid, *Caput inter nubila condit*, for the Authority was granted upon the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Kingdom, practiſed long before the Conqueſt, and intended and inſtituted for the Conſervation of the Peace, and Repreſſing of all Manner of Diſturbance, and Hurt of the People, and that as well by Way of Prevention as Puniſhment; but yet ſo, as they have no judicial Power, to hear and determine any Cauſe, but only a miniſterial Power, as in the Anſwer of the Seventh Article more at large is ſet down.

As for the Office of the High Conſtable, the Original of that is yet more obſcure; for though the High Conſtable's Authority hath the more ample Circuit, he being over the Hundred, and the Petty Conſtable over the Village; yet, I do not find, that the Petty Conſtable is ſubordinate to the High Conſtable, or to be ordered or commanded by him; and therefore, I doubt, the High Conſtable was not *ab origine*, but that when the Buſineſs of the Country increaſed, the Authority of the Juſtices of Peace was enlarged by divers Statutes; then, for Conveniency Sake, the Office of High Conſtables grew in uſe for the receiving of the Commands and Precepts from the Juſtices of Peace, and diſtributing them to the Petty Conſtables; and, in Token of this, the Election of High Conſtable, in moſt Parts of the Kingdom, is by the Appointment of the Juſtices of Peace, whereas the Election of the Petty Conſtable is by the People.

But there be two Things unto which the Office of Conſtable hath ſpecial Reference, and which, of Neceſſity, or, at leaſt, a Kind of Congruity, muſt precede the Juriſdiction of that Office, either the Things themſelves, or ſomewhat that hath a Similitude or Analogy towards them.

1. The one is the Diviſion of the Territory, or Groſs of the Shires, into Hundreds, Villages, and Towns; for the High Conſtable is Officer over the Hundred, and the Petty Conſtable is over the Town or Village.

2. The other is the Court-Leet, unto which the Conſtable is a proper Attendant and Miniſter; for there the Conſtables are choſen by the Jury, there they are ſworn, and there that Part of their Office, which concerneth Information, is principally to be performed; for the Jury is to preſent Offences, and the Offenders are chiefly to take Light from the Conſtables, of all Matters of Diſturbance and Nuſance of the People, which they, in reſpect of their Office, are preſumed to have beſt and moſt particular Knowledge of.

CHAP. XX.

Three Ends of the Inſtitution of the Court-Leet.

1. THE firſt End of the Inſtitution of the Court-Leet, is, To take the Oath of Allegiance of all Males above the Age of twelve Years.

2. The Second, To enquire of all Offences againſt the Peace; and, for thoſe that are againſt the Crown and Peace both, to enquire of only, and certify to the Juſtices of Gaol-Delivery; but thoſe, that are againſt the Peace ſimply, they are to enquire and puniſh.

3. The Third is, To enquire of, puniſh, and remove all publick Nuſances, and Grievances, concerning Infection of Air, Corruption of Victuals, Eaſe of Chaffer, and Contract of all

all other Things, that may hurt or grieve the People in general, in their Health, Quiet, and Welfare.

And to theſe three Ends, as Matters of Policy ſubordinate, the Court-Leet hath Power to call upon the Pledges that are to be taken for the good Behaviour of the Reſidents, that are not Tenants, and to enquire of all Defaults of Officers, as Conſtables, Ale-taſters, *&c.* and for Choice of Conſtables, as aforeſaid.

The Juriſdiction of theſe Leets is ever remaining in the King, and, in that Caſe, exerciſed by the Sheriff in his Turn, which is the grand Leet, granted over to Subjects; but, yet, it is ſtill the King's Court.

2. To the Second, as was ſaid, The Election of the Petty Conſtable is at the Court-Leet by the Inqueſt that makes the Preſentments; the Election of the Head Conſtables is by the Juſtices of the Peace at their Quarter-Seſſions.

3. To the Third, The Office is annual, except they be removed.

4. To the Fourth, They be Men, as it is now uſed, of inferior, yea, of baſe Condition, which is a mere Abuſe, or Degenerating, from the firſt Inſtitution; for the Petty Conſtables in Towns ought to be of the better Sort of Reſidents in the ſaid Town, ſave, that they ought not to be aged, or ſickly, but Men of able Bodies, in reſpect of the keeping Watch, and Toil of their Place, neither ought they to be in any Man's Livery: And the High Conſtables ought to be of the ableſt Sort of Freeholders, and of the ſubſtantialleſt Sort of Yeomen, next to the Degree of Gentlemen; but they ought to be ſuch as are not incumbered with any other Office, as Mayor, Under-Sheriff, Bailiff, *&c.*

5. To the Fifth, They have no Allowance, but are bound by Duty to perform their Offices, *gratis*; which may the rather be endured, becauſe it is but annual, and they are not tied to keep or maintain any Servants or Under-miniſters, for that every one of the King's People are bound to aſſiſt them.

6. To the Sixth, Upon Complaint made, of his Refuſal, to any one Juſtice of Peace, the ſaid Juſtice ſhall bind him over to the Seſſions, where, if he cannot excuſe himſelf by ſome juſt Allegation, he may be fined and impriſoned for his Contempt.

7. To the Seventh, The Authority of Conſtables, as it is ſubſtantive, and of itſelf, or ſubſtituted, and aſtricted to the Warrants and Commands of the Juſtices of Peace; ſo again it is original, or additional; for either it was given them by the Common Law, or elſe annexed by divers Statutes. And, as for ſubordinate Power, wherein the Conſtable is only to execute the Commandments of the Juſtices of Peace, and likewiſe the additional Power which is given by divers Statutes, it is hard to comprehend them in any Brevity; for that they do correſpond to the Office and Authority of the Juſtices of Peace, which is very large, and are created by the Branches of ſeveral Statutes, which are Things of divers and diſperſed Natures: But, for the original and ſubſtantive Power of a Conſtable, it may be reduced to three Heads:

1. For Matter of Peace only.
2. For Matter of Peace and the Crown.
3. For Matter of Nuſance, Diſturbance, and Diſorder, although they be not accompanied with Violence and Breach of Peace.

For Pacifying of Quarrels begun, the Conſtables may, upon hot Words given, or Likelihood of Breach of Peace to enſue, command them, in the King's Name, to keep the Peace, and depart, and forbear: And ſo he may, where an Aſſault is made, part the ſame, and keep the Parties aſunder, and arreſt and commit the Breakers of the Peace, if they will not obey, and call Power to aſſiſt him for the ſame Purpoſe.

For Puniſhment of Breach of Peace paſt, the Law is very ſparing in giving any Authority to Conſtables, becauſe he hath no Power judicial, and the Uſe of his Office is rather for preventing, or ſtaying of Miſchief, than for puniſhing of Offences; for, in that Part, he is rather to execute the Warrants of the Juſtices, or, when ſudden Matter ariſeth upon his View, or notorious Circumſtances, to apprehend Offenders, and carry them before the Juſtice of Peace, and generally to impriſon, in like Caſes of Neceſſity, where the Caſe will not endure the preſent Carrying before the Juſtices. And thus much for the Matters of Peace.

For Matters of the Crown, the Office of the Conſtable conſiſteth chiefly in four Parts:

1. The Firſt is Arreſt.
2. The Second is Search.
3. The Third is Hue and Cry.
4. And the Fourth is Seizure of Goods.

All which the Conſtable may perform of his own Authority, without any Warrant from a Juſtice of Peace.

1. For

1. For Firſt, 'If any Man will lay Murder or Felony to another's Charge, or do ſuſpect him of Murder or Felony, he may declare it to the Conſtable, and the Conſtable ought, upon ſuch Declaration or Complaint, carry him before a Juſtice; and if, by common Voice or Fame, any Man be ſuſpected, the Conſtable of Duty ought to arreſt him, and bring him before a Juſtice, though there be no other Accuſation.

2. If any Houſe be ſuſpected for the Receiving or Harbouring of any Felon, the Conſtable, upon Complaint, or common Fame, may ſearch.

3. If any fly upon the Felony, the Conſtable ought to raiſe Hue and Cry, and ſearch his Goods, and keep them ſafe without Impairing, and to inventory them in the Preſence of honeſt Neighbours.

4. For Matters of common Nuſance and Grievance, they are of a very variable Nature, according to the ſeveral Comforts which Man's Life and Society require, and the Contraries which infeſt the ſame.

In all which, be it Matter of corrupting Air, Water, or Victuals, or ſtopping, ſtraightening, or indangering Paſſage, or general Deceits in Weights, Meaſures, Sizes, or counterfeiting Wares, and Things vendible; the Office of the Conſtable is, to give, as much as in him lies, Information of them, and of the Offenders in Leets, that they may be preſented. But, becauſe Leets are kept but twice in the Year, and many of theſe Things require preſent or ſpeedy Remedy, the Conſtable, in Things of a notorious and vulgar Nature, ought to forbid and repreſs them in the mean Time.

8. To the Eighth, They are, for their Contempt to be fined and impriſoned by the Juſtices in their Seſſions.

9. To the Ninth: The Oath they take is in this Manner:

'You ſhall ſwear, that you ſhall well and truly ſerve the King, and the Lord of this Law-day; and you ſhall cauſe the Peace of our Lord, the King to be well and duly kept, to your Power: And you ſhall arreſt all thoſe that you ſee committing Riots, Debates, and Affrays in Breach of Peace: And you ſhall well and duly endeavour yourſelf to your beſt Knowledge, that the Statutes of *Wincheſter* for Watch, Hue and Cry, and the Statutes made for the Puniſhment of ſturdy Beggars, Vagabonds, Rogues, and other idle Perſons, coming within your Office, be truly executed, and the Offenders puniſhed: And you ſhall endeavour, upon Complaint made, to apprehend Barreters and riotous Perſons, making Frays, and likewiſe to apprehend Felons; and if any of them make Reſiſtance with Force and Multitude of Miſ-doers, you ſhall make Outcry, and purſue them, till they be taken; and ſhall look unto ſuch Perſons as uſe unlawful Games; and you ſhall have Regard unto the Maintenance of Artillery; and you ſhall well and duly execute all Proceſs and Precepts ſent unto you from the Juſtices of Peace of the County; and you ſhall make good and faithful Preſentments of all Bloodſheds, Out-cries, Affrays, and Reſcues made within your Office; and you ſhall well and duly, according to your Power and Knowledge, do that which belongeth to your Office of Conſtable, to do for this Year to come.' So help, *&c.*

10. To the Tenth, The Authority is the ſame in Subſtance, differing only in Extent; The Petty Conſtable ſerving only for one Town, Pariſh, or Borough; the Head Conſtable ſerving for the whole Hundred; neither is the Petty Conſtable ſubordinate to the Head Conſtable, for any Commandment that proceeds from his own Authority; but it is uſed, that the Precepts of the Juſtices be delivered unto the High Conſtables, who being few in Number, may better attend the Juſtices, and then the Head Conſtables, by Vertue thereof, make their Precepts over to the Petty Conſtables.

11. To the Eleventh, In Caſe of Neceſſity he may appoint a Deputy, or in Default thereof, the Steward of the Court-Leet may; which Deputy ought to be ſworn.

Now to conclude, the Office of Conſtables conſiſts wholly in theſe three Things, *viz.*

Their Office concerning, 1. The Conſervation of the Peace.

2. The Serving the Precepts and Warrants of the Juſtices.

3. Their Attendance for the Execution of Statutes.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Juriſdiction of Juſtices itenerantes *in the Principality of* Wales.

THESE Juſtices have Power to hear and determine all Criminal Cauſes, which are called in the Laws of *England*, *The Pleas of the Crown*; and herein they have the ſame Juriſdiction, that the Juſtices have in his Majeſty's Bench, commonly called the *King's Bench*.

They have Juriſdiction to hear and determine all Civil Cauſes, which are called, in the Laws of *England*, *Common-Pleas*; and do take Knowledgement of all Fines, levied of Lands or Hereditaments, without ſuing out any *Dedimus poteſtatem*; and herein they have the ſame Juriſdiction that the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas* do execute at *Weſtminſter*.

Alſo they may hear and determine all Aſſizes upon Diſſeizins of Lands or Hereditaments, wherein they equal the Juriſdiction of the Juſtices of Aſſize.

Juſtices of *Oyer* and *Terminer* may hear and determine all notable Violences and Outrages perpetrated or done, within their ſeveral Precincts of the Principality of *Wales*.

* The Prothonotary's Office is to draw all Pleadings, and to enter and ingroſs all Records and Judgments in Civil Cauſes.

* The Clerk of the Crown's Office is to ingroſs all Proceedings, Arraignments, and Judgments in Criminal Cauſes.

† The Marſhal, whoſe Office is to attend the Perſons of the Judges at their Coming, Sitting, and Going from the Seſſions or Court.

† The Crier, he is *tanquam publicus Præco*, to call forth ſuch Perſons, whoſe Appearances are neceſſary, and to impoſe Silence to the People.

There is a Commiſſion under the great Seal of *England*, to certain Gentlemen, giving them Power to preſerve the Peace, and to reſiſt and puniſh all turbulent Perſons, whoſe Miſdemeanors may tend to the Diſquiet of the People; and theſe be called, *The Juſtices of Peace*, and every of them may well and truly be called and termed *Eirenarcha*.

The Chief of them is called *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, in whoſe Cuſtody all the Records of their Proceedings are reſident.

Others there are of that Number, called *Juſtices of Peace* and *Quorum*; becauſe in their Commiſſion, they have Power to ſit and determine Cauſes, concerning Breach of Peace, and Misbehaviour; the Words of their Commiſſion are conceived thus, *Quorum* ſuch and ſuch, *unum vel duos &c. eſſe volumus*; and without ſome one, or more, of them of the *Quorum*, no Seſſions can be holden: And for the avoiding of a ſuperfluous Number of ſuch Juſtices (for through the Ambition of many, it is counted a Credit, to be burthened with that Authority) the Statute of 38 *Henry* VIII. hath expreſsly prohibited that there ſhall be but eight Juſtices of Peace ‡ in every County. Theſe Juſtices do hold their Seſſions quarterly.

In every Shire, where the Commiſſion of the Peace is eſtabliſhed, there is a Clerk of the Peace, for the Entering and Ingroſſing of all Proceedings before the ſaid Juſtices. And this Officer is appointed by the *Cuſtos Rotulorum*.

Every Shire hath its Sheriff, which Word, being of the *Saxon Engliſh*, is as much to ſay, as *Shire Reeve*, or Miniſter of the County: His Function or Office is two-fold:

1. Miniſterial.
2. Judicial.

As touching his Miniſterial Office, he is the Miniſter and Executioner of all the Proceſs and Precepts of the Courts of Law, and thereof ought to make Return and Certificate.

As touching his Judicial Office, he hath Authority to hold two ſeveral Courts of diſtinct Natures: The one called the *Tourne*, becauſe he keepeth his Turn and Circuit about the Shire, and holdeth the ſame Court in ſeveral Places, wherein he doth inquire of all Offences perpetrated againſt the Common Law, and not forbidden by any Statute or Act of Parliament; and the Juriſdiction of this Court

* In the King's Gift. † In the Diſpoſing of the Judge. ‡ Theſe Juſtices are appointed by the Lord Keeper.

is derived from Juſtice Diſtributive, and is for Criminal Offences, and is held twice every Year.

The other is called the County Court, wherein he doth determine all petty and ſmall Cauſes Civil, under forty Shillings, ariſing within the ſaid County, and therefore it is called the *County Court*.

The Juriſdiction of this Court is derived from Juſtice Commutative, and is held every Month: The Office of the Sheriff is annual, and in the King's Gift, whereof he is to have a Patent.

Every Shire hath an Officer, called an *Eſcheator*, which is an Office to attend the King's Revenue, and to ſeize into his Majeſty's Hands all Lands, either eſcheated Goods, or Lands forfeited, and therefore is called *Eſcheator*; and he is to inquire by good Inqueſt of the Death of the King's Tenants, and to whom their Lands are deſcended, and to ſeize their Bodies and Lands for Ward, if they be within Age, and is accountable for the ſame; and this Officer is named by the Lord Treaſurer of *England*.

There are in every Shire two other Officers, called *Crowners* or *Coroners*; they are to enquire by Inqueſt, in what Manner, and by whom every Perſon dieth of a violent Death, and to enter the ſame of Record; which is a Matter Criminal, and a Plea of the Crown, and therefore they are called Coroners, or Crowners, as one hath written, becauſe their Inquiry ought to be publick *in Corona populi*.

Theſe Officers are choſen by the Freeholders of the Shire, by Vertue of a Writ out of the *Chancery*, *De Coronatore eligendo*; and of them I need not to ſpeak more, becauſe theſe Officers are in Uſe elſewhere.

Foraſmuch as every Shire is divided into Hundreds, it is alſo by the ſaid Statute of 34 *H.* VIII. *Cap.* 26. ordered, that two ſufficient Gentlemen, or Yeomen, ſhall be appointed Conſtables of every Hundred.

Alſo there is, in every Shire, one Jail or Priſon, appointed for the Reſtraint of Liberty of ſuch Perſons as for their Offences are thereunto committed, until they ſhall be delivered by Courſe of Law.

In every Hundred of every Shire, the Sheriff thereof ſhall nominate ſufficient Perſons to be Bailiffs of that Hundred, and Underminiſters of the Sheriff; and they are to attend upon the Juſtices in every of their Courts and Seſſions.

The Laſt Will and Teſtament of Father *Peters*: As it was found quilted into my Lord Chancellor's Cap, with a Letter directed to his Lordſhip, *&c.* and his Prayer to the Bleſſed Virgin of *Loretto*. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

Meritorious Sir,

UNDERSTANDING that you were to be my Succeſſor in theſe Houſes of Clay, I thought it would not be amiſs to leave you my Executor, who, next my Reverence, have done the King the beſt Service in the Nation, and conſequently muſt be no Stranger nor Enemy to Father *Peters*. I have now laid aſide the Sword of the Spirit, and betaken myſelf to an Arm of Fleſh; and, having converted my Apoſtolical Robe into the Whore of *Babylon*'s Dye, am reſolved to viſit Father *le Chaiſe*, and ſend over the King of *France* with thirty-thouſand Men. I need not put you in Mind of the terrible Blow that ſhall come, and none ſee who hurts them, nor any other private Juggle; for, having made Room for your Admittance to his Majeſty's Ear, there is Nothing can fall betwixt the Cup and the Lip. It would be ſuperfluous to tell you, that innumerable Prayers and Indulgences for you, and your Poſterity after you, are, together with this my Sanctuary, conferred upon you; I wiſh *England* do not grow too hot for you in a little Time: However, *I go to prepare a*

Place

Place for you. Be not troubled, your Merits and my Beads will never let you lie long in Purgatory, ſhould all Hopes fail, and therefore be ſecure of a future Happineſs; be of good Courage, and your Faith will ſave you. This I am ſure of, and all the World knows it, that you have made to yourſelf Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs, ſo that you are like to feed well as long as you live in this World; and, as for the other, let not one melancholy Thought make you ſoak your Guts one Bowl the leſs, for I will warrant you, my Works of Supererogation helping out your Defects, I ſhall have Nothing too much, nor you too little, to bribe Admittance into Paradiſe: St. *Peter* and I were old Cronies, and, as long as I have but an Evidence of his own Hand-writing to produce, he cannot for Shame, but out of good Manners, let me and my Friend in. However, go on bravely, thou Son of Perdition, and fill up the Meaſure of thy Iniquity, till thou grow ripe for Tranſlation, and the *Roman* Calendar. Divine Bard, and Reverend Impoſtor, into thy Hands alone I commit my *Engliſh* Spirit, and my laſt Will and Teſtament to be diſpoſed of according to my Appointment, together with an Inventory of what Goods I have left in thoſe Lodgings for your Uſe; and a private Prayer, to be ſaid over ſeventeen Times a Day, and the Bleſſed Virgin hear thee in the Day when thou calleſt upon her, and make the Works of thy Hand proſperous, and thy Counſels like *Haman*'s, or good *Achitophel*'s.

Thine eternally,

PETERS.

The laſt Will and Teſtament of Father Peters.

I Give my Soul into the Hands of the Bleſſed *Gabriel*, to be tranſlated into Purgatory; and there, after two Turns of the Spit, and one Winding up of the Jack, which is enough for the Purification of any Jeſuit, and from thence, to carry it to the Lap of his Miſtreſs, the Bleſſed Virgin of *Loretto*, whom I ſerve, and whoſe I am.

Let my Heart be dried, and beaten to Powder, and ſo divided into ſeveral Drams, to be drank by all the new Converts in *England*, in a Glaſs of a Heretick's warm Blood.

Let the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales* take a Morning's-Draught of my Spleen, prepared after the ſame Manner, as my Heart by his Holineſs.

My Gall ſhould be at the *French* King's Service, but they have more Need of it in *England*, therefore let that fall to *Sunderland*'s Share.

My Brains have overgrown me this laſt three or four Years, and therefore ſhall be divided amongſt Pluralities, *Peterborough*, *Huntington*, Biſhop *Cheſter*, *Smith*, and *Chapman*.

Cheſter, not content with my Brains, ſnaps at my Kidnies; by St. *Francis*, he is the likelieſt Man to make good Uſe of them, let him take them.

Let my Scull be carried to St. *Omers*, and, tipped with Silver, to be drank in upon the ſolemn Day that is conſecrated to my Name; and, being filled with Blood, upon the Admiſſion of every Novice, to be turned off by all the Brotherhood, at the Time of the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament.

My wanton Eyes I bequeath to the Nuns at St. *Bridget*'s, and to thoſe Objects of Charity, that the King's Alms were beſtowed upon.

My Tongue, to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, becauſe he has ſo little.

My Ears, to *Penn*, *Ferguſon*, and the reſt of that Tribe; or *Titus Oates*, that courageous Gnaw-poſt.

My Noſe, to the *P. O.* who has ſcratched his out of *Scipio*'s Grave.

My Teeth, to *Harry Hills*, for Beads; or, to poliſh the Roſary; or, inſtead of it, *Aretine*, *Tully* and *Octavia*, *Rocheſter*, *School of Venus*, &c.

My Throat, to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be ſhaved.

My Breaſts, to the Queen, who loſt her own with Longing for a Box of the Ear of the Princeſs, and Sauſages made of Hereticks Dripping.

My Iſſues, to Queen Dowager, who, they ſay, has twenty; ten to my Knowledge.

My Inſtrument of Propagation, otherwiſe called the Carnaledge, Part to my Lady *Saliſbury*, or *Stonehorſe Spencer*.

My

My prolifick Juice, to the Queen, and my Bleſſing; together with all the Hairs of my ——— to make a Peruke for my Son ———

The Strength of my Back, to the King, together with all my Merits: Some one will be apt to ſay, *Your Merit*, quoth he, *That is a Halter*. Good Mr. King, if you will put up the Affront, I will, or elſe, my Intent being well directed, I am clear.

My A———, to the great Button-maker of *England*.

My Deputy Hair, and my Alderman's Hat, to *Aſop*, and the reſt of the Gang.

My Raſor let *Jefferies* ſhave himſelf with, and cut his Throat when he has done. My Breeches I recommend to the Queen's Uſe, to get her with Child without the Help of a Man; and the Smell of my Stockings to make her fair. How beautiful upon the Mountains, *&c.* Let my Corpſe be buried in the Room where Sir *Edmundsbury Godfrey* was murdered, to fright his bodily Appearance, and I will, to the Devil to choak his Ghoſt. Twenty-thouſand Pounds for Swords, Knives, Powder, Fireballs, *&c.* Ten-thouſand Pounds for him that ſtabs the Prince of *Orange*. Two-thouſand for the *French* Dragoons, to be paid by Father *le Chaiſe*, for their good Service. One-hundred for him that kills a Heretick. One-thouſand for the Colonel of St. *Ignatio*, to invent and provide all Manner of Tortures. Two-thouſand to the Chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin of *Loretto*, to be converted into a golden Chamber-Pot. All this laſt to be paid by the King, as ſoon as I have ſent him Money from *France*.

An Inventory of the Goods that I left in my Lodgings, to the Lord Chancellor, with their Value ſet upon them.

1. A Piece of *Adam's* Fig-Leaf-Apron, together with an Apple of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Three-hundred thirty-thouſand Pounds.

2. A Frog, a Louſe, and a Locuſt, that was upon *Pharaoh's* Land; with *Joſeph's* Coat, *Sampſon's* Jaw-bone, and Half *Gideon's* Fleece. Fifty-thouſand Pounds.

3. The Hoof of *Balaam's* Aſs, the Dart that killed *Abſalom*, together with the Stone that ſlew *Goliah*, and a Piece of *Bathſheba's* Smock, prized at one-thouſand Pounds.

4. Three Chairs that *Solomon* ſat in at Study, together with his black Fur Cap; and a Table that St. *Paul* made Uſe of, when he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. Two-thouſand Pounds.

5. The Parchments, that the ſame Apoſtle ſent for, by *Timothy*, with the Cloke; St. *Agnes's* Candleſtick, and St. *Winifred's* Ink-horn. Three-thouſand Pounds.

6. St. *Francis's* Clock; St. *Dennis's* Fire-ſhovel and Tongs; a broken Chamber-pot of the Bleſſed Virgin of *Loretto*; and a little Sauce-Pan for the Prince of *Wales*, that *Zacharias* bought for his Son *John*. Thirty-thouſand Pounds.

7. St. *Ignatius's* Warming-pan, the Nail of *Loyola's* little Toe, Pope *Joan's* Placket, and *Bellarmine's* Cloſe-ſtool. Ten-thouſand Pounds.

8. A Surreverence of St. *Clemens* in a Silver Box; St. *Ambroſe's* Clyſter-pipe; St. *Auſtin's* Almanack: Valued at one-thouſand Pounds.

9. St. *Cyprian's* Baſon; *Cicely's* Looking-glaſs, and Marmalade-pot; *Coleman's* Halter, St. *Catharine's* Tower and Curling-pin, with her Waſh to beautify the Face, which I have uſed this many Years, and it waſtes no more than the Widow's Cruiſe, which I alſo have. Twenty-thouſand Pounds.

10. Some of *Paul's* Faſting-ſpittle in a Bottle, ſealed with his Coat of Arms, good for ſore Eyes, and to reſtore even the Blind; a Nail of *Timothy's* Shoe, Queen *Mary's* Ruff, and St. *Margaret's* Sciſſars. Three-thouſand Pounds.

11. A Board of the Ark, a Feather of *Noah's* Dove, a Grain of *Lot's* Wife, took from the Pillar of Salt; and the Paper that ſaluted *Lyaſs* B———. Seven-thouſand Pounds.

12. The Dirt-pies that the Virgin *Mary* made when ſhe was a Child; ſome of the Dung that fell into *Tobit's* Eyes; the Horns of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when turned into a Cow; St. *Bridget's* Thimble, and Caſe of Needles. Two-thouſand Pounds.

13. The Nails that held our Saviour to the Croſs; the Spear that pierced his Side; ſome of the Water and Blood that came out; the Inſcription that was ſet over his Head, in *Pilate's* own Hand-writing. Six-thouſand Pounds.

14. *Judas's*

14. *Judas*'s Bag full of Bread and Cheeſe; the Piece of Money that was taken out of the Fiſh's Mouth for Tribute; ſome of the Water that was made Wine. Seven-thouſand Pounds.

15. A Piece of our Bleſſed Saviour's Cradle; the Manger; the Key of St. *Peter*'s Back-door into Heaven; his Slippers; the Bill, Spurs, and Comb of the Cock, that crowed when he denied his Maſter. Four-thouſand Pounds.

16. A Part of the Nipple of St. *Agatha*; St. *Margaret*'s piſs-burnt Garter; the Table-cloth, Napkins, and Knives, that were uſed in the Inſtitution of the Lord's-Supper; the Bed that Pope *Joan* pigged in; Pope *Boniface*'s Codpiſs-Buttons; and our Lord's-Prayer, in our Saviour's own Hand-writing. Nine-thouſand Pounds.

17. A Drop of the Bleſſed Virgin's Milk, which ſhe gave to St. *Biaſio*, when he thirſted in the Wilderneſs.

A Form of private Prayer uſed by Father Peters.

O Bleſſed *Mary*, Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, Saviour of the World, Giver of Salvation, the Almighty Lady, Author of our Redemption, I beſeech thee to hear me. Bow the Heavens, and come down from that thy Throne, to hear the Petition of thy humble Suppliant. By our Saviour's Birth and Baptiſm, by the Manger in which he was laid, by the Gifts the Wiſemen brought, by the Star that appeared in the Eaſt, by the Swaddling-Cloaths he wore, by the Milk he ſucked, by the Tears he ſhed in his Agony, by the Kiſs given him by *Judas*, by the Halter with which *Judas* hanged himſelf, and the Bag that he had to bear; by the Lance that pierced our Saviour's Side, by the Water and Blood that came out, by the Tomb in which he was laid, by the Spices with which he was embalmed, by the Ointment with which he was anointed unto his Burial, by the Croſs on which he ſuffered, by the two Thieves that together died with him, by the Choir of Angels at his Birth, and the Choir of Angels that were his Attendants at his Reſurrection; by the Superſcription of *Pilate*, by the High-Prieſt's Ear that was cut off, by the Name of Woman, with which Chriſt pleaſed to ſignify thy Pre-eminence over all Women, *&c.* I beſeech thee to hear me. Let not the Scepter depart from *Amalek*, nor a Law-giver from the *Jebuſites*; nor a Cardinal from *England*, nor a *Peters* from the Court, ſo long as the Sun and Moon endure. Pray for us, O Bleſſed Virgin, that all our Deſigns and Contrivances may have good Succeſs; and command thy Son to be ſo careful of the Good of his Society, that it may be implanted in all the Nations of the World; and particularly, in this wherein we live. Let the King hearken to me, the Charmer, who charms wiſely; nor be as a deaf Adder, that will not hear; nor ſtiff-necked as his People, that will not obey. Make him reſolute in his Religion, and true to the Cauſe which he has promiſed to maintain; and let the Abundance of his Merits waſh away the many religious Vows and Oaths, which he has made and broke, for the Honour of the *Roman* Church. We are thy People, and the Sheep of thy Paſture; if thou hadſt not been for us, we had been ſwallowed up quick in this heretical, damnable, prejudiced Kingdom, when they were ſo wrathfully diſpleaſed at us; but thou haſt fought for us, and defended us. O go on to perfect this Work of thine, which thou haſt, in ſome Meaſure, begun; and make us all one Sheepfold, under one Shepherdeſs, the Bleſſed *Mary*. Make *Peter* open to all, that will open the Door of their Hearts to thee; and damn all thoſe eternally that ſhall preſume to refuſe it, for thy Name's Sake, and mine, the Lord Chancellor's, *Salisbury*'s, *Cheſter*'s, *Peterborough*'s Merit, *&c.* *Amen.*

An

An Expedient for the Preventing any Difference between his Highneſs and the Parliament. About the Recognition, the Negative Voice, and the Militia. By a Lover of his Country, that deſires, at this Time, to be nameleſs. *London*, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black-ſpread-Eagle*, at the Weſt-end of St. *Paul*'s, 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

THOUGH I look not upon the preſent Diſpute about the Negative Voice, and the Command of the Militia, as like to give us much Trouble (for Uſurpations and Tyrannies, once judged by God, never recover to riſe again in the ſame Form:) Yet, to ſatisfy the Doubts and Fears of thoſe honeſt Souls, who ſee not what Strength they have on their Side, I ſhall deſire them to be aſſured, That there is Reaſon and Equity ſufficient to ſtop the Mouth of ſuch a Claim, by any ſingle Perſon in this Nation: And, therefore, we ſhall need no other Compromiſe of this Difference, but to reflect upon the Riſe and Occaſion of this Government, from whence the Nature and Power of it will beſt appear.

THE preſent Form of Government, then, as it varies from a Republick, was begotten by Neceſſity. For the Nation having traverſed all the Ways of a Parliament and Council of State; and ſeen all they could afford, and at length, finding through long Continuance, as ſtanding Waters, they did corrupt, Diſcontent gathered and fermented, and ſought where it might moſt advantageouſly diſcover itſelf; and ſo fell in with the Power of the Army; and the Perſon of the then General, whom they had found ſo ſtout and faithful, and withal ſucceſsful; and was willing to throw themſelves and their Cauſe into his Arms and Protection, conſenting that he ſhould uſe any Means, yea, though he were moſt arbitrary therein, to eaſe them of their old Maſters, whom they could bear no longer. So that, as I ſaid, it was pure Neceſſity and Straight, that caſt us here, and not any Affection to Monarchick Government. The clear Intent and Expectation of the honeſt People, that were Acceſſory to the Devolving the Power here, being: That that Perſon ſhould in the Name and Power of God (or of his own Truth and Righteouſneſs, which was ſuppoſed to be in him) adminiſter the Power of theſe Nations, to ſettle us in Freedom and Peace upon all Accounts, both Civil and Spiritual; and they never dreamed of a Monarch or a Family Intereſt, nor did they imagine any Need of cautioning it here. Though others, wiſer Heads (ſuch, who perhaps, by the Opportunity of their high Places, had approached nearer this Temptation in their own Hearts) did foreſee, and were aware, what might be the Conſequence and Product of this over-haſty Credulity and Truſt, as afterwards indeed it came to paſs.

§. II. The Protector did clearly run biaſs to the honeſt Intentions of thoſe, that wiſhed him the Adminiſtration of the Power, when he made himſelf a Civil Ruler. But Changes in States and Governments being brought with ſuch Pangs and Throws, as are very uneaſy and dangerous, they are not every Day's Work. It was in vain to retract or withdraw the Truſt committed to the General, though many diſliked the Way he went; nor could Men believe, that the late Paſſages and Tranſactions could ever grow into ſuch Oblivion,

as that he, or any Man, ſhould think that this Nation ſhould be willing to match the Militia and the Scepter together in the Government, but only in his Perſon, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary Perſon: They having fought againſt it in the Perſon of the late King.

§. III. Hereditary Succeſſion in the Government being ſo much diſguſted by the honeſt Patriots in the late Parliament, the Nomination of the immediate Succeſſion was indulged; his late Highneſs, as an Expedient to ſatisfy the then preſent, powerful Strivings for Hereditary Succeſſion, which was not neither yielded unto, but upon a very high Confidence of the Spirit and Principles of his late Highneſs, to carry him above all private Reſpects, in the Execution of the Truſt of Nomination.

§. IV. His now Highneſs, being in Poſſeſſion of the Government, takes therewith the Power of the Militia, which was inveſted in his Father, and he conceives alſo the Negative Voice to deſcend upon him with the Civil Government. The Queſtion is, Whether in Truth it do ſo, or no? I conceive not; and firſt for the Militia, it is true, the ſupreme Command of all the Armies in the three Nations was in his late Highneſs; but not as he was Protector, but as General, which he was, before he was Protector. So that the Protector or Civil Government was annexed to the Militia, not the Militia to the Civil Government; or rather the Power of adminiſtring to a Civil Settlement was annexed to the Perſon, not to the Power or Office of the General; and that upon the Reputation of his Perſonal Virtue: His Military Power and Capacity ſerving only as a Strength and Security to him, in the due Exerciſe of the Power of Civil Adminiſtration intruſted. So that it was not *Oliver Cromwell* as Protector, or the ſupreme Civil Magiſtrate that was made General; nor *Oliver Cromwell* as General ſimply, that was made Protector; but *Oliver Cromwell*, General of ſuch a Spirit, of ſuch Integrity and Faithfulneſs, that the like qualified Perſon was not to be found in the three Nations, that was thought fit for all the Power that could be caſt upon him.

§. V. As for the Negative Voice, as it was never diſputed with his late Highneſs, where it was ſuffered to ſleep as in a ſafe Hand, for his Perſonal Virtues; ſo was it never, ſince it was taken away from, or rather with the King and kingly Government, concredited, or betruſted with any Power or Perſon. And, indeed, it is a Thing altogether ſuperfluous as well as dangerous; for take away from Parliaments, who, ſure in this Light, that is riſen upon us, cannot be imagined, from their Source and Fountain, the Generality and Body of the Nation, to bring with them that choice Diſcerning, which is ſingular, to judge of Spiritual Things: I ſay, take away from them the Coercive Power, in Things Spiritual, and purely of the Mind, and admit them, as Children of this World, to be ſo wiſe in their Generation, as to be able to judge, what is good and behoofeful for the Nation, wherein their Stakes and Intereſts lie; and what Uſe will there be of a Negative Voice in a Commonwealth as we are, or ſhould be, where no diſtinct Perſonal or Family Intereſt, is, or ought to be owned, but what is one with the Commonwealth, and in a Subſerviency thereunto?

§. VI. The Negative Voice, therefore, being out of Doors with Kingſhip, and we having no Civil Head now that is Maſter of the Commonwealth, but a Servant to it; that was ſet up for that End, though an honourable Servant, and it is fit he ſhould be ſo maintained: The Reſolution is eaſy.

Let his preſent Highneſs be acknowledged and confirmed as ſupreme Magiſtrate in theſe three Nations.

Let the Officers of the Army chooſe their General, and let him have his Commiſſion from the Protector and Parliament.

Let his Highneſs, now being with the Parliament, have the Power of diſpoſing and commanding theſe Forces, and of making War and Peace.

The Light, in which theſe Things do evidence and offer themſelves to the Judgment and Conſciences of Men, is manifeſt:

For the *Firſt*, A ſingle Perſon cannot hurt us, if an unfit Power be not concredited and betruſted with him. When we engaged againſt a King, it was not againſt a ſingle Perſon ſimply; but ſo ſtated and circumſtanced, arbitrary, tyrannical, with a luxurious Court, a burthenſome State, &c. For this is a Principle we never intended, by that Engagement, to engage againſt what might be uſeful to us,

no

no rational Man would do ſo, but what we found hurtful. Therefore the ſingle Perſon may ſtand.

2. When we admitted a ſingle Perſon, and abated ſo much of the Circumſtance, we gave not up the Subſtance of our Cauſe; therefore be not baffled in that: But, if we give the ſingle Perſon a Negative Voice, and the Diſpoſe of the Militia, we give up the very Heart and Subſtance of our Cauſe. Therefore, part not with that.

Neither, indeed, can his Highneſs, who is but a ſingle Perſon, expect, whoever ſhould inveſt him with the ſole Command of the Militia, whilſt the Army and the Officers thereof keep their Integrity, that he can make any Uſe thereof, but for publick Ends, and therefore it would be *Onus non honos*.

3. It is fit his Highneſs ſhould have an honourable, though not the only Intereſt, in the Commanding the Militia: Therefore, let him be always ſought unto, to join with the Parliament, in the Diſpoſe of the Forces of the Nation.

And, as for thoſe of the other Houſe, let them paſs (or ſo many of them as the Parliament ſhall think fit) into the Council of State; and, if they have a concurrent Vote with his Highneſs and the Commons, yet no Negative Vote, their Uſefulneſs may be chiefly in the Vacancy of Parliaments, not to be a Balance upon the Commons; let their Balance be that Reaſon and Righteouſneſs that is amongſt themſelves, as to the Things of this World, which is their proper Sphere.

A Relation of the Execution of *James Graham*, late Marquis of *Montroſs*, at *Edinburgh*, on *Tueſday* the Twenty-firſt of *May* Inſtant. With his laſt Speech, Carriage, and moſt remarkable Paſſages upon the Scaffold. Alſo a Letter out of *Ireland*, more fully, concerning the Taking of *Clonmell*. *London*, printed by *E. Griffin*, in the *Old-Bailey*. *May* Twenty-eighth, 1650. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

SIR,

NOtwithſtanding the great Hubbub this Place is in at the Beheading of *Montroſs*, I ſhall give you a ſhort Account of Affairs: On *Saturday* laſt, *Montroſs* came hither; he was received at the End of the Town by the Bailiffs, and ſet upon a high Cart, and tied with a Rope, his Hat being before taken off by the Hangman, and the Hangman riding upon a Filly-horſe, with his Bonnet on, and a Staff in his Hand, and thus he was brought up, through the Town; ſeveral Perſons have been with him, and upon Diſcourſe he told them, that, for Perſonal Offences, he hath deſerved all this, but juſtifies his Cauſe; he cauſed a new Suit to be made for himſelf, and came Yeſterday into the Parliament-houſe, with a Scarlet Rocket, and a Suit of pure Cloth, all laid with rich Lace, a Beaver, and a rich Hatband, and Scarlet Silk-ſtockings; the Chancellor made a large Speech to him, diſcovering how much formerly he was for the Covenant, and how he hath ſince broke it; he deſired to know, whether he might be free to anſwer; and being admitted, he told them his Cauſe was good, and that, he had not only a Commiſſion, but particular Orders for what he had done, from his Majeſty, which he was engaged to be a Servant to, and they alſo had profeſſed to comply with; and upon that Account, however they dealt with him, yet he would own them to be a true Parliament. And he further told them, that if they would take away his Life, the World knew he regarded it not; it was a Debt that muſt once be paid, and that he was willing, and did much rejoice, that he muſt go the ſame Way his Majeſty did, and it was the

Joy

Joy of his Heart, not only to do but to ſuffer for him. His Sentence was, To be hanged upon a Gallows thirty Feet high, three Hours, at *Edinburgh*-croſs; to have his Head ſtruck off, and hanged upon *Edinburgh* Tollbooth, and his Arms and Legs to be hanged up in other publick Towns in the Kingdom, as *Glaſcow*, &c. and his Body to be buried, at the common Burying-place, in Caſe his Excommunication from the Kirk were taken off, or elſe to be buried where thoſe are buried that are hanged. All the Time while Sentence was giving, and alſo when he was executed, he ſeemed no Way to be altered, or his Spirit moved, but his Speech was full of Compoſure, and his Carriage as ſweet as ever I ſaw a Man in all my Days. When they bid him kneel, he told them he would, he was willing to obſerve any Poſture, that might manifeſt his Obedience, eſpecially to them who were ſo near in Conjunction with his Majeſty. It is abſolutely believed, that he hath gained more by his Death, than ever he did in his Life. The *Scots* are liſting Forces here, and have named their Officers; they intend to make up their Army Twenty-five-thouſand, they are very much ſtartled at the Marching of the *Engliſh* Army Northwards. By the next you ſhall hear further from

Edinburgh, May 21, 1650. *Your Servant*,

H. P.

Further by another Expreſs from Edinburgh *of the ſame Date, thus:*

YEſterday after the Sentence was pronounced againſt *Montroſs*, he ſaid, That tho' he was cried out againſt for a bloody Man, yet he never committed any Act of Cruelty, nor took away any Man's Life, but in an Hoſtile Way.

After he came to the Place of Execution, having been ſo uſed as before, he ſpoke to this Purpoſe, to one that was near him: You ſee what Compliments they put upon me, but I never took more Delight in all my Life, in riding in a Coach, than I did in this Manner of Paſſage to this Place.

His late Declaration and the Hiſtory of his Tranſactions were tied at his Back, when he was hanged, but he would have nothing to do with the Miniſters who ſtood at the End of the Scaffold.

The Places, where *Montroſs*'s Quarters are to be ſet up, are, *Glaſcow*, *Sterling*, *Perth* alias St. *Johnſon*, and *Aberdeen*.

A Letter out of Ireland, *more fully, concerning the Taking of* Clonmell.

SIR,

THIS Day we entered *Clonmell*, which was quit by the Enemy the laſt Night, about Nine of the Clock, after a tedious Storm, which continued four Hours. Our Men kept cloſe to the Breach, which they had entered, all the Time, ſave only one accidental Retreat in the Storm. We loſt in this Service Col. *Cullum*, and ſome other Officers, with divers private Soldiers, and ſome others wounded. The Enemy had made many great Preparations within, by a Traverſe or Croſswork, and ſo beat our Men off, as they entered; but afterwards many of them ſtole out of the Town, and left ſome few, with the Inhabitants, to make Conditions. In the Morning, our Forces purſued and killed all they could light upon. The Town is a very ſtrong Place, and I hope the Getting of this Gariſon will be of good Uſe for the Gaining of others, which depended upon this. The *Engliſh* under *Ormond* and *Inchequeen* are come in, and as many as deſired had Paſſes to go beyond Seas, and the reſt have Leave to live quiet at Home. I am

Clonmell, May 10, 1650. *Your affectionate Friend*,

W. A.

The

The Continuation of the Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen.

SECT. V.

A Journey from Vienna *in* Auſtria *to* Prague, *the Capital of* Bohemia.

HAVING got every Thing in Readineſs for our Departure from *Vienna*, and the *Poſtiglioni* being arrived at our Inn, we paſſed the *Danube*, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon. The firſt Place we ſtopped at was called *Enzersdorf*, or *Enzerſtorf*, near the Point where a ſmall Rivulet empties itſelf into the *Danube*, not much above a *German* Mile North of *Vienna*. *Enzerſdorf* is a pretty large Village on the Northern Bank of the *Danube*, oppoſite to *Kalenberg*. We could ſee here the Mounts *Kalenberg* and *Piſenberg*, betwixt which, at almoſt an equal Diſtance, *Enzerſdorf* ſtands. The Country betwixt this Place and *Vienna* is a fine verdant Plain. After gaining the Northern Bank of the *Danube*, we left a ſmall Village called *Eipoltau*, or *Eypoltau*, a little to the Eaſt; and inſtead of taking the Route of *Wolkerſdorf*, in the Poſt-Road to *Olmutz*, turned off to the left. Beſides the Mounts *Kalenberg* and *Piſenberg*, there are two ſmall Towns, or Villages, in their Neighbourhood, likewiſe ſo called.

From *Enzerſdorf* we advanced to *Stockerau*, where, upon the Approach of the Evening, we took up our Lodgings. *Stockerau* ſtands near three *German* Miles almoſt North of *Enzerſdorf*, and is a pretty conſiderable Town. According to *Eugippius*, the antient *Aſtura* ſtood upon the Spot at preſent poſſeſſed by *Stockerau*; and, according to the *Notitia*, a Tribune with his Cohort was for ſome Time poſted here; which ſeems to run counter to what has been advanced by Dr. *Brown*. The Words referred to in the *Notitia* are theſe: *Sub Diſpoſitione Viri Spectabilis Ducis* Pannoniæ, *et* Norici Ripenſis, *fuit Tribunus Cohortis* Aſturis. St. *Severinus* is ſaid firſt to have ſtopped at *Aſtura*; and St. *Colman*, or *Coloman*, a Native of *Scotland*, to have ſuffered Martyrdom at *Stockerau*, in the Year 1012, upon the Ground where the Monaſtery of the *Minorites* was afterwards built. This Saint is believed by the *Auſtrians* to have wrought many Miracles after his Death. *Aſtura* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Quadi*. Between *Enzerſdorf* and *Stockerau*, a Traveller has a full View of both Mount *Kalenberg* and Mount *Piſenberg*, as he marches on the Northern Bank of the *Danube*. We were informed, that upon Mount *Kalenberg*, a Part of Mount *Cetius*, and about two *German* Miles almoſt North of *Vienna*, many petrified Fiſh, ſome of which were of ſeveral unknown Species, have been, and ſtill are, found. Theſe are not however diſcovered in ſuch large Quantities now as formerly. Our Expences at *Stockerau* amounted to about eight Florins. The People of the Inn, where we lodged, ſtole from us one of the Bottles of *Tokay* Wine, given us by Mr. *Robinſon*; which did not greatly ſurpriſe us. The Dialect ſpoken at *Stockerau* differs very ſenſibly, as well as the Pronunciation, from that uſed at *Vienna*.

The next Place that ſupplied us with freſh Horſes the Inhabitants called *Mallebern*. This Village conſiſts of about fifty or ſixty Houſes, is two eaſy *German* Miles from *Stockerau*, and has a pretty Church. We did not ſtay above an Hour at *Mallebern*, as finding Nothing capable of exciting our Curioſity, or detaining us longer there.

From *Mallebern* to *Hollabrun*, the next Poſt-Town, we found the Road very good, and the Miles ſhort. This Town, or Village, is conſiderably larger than the former. The *Golden Crown* is the beſt public Houſe in it, and a tolerable good Inn. Between *Mallebern* and *Hollabrun* we paſſed through two large Villages, but the Names of them we did not learn.

Naudorf, or *Nodorf*, was the next Place that, for about an Half an Hour, we reſted at. It ſeems to be about the ſame Size as *Hollabrun*. Between *Naudorf* and *Hollabrun* we paſſed through a pretty conſiderable Village; but the *Poſtiglioni* could not be certain as to its Name. The Country we went through this Poſt appeared very agreeable and delightful.

Our *Poſtiglioni* next conducted us to a fine Village, called *Pulckau*, or *Bulckha*, two *German* Miles from *Naudorf*. This Poſt was good Road throughout, and the whole Tract covered with a beautiful Verdure. The Buildings in *Pulckau* are ſomething elegant, and ſeem to reſemble thoſe of *Vienna*. There are two or three

three ſmall Places between *Naudorf* and *Pulckau*, but the Names of them we were not told.

From *Pulckau* we went to *Langau*, or *Langenau*, the laſt Town in *Auſtria*, and upon the Borders of *Moravia*. This Poſt is mountainous and bad, and conſiſts at leaſt of three *German* Miles. Between *Pulckau* and *Langau*, we met with ſome Woods of Fir-Trees, and now and then with an *Ilex*, or *Scarlet-Oak*. The Country we paſſed through this Poſt, notwithſtanding the Road, was pleaſant and agreeable enough.

Our next Poſt was terminated by *Frating*, a Town of *Moravia*, in the Circle of *Znaim*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the *Taya*, or *Thaya*, about two *German* Miles from *Langau*. The People of the Country call this Town, which, as near as we could gueſs, conſiſts of about two-hundred Houſes, *Wrateny*. It has one or two pretty Churches in it, and ſeems to be of *Slavic* Extraction. The Houſes form one long Street, and make a tolerable good Appearance. We did not ſtay above an Hour here.

The next Place we ſtopped at, two good *German* Miles North-Weſt off *Frating*, was denominated *Pieſling*, or *Piſtling*. *Piſtling* is likewiſe a ſmall Town, or Village, of the Marquiſate of *Moravia*, upon the *Taya*, with a Caſtle, at preſent in a ruinous Condition, conſiſting, as we gueſſed, of about one-hundred and fifty Houſes. We were told that there were two Churches here, as well as at *Frating*.

Piſtling ſtands in the Circle of *Znaim*, which is a very pleaſant and fertile Tract. Between *Pieſling* and *Frating*, we paſſed through a Village called *Rantzern*, which had a tolerable good Church. The Road between *Rantzern* and *Pieſling* is very mountainous.

After having ſtaid about Half, or three Quarters of an Hour at *Pieſling*, we continued our Route to *Zlabnitz*, or, as 'tis called by the *Moravians*, *Slawonice*. *Zlabnitz*, or *Slawonice*, is a conſiderable Town of the Marquiſate of *Moravia*, in the Circle of *Iglaw*, two *German* Miles almoſt Weſt of *Pieſling*, and near the ſame Diſtance, in an Eaſtern Direction, from the Ridge of Mountains ſeparating *Moravia* from *Bohemia*. This Town was built by the *Slavi*, as clearly appears from its Name, and conſequently may be looked upon as one of the moſt antient in *Moravia*. The Country People and ſome Foreigners, call *Zlabnitz*, *Zlabings*; which is neither the *Moravian* nor *German* Name. But this is not to be wondered at, ſince the Language of this Part of *Moravia* is a Compoſition, made up of the *High Dutch* and *Moravian* Tongues. The *Moravian*, we were told, differs very conſiderably from the *Bohemian*, *Poliſh*, and *Sclavonian* Dialects. Before we take our Leave of *Moravia*, we ſhall beg Leave to give our Readers a ſhort Deſcription of that Province, ſuch as we received, partly from Perſons of good Authority here, and partly from a curious Piece ſcarce to be met with in *England*.

The Marquiſate of *Moravia* received its Name from the *Mora*, or *Morava*, a famous River running through it, called by *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the *Marus*. This River has its Source in the Northern Angle of *Moravia*, upon the Borders of *Sileſia*; and, after having joined the *Taya* near *Ravenſpurg*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Danube*, upon the Confines of *Hungary*, not far from *Preſburg*. *Moravia* is bounded on the Weſt by *Bohemia*; on the North by *Sileſia*; on the Eaſt by *Hungary*; and on the South by *Auſtria*, or rather that Part of it divided from *Moravia* by the *Taya*. The Air here is ſoft and mild; the Region well cultivated, and abounding with all the Neceſſaries, as well as ſome of the Elegancies, of Life. It does not only produce great Quantities of Corn, but likewiſe of Saffron; and Wine alſo, though of a weaker Kind, ſuch as will not intoxicate thoſe who drink copiouſly of it. It is alſo inriched with four different Species of Metals: Gold near *Jamnitz*, *Römerſtadtl*, *Bergſtadtl*, and in the Lordſhips of *Goldenſtein* and *Lukow*; Silver near *Polnau*, *Piſcopicz*, *Iglaw*, *Bergſtadtl*, and *Hagenſtein*; Iron in the Lordſhips of *Janovicz* and *Berſtein*, as alſo about *Neuſtadtl*, *Römerſtadtl*, *Kunſtadt*, *Polnau*, *Jaſpitz*, *Frana*, *Hochwald*, and ſeveral other Places; and laſtly Lead, in the mountainous Tract called *Ranzern*, near *Iglaw*. Alum, Vitriol, Jeat, Amber, Agate, Granate, Jaſper, Marble, Coal, &c. are likewiſe produced in *Moravia*.

The *Marcomanni* antiently inhabited *Moravia*, according to * *Peſſina*; though that the *Quadi* occupied this Part of antient *Germany*, together with Part of *Auſtria*, may be inferred from † *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*. But poſſibly neither of theſe Opinions may be very remote from Truth, ſince the *Marcomanni* were conſidered ſometimes as intermixed with the *Quadi*; eſpecially, when with their united Forces theſe two Nations defended their reſpective Territories againſt the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. 'Tis certain, if any Credit is to be

* *Peſſin.* Mar. *Mora.* Lib. 1. C. 2. † *Tacit.* de Mor. *Germ.*, *Ptol.* Geogr. Lib. 2.

given to antient History, the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* either formed one * Nation, extending from the *Marus* to the *Cusus*, or *Vagus*, i. e. from the *Morava* to the *Waag*, or had one common Interest and Form of Government, and therefore conjointly opposed all foreign Invaders, particularly the *Romans*. Afterwards having passed the *Waag*, they extended their Dominions as far as *Bregetio*, or *Strigonium*, and the River *Granua*, or *Gran*. They carried on the War against the *Romans*, under *Viguarius* and his Son *Vitrodurus*, as also under *Gabinius* and *Fridegildus*, their Kings, with various Success. But being greatly weakened by their frequent bloody Contests with the *Romans*, *Vandals*, *Goths*, *&c.* and at last subdued by the *Huns*, they were obliged first to take on in the Service of *Attila*, General of the *Huns*, and afterwards of *Ardericus*, Captain of the *Gepidæ*. Being afterwards dispersed in different Provinces, the Names of *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* were totally lost, towards the Close of the fifth Century.

After the Extinction of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, the *Slavi* seated themselves here; and, as should seem from *Suidas*, were called *Maravani*, *Marahenses*, or *Moravi*. Of all the *Slavic* Nations the *Moravians* were the first that formed a Kingdom. This Kingdom was of much larger Extent, than the present Marquisate of *Moravia*. According to *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius the Second*, the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Poles* were subject to the King of *Moravia*. But, with Regard to the *Hungarians*, this cannot be allowed, since it is absolutely repugnant to the Faith of History; and therefore *Æneas Sylvius* is only to be understood as asserting that a considerable Tract of the Kingdom of *Hungary* antiently appertained to the Kingdom of *Moravia*. This, we apprehend, cannot be denied, as being supported by some Writers of indubitable Authority. Our Readers will not be displeased to see here a List of the antient Kings of *Moravia*, whose Government continued above two-hundred Years.

List of the Kings of Moravia.

I. *Swatossius*, or *Suathes*, the Son of *Marothus*, or *Moravodus*, who fixed his Residence at *Vesprin*, and presided over a great Part of *Pannonia* and *Moravia*. He was defeated in two Battles by the *Hungarians*, and, being almost intirely driven out of *Pannonia*, took Refuge in the Island of *Schur*, from whence he passed into *Moravia*, and at *Welehrad* near the *Morava* built a Palace, where he afterwards resided. He likewise erected several Towers and Redoubts along the *Waag*, in Order to repress the Courses of the *Hungarians*. This we learn from some Authors of good Authority; but *Bonfinius* and *Thurocius* affirm *Swatossius* to have been drowned in the *Danube*, after the last Overthrow given him by the *Hungarians*. Which of these Notions is the most agreeable to Truth, we must leave our Readers, after having consulted the abovementioned Authors, to decide. *Swatossius* began to reign about *An. Dom.* 720.

II. *Samomirus* succeeded his Father *Swatossius*, according to *Pessina*. History is intirely silent, as to any remarkable Particulars of his Reign.

III. He was succeeded by *Samoslaus*, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

IV. *Lechus*, or *Lech*, ascended the Throne, after the Decease of his Father *Samoslaus*. He was killed in Battle by *Charlemain*.

V. *Hormidorus* reigned after *Lechus*.

VI. *Mogemirus*, the next King of *Moravia*, in vain endeavoured to make himself Master of the Kingdom of *Hungary*. He likewise invaded *Poland*, and took *Cracow*; but, according to some Authors, soon lost it again.

VII. *Bryno*, or *Bruno*, by some called *Prinnina*, came next; but, not being able to quell the seditious Commotions raised by *Mogemirus*, he abdicated the Throne, and was succeeded by the Author of those Commotions, *Mogemirus the Second*.

VIII. *Mogemirus the Second* enjoyed the Sovereignty of *Moravia* for some Time. His Predecessor *Bryno* had a certain District bordering on the *Save* given him by *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, where he ended his Days in Peace.

IX. *Raczko*, or *Radislaus*, called by some *Rastice*, swayed the Sceptre of *Moravia* after *Mogemirus the Second*. He extended his Conquests as far as *Vesprin*, the antient Seat of the Kings of *Moravia*; but, being afterwards defeated, in a pitched Battle, by the *Hungarians*, he found himself obliged to abandon them. He was at last taken Prisoner by *Lewis* King of *Germany*, against whom, in Defiance of the Faith of Treaties, he had several Times taken up Arms, had his Eyes put out, and was doomed to perpetual Imprisonment in *Bavaria*. The next Prince that mounted the Throne was

X. *Suatopulcus*, *Suatoplucus*, *Zuentibaldus*, or, as he is called by some, *Swendopoldus*, who

was laid under Arreſt by *Carolomannus*, the Son of *Lewis*, at *Ratiſbon*, in 871. But, the Crime alledged againſt him not being proved, he had his Liberty reſtored, and was ſent back to his Subjects in *Moravia*. However, this proved a Source of many Broils and Animoſities between the abovementioned Princes, which at length were removed in the Reign of the Emperor *Arnulphus*. *Suatopulcus* was ſucceeded by his Son *Suatobogus*, or *Suatobogius*, the laſt King of *Moravia*.

XI. *Suatobogus*, or *Suatobogius*, was a Prince guilty of the blackeſt and moſt enormous Crimes; and was therefore anathematized or excommunicated by Pope *Sergius the Third*, and put to the Ban of the Empire by the Emperor *Lewis the Fourth*. Upon which Events, the *Poles*, *Bavarians*, and *Hungarians* broke into his Dominions, and carried all before them. Some Writers affirm, that *Suatobogus*, after having received a ſignal Defeat, was ſlain by theſe Invaders; but others, that, after having loſt his Kingdom, he eſcaped to Mount *Sobor*, or *Zobor*, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days with Anchorets ſettled there.

An End being thus put to the Kingdom of *Moravia*, the *Bavarians* ſeized upon that Part of it lying between the *Danube* and the *Taye*, which was afterwards joined to *Auſtria*. The other Part, which fell into the Hands of the *Poles*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*, was at laſt adjudged by the Emperor *Otto*, or *Otho the Great*, to St. *Wenceſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*, in the Year 937. But neither he nor his Succeſſors obtained the Sovereignty of the whole Country, till the Time of *Udalricus*, and his Son *Brzetiſlaus the Firſt*, who having overthrown the *Poles*, in a great Battle, *An. Dom.* 1026, wreſted from them the *Poliſh Moravia*, and ſoon after made himſelf Maſter of the other Part appertaining to the *Hungarians*; and, extending the Frontiers to their preſent Limits, annexed the whole Province to *Bohemia*. *Brzetiſlaus* had five Sons, *Spitihnæus*, *Jaromirus*, or *Jaromir*, *Wratiſlaus*, *Otto* or *Otho*, and *Conrad*. *Spitihnæus*, *Spitigneus*, or *Sbigneus*, lived with his Father, being the Heir apparent to his Dominions; *Jaromir* took holy Orders; *Wratiſlaus* had aſſigned him the Diſtrict of *Olmutz*; *Otto* that of *Brinn*; and *Conrad* that of *Znaim*; *Brzetiſlaus* in the mean Time reſerving to himſelf and his Succeſſors the Sovereignty both of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. Upon the Deceaſe of his Brother *Spitihnæus* without Iſſue, *Wratiſlaus* obtained the Crown of *Bohemia*, and ceded the Territory of *Olmutz* to his Brother *Otto*, annexing at the ſame Time the Diſtrict of *Znaim* to that of *Brinn*, in Favour of *Conrad*. About the Year 1086, in the Reign of *Henry the Fourth*, *Moravia* aſſumed the Title of Marquiſate, and the Kings of *Bohemia*, after the Example of *Brzetiſlaus*, generally divided it, for ſome Ages, amongſt their younger Sons or Relations. This occaſioned ſometimes bloody Wars between the Kings of *Bohemia* and the Marqueſſes of *Moravia*, the latter frequently refuſing to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the former. Notwithſtanding which, *Moravia* was always conſidered as appertaining to *Bohemia*, after the Reign of *Brzetiſlaus the Firſt*, and came with that Kingdom into the Poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The *Chriſtian* Religion ſeems to have been firſt planted in *Moravia* by the Emperor *Charlemain*, who having driven the *Slavi Moravians* from one Side of the *Danube*, and the *Huns* and *Avares* from the other, carried his victorious Arms as far as the *Raab*, and committed the Propagation of *Chriſtianity* here to *Arno*, Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, authorized thereto by Pope *Adrian the Firſt*. This is farther confirmed by the Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Paſſau*, in which *Dreſſerus* relates, that Biſhop *Runharius*, or *Reginarius*, converted the *Moravians* to the Faith of *Chriſt* in the Year 807; which yet we apprehend is not to be underſtood of the whole *Moravian* Nation, but only a Part of it, perhaps that bordering upon the *Danube*. After the Death of *Charlemain*, *Urolphus*, Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, ſent *Adelvinus* and *Methodius*, who were both adorned with the Epiſcopal Dignity, to inſtruct the *Moravians* in the Principles of *Chriſtianity*; and perhaps he himſelf aſſiſted them in that laudable Employment. Afterwards going to *Rome*, to give an Account of the Succeſs of his Endeavours, he met with a moſt gracious Reception from Pope *Eugenius the Second*, who admoniſhed *Tuttundus* and *Moymarus*, ſtyled by him Dukes of *Hunnia*, or *Avaria*, and *Moravia*, as alſo the Prelates, Nobleſſe, Armies, and People of thoſe Countries, to aſſiſt *Urolphus* in the Execution of ſo noble and pious a Deſign. The Letter wrote on this Occaſion by that Pontiff may be ſeen in *Hundius*, *Gewoldus*, and *Goldaſtus*.

But the Progreſs of the Goſpel in *Moravia* was greatly obſtructed, if not totally ſtopped, by the Civil Wars between *Bryno* and *Mogemirus*,

mirus, or *Moymarus the Second*, till St. *Cyril* and St. *Methodius*, coming out of the Eaſt, diſpelled the thick Clouds of Ethnic Superſtition, and again refreſhed this Country with the ſalutary Rays of Evangelical Light; inſomuch that they have been generally eſteemed as the genuine Apoſtles of *Moravia*. This happened in the Reign of *Radiſlaus*, when St. *Cyril*, after he had been ſent by *Michael* Emperor of the Eaſt, and *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, into the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, to convert the *Chazari* to the *Chriſtian* Faith, and, in Order to effect this, had learned the *Sclavonian* Tongue, which was ſpoken by that People, together with his Collegue St. *Methodius*, paſſed through the *Triballi* and *Bulgarians* into *Moravia*, about the Year 862. The unwearied Labours of theſe holy Men were attended with ſuch extraordinary Succeſs, that in a very ſhort Time the King, Nobleſſe, and in Fine the whole Nation of the *Moravians* embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion; and ſoon after the Archbiſhopric of *Welehrad* was founded, the antient Biſhoprics reſtored, and, as is probable, ſeveral new ones erected. In the mean Time Pope *Nicholas* hearing how happily the Light of the Goſpel diffuſed itſelf over *Moravia*, and that the Natives there made Uſe of the *Sclavonian* Tongue, into which, after having formed a new Alphabet for that Purpoſe, St. *Cyril* had tranſlated the ſacred Writings, in their publick Service, he ſummoned St. *Cyril* and St. *Methodius* to *Rome*; but died before their Arrival, in *November* 867. However, they were treated with great Diſtinction by his Succeſſor Pope *Adrian the Second*. How St. *Cyril* juſtified his Conduct in Relation to the Uſe of the *Sclavonian* Tongue in ſacred Matters, and, as it were, extorted from that Pontiff and the Court of *Rome* a Licence to continue the divine Service throughout *Moravia*, &c. in that Language, our curious Readers will be fully and amply informed by the Piece to which we ſhall here beg Leave to refer them *.

St. *Cyril* ſpent the Remainder of his Days at *Rome*, but St. *Methodius*, his Collegue, after having been created Archbiſhop of *Moravia*, returned Home, in the Reign of *Suatopulcus*, who ſucceeded *Radiſlaus*. That Prince afterwards ſent this worthy Prelate his Ambaſſador to *Rome*, as appears from a Letter wrote him by Pope *John the Eighth* in 880, to be met with in *Baronius*. St. *Methodius* had not been long dead, when an End was put to the Kingdom of *Moravia* by the *Poles*, *Bavarians*, and *Hungarians*, as already mentioned. This Revolution occaſioned the Abolition of the Archbiſhopric of *Welehraden*, and the other Cathedral Churches in *Moravia*. The *Chriſtian* Religion, however, ſoon after recovered its former Footing here; but after the Death of *Sylveſter*, the laſt Archbiſhop of *Moravia*, this Province was annexed to the Dioceſe of *Paſſau*, or, according to ſome, to that of *Ratiſbon*; of which it continued a Part, till the Time of St. *Adalbertus*, Biſhop of *Prague*, to whoſe Dioceſe the Church of *Moravia* was joined by Pope *Benedict the Sixth*. This Union remained till after the Year 1060, when, *Severus* being Biſhop of *Prague*, by the Approbation, and, as ſome imagine, at the Inſtigation of Pope *Alexander the Second*, the *Moravians* had their antient Church reſtored them, and rendered diſtinct from that of *Prague*.

The Followers of *John Hus* propagated their Tenets here, in the fifteenth Century; though *John de Praga*, Biſhop of *Olmutz*, prevented them from making any very great Progreſs in *Moravia*. However, the Reformation afterwards gradually ſo inſinuated itſelf here, that it ſeems to have ſpread itſelf over, at leaſt, the greateſt Part of the Country, particularly in the Reigns of *George*, *Wladiſlaus*, and *Lewis*, Kings of *Bohemia*. The Synod of *Brinn*, being acted by a Spirit quite oppoſite to the Genius of Popery, granted an univerſal Toleration, extending to People of all Religions, in 1608. But an End was put to this by the fatal Battle of *Weiſſenburg*, near *Prague*, in 1620, which gave the Poſſeſſion of this Marquiſate to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and enabled the Cardinal *de Dietrichſtein*, by his active and indefatigable Zeal for Popery, to re-eſtabliſh the *Roman-Catholic* Religion in *Moravia*.

Notwithſtanding which, many Proteſtants are ſtill to be met with in this Country. Moſt of theſe ſeem to acknowledge ſome Sort of Epiſcopacy, though in ſeveral Points, as Predeſtination, Free-Election, Grace, Regeneration, &c. they are ſaid to approach very near the *Calviniſts*. Nay, in Conſequence of ſome other Opinions, we were told, that they maintain the abſolute Impeccability of the Regenerate in this Life; and that good

* See the Piece of *Wenceſlaus Charles* Count *de Purgſtall*, intituled *Germania Auſtriaca*, already mentioned in the Deſcription of *Moravia*, P. 70, 71, publiſhed at *Vienna* in 1701.

Works are not neceſſary to Juſtification. But as moſt of the Relations Travellers meet with, concerning them, come from the *Roman Catholics*, who are their declared Enemies, perhaps our Readers ought to ſuſpend their Belief of the Particulars here mentioned, till we have a full and ample Account of the religious Tenets of the *Moravian* Proteſtants, from a candid and impartial Perſon, who has, for ſome Time, reſided amongſt them.

Moravia was divided into three Toparchies, by *Brzetiſlaus the Firſt*, Duke of *Bohemia*; *viz.* that of *Olmutz*, that of *Brinn*, and that of *Znaim*. But in Proceſs of Time, when the Brothers and Relations of the Dukes, or Kings, of *Bohemia* were branched out into ſeveral Families, the Toparchy of *Olmutz*, which was the largeſt of all, as extending from the Borders of *Sileſia* to the Conflux of the *Taya* and the *Moravia*, was divided into two Parts, in the Year 1160, *viz.* the *Upper* and the *Lower*. *Brzetiſlaus*, Son to *Otto the Third*, obtained the latter, and *Wladimir*, that Prince's other Son, the former, by the Conſent of *Wladiſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*. Laſtly, in the Age of *Wladiſlaus the Second*, *Moravia* was divided into five Diſtricts, *viz.* thoſe of *Olmutz*, *Brinn*, *Znaim*, *Iglaw*, and *Hradiſch*. The Toparchy, or Circle, of *Olmutz* is circumſcribed, on the Weſt by *Bohemia* and the Circle of *Brinn*, on the North by *Sileſia*, on the Eaſt by *Hungary*, and on the South Parts by the Circle of *Brinn*, and partly by the Circle of *Hradiſch*. That of *Brinn* is limited, partly by the other Diſtricts, or Circles, of *Moravia*, and partly by *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, and *Bohemia*. The Circle of *Znaim* is nearly of a pyramidal Figure, and bounded by the Circles of *Brinn* and *Iglaw*, together with the Archdutchy of *Auſtria*. The Circle of *Iglaw* is terminated by thoſe of *Brinn* and *Znaim*, and the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. And laſtly, that of *Hradiſch* is ſurrounded by thoſe of *Olmutz* and *Brinn*, and the Kingdom of *Hungary*. It is, at preſent, divided into the Circles of *Iglaw*, *Znaim*, *Brinn*, *Olmutz*, *Hradiſch*, and *Prerau*. The laſt Circle of which is however conſidered, by the more accurate *Moravian* Geographers, as Part of that of *Olmutz*. So much for the Hiſtory and Geography of the Marquiſate of *Moravia* in general; which, we hope, will not be conſidered, by our Readers, as an impertinent Digreſſion. But to reſume the Narrative of our Journey from *Vienna* to *Prague*:

We ſtaid one Night at *Zlabnitz*, where we met with very good Accommodations. Our Landlord was a Man of tolerable good Senſe and Humour, and acquainted us with ſeveral Particulars, relating to the Country in which he lived, that we have taken Care to inſert in the above Account. *Zlabnitz* ſeems to conſiſt, at leaſt, of four-hundred Houſes, is walled round, and the Inhabitants appeared ſomething civilized and polite. This Town is pretty well built, and ſome of its Houſes conſiſt of Stone. Between *Pieſling* and *Zlabnitz* we ſaw ſeveral very large Woods of Fir-Trees, with which a good Part of the Circles of *Iglaw* and *Znaim* abound. But this is not to be wondered at, ſince ſuch Sort of Woods are common, both in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*. Though the Weather was exceſſive cold, we were ſcarce ſenſible of it, by Reaſon of the Stoves with which our Rooms were heated. The principal Places between *Zlabnitz* and *Pieſling* are *Zlabaten*, *Mudlau*, and *Khwalitz*, all conſiderable Villages. *Zlabaten* is in the Poſt-Road, *Mudlau* at a ſmall Diſtance from it, upon the *Taya*, and *Khwalitz* in Sight of the Poſt-Road, ſcarce Half a *German* Mile S. E. of *Zlabnitz*. The two former are in the Circle of *Znaim*, and the latter in that of *Iglaw*. Many of the Chimnies here ſeemed to have ſomething of the Reſemblance of a Mitre. Moſt of the Inhabitants of *Zlabnitz* ſpeak *Latin* with tolerable Fluency. The People of the Inn, where we lodged, ſtole another of our Bottles of *Tokay* Wine; upon which we came to a Reſolution to make ſure of the other two the following Night. However, we did not ſuffer greatly on this Account, ſince the Wine of the Country was good and cheap enough. Though we regaled ourſelves ſufficiently at *Zlabnitz*, our whole Expence there, including that incurred by the Servants, did not exceed ſix Florins.

From *Zlabnitz* we advanced to *Konigſeck*, the firſt Town in *Bohemia*, which terminates a Poſt that conſiſts of near three *German* Miles. *Konigſeck* ſeems not to be compoſed, at moſt, of above one-hundred and ſixty Houſes. We found the Tract between *Zlabnitz* and *Konigſeck* pretty mountainous and woody, and Part of it covered with Snow. The Women in this Part of *Moravia* appeared to us handſome enough, and the Men robuſt and well-made. Many of the Hills in this Weſtern Diſtrict of *Moravia* are covered with Woods, full of various Kinds of wild Beaſts,

uſually produced in ſuch Places. Between *Zlabnitz* and *Konigſeck* we met with a Wood of Fir-Trees (and ſuch are many of the Woods, in this Part of *Moravia* at leaſt) which ſeemed to be of a vaſt Extent. The Villages, we paſſed through between the two Places laſt mentioned, were *Rudoletz*, *Walterſchlag*, and *Dimelſchlag*, none of which could be deemed very conſiderable. The two firſt ſtand in the Circle of *Iglaw*. The Mountains ſeparating *Moravia* from the Circles of *Bechin* and *Czaſlau* in *Bohemia* were almoſt intirely covered with Snow. *Dimelſchlag*, the laſt of the abovementioned Places, is not much above Half a *German* Mile from *Konigſeck*, and the firſt Village in *Bohemia*.

After near an Hour's Stay at *Konigſeck*, we ſet out for *Neuhaus*, which was next to ſupply us with Poſt-Horſes. This is a pretty long Poſt, but the Road muſt be allowed good. *Neuhaus*, or, as the *Bohemians* call it, *Gindrzichu Hradecz*, is a fine City of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Bechin*, about fourteen *German* Miles, according to the *Auſtrian* and *Bohemian* Geographers, almoſt South of *Prague*. But this is to be underſtood of a right Line drawn from *Neuhaus* to *Prague*; ſince the Diſtance betwixt thoſe two Cities is much greater, according to the Poſt-Road, as will manifeſtly appear from the preſent Narrative. *Neuhaus* is a large Town, and its Buildings neat and elegant, as well as the People that inhabit it. For ſeveral Ages it was the Seat of a Prince of the ſame Name. The Princes of *Neuhaus*, or *de Nova Domo*, as they were termed in *Latin*, we find celebrated in the *Bohemian* Annals. They carried a golden Roſe in their Shield, and exerted themſelves in Defence of Popery againſt *George* of *Podiebrad*, King of *Bohemia*. *Adam*, the laſt of the antient Family of theſe Princes, built a noble College for the *Jeſuits* in *Neuhaus*, which is richly endowed. Upon the Extinction of this Family, *Neuhaus*, with the Diſtrict appertaining to it, fell into the Hands of the Deſcendents of the Counts *Slavata*. The Caſtle, in which the Princes of *Neuhaus* reſided, is a fine Edifice, and a great Ornament to the Town. There are, or very lately were, in this Caſtle the Effigies of a long Series of the Dukes and Kings of *Bohemia*, moſt exactly copied from ſome antient Portraits of thoſe Princes, that for a long Time adorned the Caſtle of *Prague*. As the Originals, from whence theſe Effigies were taken, have been conſumed by Fire, they ought, if now remaining, to be looked upon as a moſt valuable Curioſity. The Erection of this Caſtle, according to *Balbinus*, to whom we muſt beg Leave to refer our curious Readers for a more minute Account of it, and ſeveral very remarkable Particulars relating to it, was owing to a certain Matron, who had the Care and Education of ſome of the Princes of *Neuhaus* committed to her. According to the ſame Author, a Spectre, Apparition, or Ghoſt, in his Time, walked in the Neighbourhood of this Caſtle, and even in the Caſtle itſelf. It was then, if he may be credited, ſo well known to all the Citizens of *Neuhaus*, as well as the Peaſants of the adjacent Villages, that not the leaſt Scruple was entertained amongſt them about the Reality of its Appearance. It was believed to be the Ghoſt of the aforeſaid Matron, as it appeared in the Shape, or Form, of a Woman, with a Bunch of Keys hanging at her Girdle, and dreſſed in White; from whence it was called, by the People abovementioned, the *White Lady*. Several Perſons of unexceptionable Authority affirmed to *Balbinus*, that they had ſeen the *White Lady*, particularly a Rector of the *Clementine* College, who declared, that he once ſaw her from a Window of the Caſtle at Noon-Day. She then appeared in the Market-Place all in White, with white Ribbands about her Head, very tall, and with a modeſt Countenance. He farther added, that, when ſhe ſaw herſelf diſcovered by many People, who pointed at her, ſhe grew leſs gradually, and at laſt diſappeared. Whatever our Readers may think of this Story, many *Bohemians*, and ſome of very good Faſhion, ſtill believe the Reality of this Apparition. There is in *Neuhaus* a fine *Forum*, or Market-Place, Town-Houſe, and *Piazza*; as alſo a Church dedicated to the *Bleſſed Virgin*, whoſe Architecture is reckoned admirable. Within a few Minutes after we got out of our Chaiſes, a Mob of near three-hundred People aſſembled, in Order to ſtare upon us. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Konigſeck*, as well as *Neuhaus*, is in the Circle of *Bechin*.

The next Place we ſtopped at, our *Poſtiglioni* called *Samoſol*, or *Somoſol*. It ſtands about two *German* Miles from *Neuhaus*, and is a ſmall inconſiderable Village. As we could hear of nothing in this Place worth Seeing, and had ſpent ſome Hours in *Neuhaus*, within Half an Hour after our Arrival here,

we put ourſelves again in Motion, hoping to reach *Tabor*, before the Night ſurpriſed us.

From *Samoſol* we went to *Koſchitz*, a little Village conſiſting of a few wooden Houſes. This Poſt is about the common Length, but the Road did not intirely pleaſe us. As nothing remarkable occurred here, we did not ſtay above Half an Hour. The Approach of the Night likewiſe obliged us to be thus expeditious, in Order to reach *Tabor* before it was dark.

We arrived at *Tabor* in good Time, and without being greatly fatigued. *Tabor*, or *Thabor*, called by the *Bohemians Hradiſtie*, is a conſiderable Town of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Bechin*, about ten *German* Miles, according to the Computation of the *Auſtrian* and *Bohemian* Geographers, almoſt South of *Prague*; but this Diſtance is too ſmall, as will be clearly evinced. It is at preſent a Place of ſome Strength, and capable of ſuſtaining a Siege, eſpecially if the Emperor would lay out a little Money upon it. This Town ſtands upon a Mountain, where the *Huſſites* aſſembled, to the Number of forty-thouſand Men, and pitched their Tents, in 1420. As the Situation was ſuppoſed by them to reſemble that of *Tabor*, an antient City of *Paleſtine*, they gave it the ſame Name. This Body being joined by *Ziſka*, after his Expulſion from *Pilſen*, whom they choſe for their General, ſeized, at his Inſtigation, upon the Fortreſs of *Hradiſtie*, demoliſhed the Town of *Auſta*, and afterwards built Houſes upon the Spots of Ground occupied by their Tents, which formed a handſome Town, conſiſting of ſeveral Streets. This is the Origin of the Town of *Tabor*. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* adorned it with many noble Privileges, and conſtituted it a royal City. It was beſieged ineffectually by the *Auſtrians* and *Bavarians*, not long after it was built; and by the Emperor *Albert the Second*, in 1438. But it was reduced by Don *Balthaſar de Maradas*, for the Emperor *Ferdinand the Second*, in 1621. Notwithſtanding *Tabor* is a Place of ſome Note, we found ourſelves obliged to lie upon Straw, in a Room one Story high, at which we arrived by Means of a Sort of Ladder. We had ſcarce laid ourſelves down to ſleep, when the Straw we lay upon took Fire, and, had not the Perſon who wrote this Account been providentially awake, we, together with the Houſe, and every Body in it, might have been conſumed. He aroſe immediately, and, deſcending the Ladder abovementioned, ſaw the whole Family, Men and Women, lying together promiſcuouſly in Straw, with a dim Lamp burning by them; who, being preſently rouzed, ſoon extinguiſhed the Fire. Not only the poorer Sort, but many of the middling Families, in this Part of *Bohemia*, as we were told, take up conſtantly with this Kind of Lodging; which to us ſeemed pretty extraordinary, as *Bohemia* is ſo civilized a Country. We found Proviſions here both ſcarce and indifferent, particularly Wine; ſo that our two remaining Bottles of *Tokay* proved a ſeaſonable Refreſhment to us. According to Advices received here, a Detachment of *Kiowſki*'s Troops lately made an Incurſion into *Sileſia*, where they committed great Depredations. Nay, it was ſaid, that a large Body of them was advancing towards the Frontiers of *Bohemia*. Though we found afterwards that this did not prove true, yet, as for the preſent it gave ſome Alarm here, we rejoiced that we had not taken the Route of *Breſlau*. We muſt not omit Obſerving, that at *Zlabnitz* there was a very large and exceeding fine Map of *Moravia*, which the Landlord did not care for Parting with. Our Expences at *Tabor*, though we lived but poorly, and uſed our own Wine, amounted to above twelve Florins.

After we had taken our Leave of *Tabor*, the *Poſtiglioni* conducted us to a ſmall Village called *Sudomirzitz*. This Poſt ſeemed a long one, but the Road was good. We obſerved between *Neuhaus* and this Place a conſiderable Number of Ponds, or ſtanding Waters, and one of very conſiderable Extent, which, the *Poſtiglioni* ſaid, abounded with a great Variety of elegant and delicious Fiſh. We did not ſtay above Half an Hour here.

From *Sudomirzitz* we purſued our Journey to *Woiditz*, or *Wotitz*, a conſiderable Village in the Circle of *Beraun*, where we took in freſh Horſes. To the Left, between *Miltſchin* and *Wotitz*, we ſaw ſeveral Mountains covered with Snow. The Part of *Bohemia*, we have hitherto traverſed, had the Appearance of a fertile and plentiful Country in general, tho' ſometimes Mountains and barren Spots occurred. The People here, as well as in *Moravia*, were very civil and obliging, had an Air of great Probity and Sincerity, and in their Manners and Diſpoſitions ſeemed nearly to correſpond. We refreſhed ourſelves for about Half an Hour, and then ſet out for

Prague.

Biſtritz, where we propoſed next to ſtop.

Biſtritz, or *Biſtrzitz*, called likewiſe ſometimes *Byſtrzice*, is a ſmall Town of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Caurzim*, two ſhort *German* Miles North of *Wotitz*. Here we dined, and found an Officer, with about fifty *Bohemian* Recruits, who ſeemed tall robuſt young Fellows, on his Route to *Prague*. Our *Swiſs* Servants accoſted them in *High Dutch*, but they anſwered him in *Bohemian*, which he underſtood not a Word of. This Town appeared to us to conſiſt principally of one pretty long Street, but did not make any conſiderable Figure. As we could not meet with any Thing ſubſtantial here for Dinner, our Expence amounted only to a Florin.

The next Poſt, which was terminated by *Nesbeck*, we paſſed the *Sazawa*. *Nesbeck*, *Nosbeck*, or *Dneſpeck*, is a ſmall Village of *Bohemia*, in the Circle of *Caurzim*, upon the *Sazawa*, two long *German* Leagues almoſt North of *Biſtritz*, in the Poſt-Road to *Prague*. The Country here, particularly about the Banks of the River, was a fine verdant Plain, and appeared inexpreſſibly delightful. The *Sazawa*, *Zaſawa*, or *Saczowa*, one of the largeſt Rivers of *Bohemia*, has its Source in *Moravia*, on, or near, the Ridge of Mountains, ſeparating the Circle of *Iglaw* from that of *Czaſlau*, and throws itſelf into the *Moldau*, at no very great Diſtance from *Nesbeck*. We took up our Lodging here, and lay in the ſame Manner as at *Tabor*. We obſerved in one of the Rooms of our Inn a tolerable good Piece of St. *Wenceſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*; and in another a ſmall Portrait of that Prince, under which, on the ſame Sheet of Paper, were printed ſeveral Theſes, propoſed, under the Auſpices of the abovementioned Saint, to be defended by a Student of *Prague*, on a certain Day therein ſpecified. Papers of this Kind are common in the Inns and Publick Houſes for three or four Poſts round *Prague*; as is likewiſe the Picture of St. *Wenceſlaus*, who is always conſidered as one of the greateſt *Bohemian* Saints. The Order of Knights of St. *Wenceſlaus* is reckoned one of the moſt honourable in *Bohemia*. The high Veneration the *Bohemians* have the Memory of this Saint in appears from hence, that ſcarce any Chriſtian Name is in greater Vogue amongſt the *Bohemian*, *Moravian*, and even *Auſtrian*, Nobleſſe and Gentry than *Wenceſlaus*. Of this Prince *Wenceſlaus de Lichtenſtein*, Count *Wenceſlaus Wallis*, and many other Noblemen, *&c.* bearing that Name, may be deemed a ſufficient Proof. The Tract throughout this Poſt we found mountainous, and full of Woods of Fir-Trees. A moſt violent Storm or Hurricane, that happened about the Beginning of *February* laſt, had made a moſt dreadful Havock amongſt theſe Fir-Trees, which, generally ſpeaking, ſtood upon ſome Hill or Eminence; inſomuch that many of them were torn up by the Roots, ſome broke in the Middle, others near the Top, and, laſtly, others within a Yard or two of the Ground. This Havock manifeſted itſelf for above a *German* League and a Half together. When our *High Dutch* failed us, the Author of this Narrative made uſe of his *Latin*, which was of ſignal Service to us, almoſt all of the People here, both high and low, having more than a Smattering in that Language, and many of them ſpeaking it with great Elegance and Propriety. We found Proviſions here, though none of the beſt, pretty dear, which may be attributed to the Vicinity of the Place to *Prague*. Notwithſtanding we lived very moderately, nay, almoſt abſtemiouſly, our Landlord favoured us with a Bill, in the Morning, before our Departure, of ſomething above twelve Florins.

From *Nesbeck* we advanced to *Jeſnitz*, or, as ſome call it, *Jeſſenicz*; a ſmall Village of the Circle of *Caurzim*, two ſhort *German* Miles almoſt South of *Prague*. The principal Places between *Biſtritz* and *Nesbeck* are *Beneſchau*, *Konopiſcht*, and *Porzitſch*, all on the other Side the *Sazawa*. The laſt Poſt, which commenced at *Nesbeck*, conſiſted of two long *German* Miles. The Effects of the late Hurricane appeared likewiſe through this Poſt, which, in ſome Parts, was a little hilly, and therefore the more expoſed to the Violence of it. We were told, that in *Bohemia* ſuch Hurricanes frequently happen.

It has been juſt hinted, that the Poſt between *Jeſnitz* and *Prague* is a ſhort one; to which we ſhall beg to add, that the Road is extremely good. The Ravages, committed by the late Hurricane amongſt the Firs, ſtill preſented themſelves to our View, till we came within a *German* Mile, as I ſuppoſed, of *Prague*. At a ſmall Diſtance from *Prague*, we paſſed by a Sort of Obeliſk raiſed in the Highway, with an Inſcription upon it, which we did not ſtay to read; but it was ſuggeſted to us, that this had been erected on Occaſion of the Murder of one M. *Aſfeldt*, on the Spot whereon it ſtood, in 1706 or 1707. Between *Wotitz* and *Prague*, we met with ſeveral large Ponds, like thoſe already mentioned, and

equally, as may be preſumed, ſtored with various Kinds of excellent Fiſh. Upon our Arrival at *Prague*, we paſſed two Centries before we were admitted into the Town, and had our Baggage examined with pretty great Rigour. Our Readers will find, by peruſing what has been already laid down in this Section, that the Liſt of Poſts between *Vienna* and *Prague* ſtands thus:

From *Vienna* to *Enzerſdorf*, a ſhort Poſt, 1 ½ *German* Miles.

From *Enzerſdorf* to *Stockerau*, a long Poſt, 3 *German* Miles.

From *Stockerau* to *Mallebern*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Mallebern* to *Hollabrun*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Hollabrun* to *Naudorf*, or *Nodorf*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Naudorf* to *Pulckau*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Pulckau* or *Bulkha*, to *Langau*, a long Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Langau* or *Languenau*, to *Frating*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Frating* to *Pieſling*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Pieſling* to *Zlabnitz*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Zlabnitz* to *Konigſeck*, a long Poſt, 3 *German* Miles.

From *Konigſeck* to *Neuhaus*, a pretty long Poſt, 2 good *German* Miles.

From *Neuhaus* to *Somoſol* or *Samoſal*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Somoſol* to *Koſchitz*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Koſchitz* to *Tabor*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Tabor* to *Sudomirzitz*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Sudomirzitz* to *Wotitz* or *Woiditz*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Wotitz* to *Biſtritz*, one Poſt, 2 *German* Miles.

From *Biſtritz* to *Nesbeck* or *Dneſpeck*, one Poſt, 2 long *German* Miles.

From *Nesbeck* or *Dneſpeck* to *Jeſnitz* or *Jeſſenicz*, one Poſt, 2 ½ *German* Miles.

From *Jeſnitz* to *Prague*, one Poſt, 2 ſhort *German* Miles.

Total 21 Poſts, 45 *German* Miles.

Prague, the Capital of *Bohemia*, called frequently in *Latin* by the *Bohemian* and *Auſtrian* Writers *Tripolis*, i. e. the *Triple City*, has formerly been the Reſidence of many Kings and Emperors. It received that Denomination from the three Cities of which it conſiſts. Theſe are the *New City*, the *Old City*, and the *Little City*; every one of which, with Regard to its Extent and Number of Inhabitants, may be conſidered as ſcarce any Thing inferior to a City of the firſt Rank. The laſt of theſe is ſeparated from the two firſt by the *Moldau* or *Wltava*, a River that has its Riſe in the Diſtrict of *Krumau*, on or near the Ridge of Mountains ſeparating *Bohemia* from *Bavaria*, and unites its Stream with that of the *Elbe* near *Melnick*, about four *German* Miles North of *Prague*. The *Little City* ſtands on the Weſtern Bank of that River, and the others on the Eaſtern; but they are joined together by a noble Bridge, one of the greateſt Curioſities in *Prague*, 35 Foot broad, and 1770 long. This was begun, with great Solemnity, by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, in the Year 1357; but, the Work being frequently interrupted by the bloody Wars that happened in *Bohemia*, was not finiſhed till about Half a Century after. This Bridge ſupplied the Place of a more antient one, built, after three Years Labour, by *Juditha* or *Gitka*, Wife to King *Wladiſlaus*, in 1170, and deſtroyed by an extraordinary Inundation of the *Moldau*, in 1342, whoſe Waters then roſe to a very unuſual Height. The Structure, compoſed of ſquare Stone, is ſuſtained by eighteen prodigious Piles riſing out of the Bed of the River, and connected by the Arches under it. Each End of the Bridge is adorned and defended by a fine Tower. One of * theſe has, about the Middle of its exterior Surface, in much the ſame Manner that the Statues of the Founders may be ſeen, in *Wadham* and *Oriel* Colleges, *Oxford*, two Stone Figures of *Luther* and his Wife. *Luther* appears in Armour, and his Wife with one of her Hands extended towards his Privities; which was done in Order to ridicule the *Lutherans*, and perhaps the Proteſtants in general. The Citizens of *Prague*, who are, for the moſt Part, bigotted *Roman Catholicks*, take great Care to ſhew theſe Statues of *Luther* and his Wife to all Proteſtants that come here. This the Author of the preſent Account collected from our Guide, or, as the *Italians* call that Sort of Servant, *Cicerone*, who took particular Care to ſhew us the abovementioned Effigies of *Luther* and his Wife, and deſired us to view them attentively, aſſuring us, that no Foreigner, eſpecially if he was a *Catholick*, who

* The Tower here mentioned is that which ſtands on the End of the Bridge contiguous to the *Old Town*.

knew *Prague*, would believe that he had ſeen the Capital of *Bohemia*, if he could not give a Deſcription of them.

There are many curious Images or Statues of Saints upon the Bridge over the *Moldau*, which very well deſerve to be ſeen by every curious Traveller, and particularly that of St. *John* of *Nepomuck*, which conſiſts of Braſs, and ſtands on that Part of the Bridge from whence he was thrown into the River, and drowned, at the Command of *Wenceſlaus the Fourth*, ſirnamed *Piger*. Upon the Spot there is a Croſs of Copper or Braſs deaurated, which People are continually kiſſing from Morning till Night, when they offer their Prayers to St. *John Nepomucene*, who is eſteemed as one of the principal *Bohemian* Saints. Nay, in *Prague* he ſeems to be more celebrated than any other. Many Perſons there wear his Picture in Miniature on their Breaſts, hanging down like the Badge of an Order; and moſt of the Women have ſuch a Picture, by Way of Ornament, annexed to their Necklaces. Many of theſe Toys, in different Forms, are brought by *Jews* and others, to the Strangers that come to *Prague*, to be purchaſed, as one of the Curioſities of the Place. The other Saints, whoſe Statues are erected on the Bridge, have likewiſe their Votaries, as well as St. *John Nepomucene*, who may frequently be ſeen performing their Devotions to them; though thoſe of the latter are by far the moſt numerous. There is expoſed to Sale, in the Bookſellers and Print-ſhops at *Prague*, a Collection of Prints, or Cuts, repreſenting all the Statues abovementioned on the Bridge over the *Moldau*, with the Title of MARMOR LOQUENS prefixed to it.

In the *Moldau* there are two little Iſlands, on the largeſt of which, according to our *Cicerone*, ſtands a Sort of Inn, whither young People ſometimes go to divert themſelves, called by the People of *Prague*, as he ſaid, *Great* and *Little Venice*. The Breadth of the *Moldau* here may be eaſily underſtood, from the brief Deſcription of the Bridge already given. *Great Venice* faces the *Little Town*; and *Little Venice* lies in the Middle of the River, oppoſite to the Northern Extremity of the *New Town*. There are, beſides theſe two Iſlands, ſome others, that are ſmaller, in that Part of the *Moldau* which divides *Little Prague* from the *Old* and *New Towns*.

The *New City* is larger than the others, touches the River in two Places, and encompaſſes that Part of the *Old City* which is not waſhed by the *Moldau*. Both the *Little City* and the *New City*, on the Land-ſide, or that Side facing the adjacent Territory, oppoſite to the River, are ſurrounded with a Foſſe and a Wall, though they are Places of no great Strength. *Prague*, according to *Ricciolus*, ſtands in 50 Deg. 40 Min. North Latitude, and 37 Deg. 23 Min. Longitude. Its Diſtance from *Vienna*, according to our Computation, which may be depended upon, is about forty-five *German* Miles, tho' ſome of the *Auſtrian* Geographers will not allow it much to exceed thirty-ſix.

Some believe that the City, where *Maroboduus*, King of the *Marcomanni*, called, as ſhould ſeem, by *Ptolemy Marobudus*, reſided, ſtood on a Spot occupied at preſent by Part of the City of *Prague*. *Bojohæmus*, or *Boviaſmus*, is the Name given this City by *Lipſius*. But this ſeems to have been the Name of a Province, not of a City, as has been very juſtly obſerved by *Cluverius*. *Hagecius* thinks that *Maroboduus*'s Capital ſtood upon a Mountain, or Hill, about a *German* Mile from *Prague*, oppoſite to the Monaſtery of *Sbraſlau*; but this Situation ſeems rather to correſpond with that of a Caſtle, placed in the Neighbourhood of this City by *Tacitus*. Others believe that the *Caſurgis* of *Ptolemy* was formerly ſituated there. But to leave theſe, and other Conjectures, which muſt be allowed very precarious, we ſhall give our Readers a ſhort and ſuccinct Account of the Origin of *Prague*, extracted from the moſt authentic of the *Bohemian* Hiſtorians.

Of the three Cities of which *Prague* conſiſts, the *Little Town* is the moſt antient. It was built in the Year 723, by *Libuſſa*, the Daughter of *Cracus* or *Crocus*, the ſecond Prince or Duke of *Bohemia*; and deduced its Name from the *Bohemian* Word *Prah*, which ſignifies a *Gate*, or *Entry*, according to *Hagecius*. But, ſuppoſing the *Little City* to have been built by *Libuſſa*, it muſt be older than the Year 723, as will hereafter fully appear. The ſame Author aſſerts this Part of *Prague* to have been firſt ſurrounded with a Wall by *Nezamyſlus*, or *Nezamyſlius*, the Son of *Libuſſa*; which, if the former Notion be admitted, is probable enough. Notwithſtanding which, *Lupacius* attributes the Foundation of *Prague* to *Mnatha*, the Son of *Nezamyſlus*, and the firſt Erection of a Wall about it to *Wogenus*, the former Prince's Grandſon. But theſe jarring Accounts ſeem to be reconciled by *Hagecius*, when he affirms, that the *Old Town* was firſt built by *Mnatha*, about the Year 795, and enlarged, as well as encompaſſed on the Land-ſide with a Wall, by *Wogenus*, in the Year

830. *Udalricus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who died in 1037, likewiſe added many new Buildings to it. However, according to *Balbinus*, as yet *Old Prague* was compoſed only of wooden Buildings, more reſembling Soldiers Tents than Citizens Houſes, after the Manner of all the antient Towns erected in the Northern Parts of the World; till *Sobieſlaus the Firſt*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who died in 1140, cauſed all thoſe Houſes to be pulled down, and rebuilt of Stone, and, by improving the Symmetry of the Streets, greatly beautified the Place. *Charles the Fourth*, Emperor of the *Romans*, and King of *Bohemia*, annexed *New Prague* to the *Old Town*, called it at firſt *Carlovia*, and fortified it with a Ditch and a Wall, about the Year 1348. Laſtly, The *Little City* was ſtrengthened in the ſame Manner, in 1560. Within the Wall of the *New Town* ſeveral Eminences are incloſed; and within that of the *Little Town* a pretty noted Hill, called Mount *Petrzin*. The Caſtle, or Cittadel, denominated the *Wiſchehrad*, ſtands upon a high Mountain, and commands, in a great Meaſure, both the *Old* and *New Town*. It was built, according to *Merianus*, in the Year 683, and at firſt received various Names, *viz. Pſary*, *Libice*, &c. As the firſt Dukes of *Bohemia* held their Reſidence in this Place, it was, for a conſiderable Time, eſteemed the principal Part of the City of *Prague*, but they afterwards removed into the *Old Town*. *Wiſchehrad*, in the *Bohemian* Tongue, ſignifies a *Caſtle*, *Fortreſs*, or *High Cittadel*. This Place now ſeems in a mean Condition, ſcarce any Traces of its former Grandeur at preſent remaining. Such another Caſtle commands *Little Prague*; which, for many Ages, has gone under the Appellation of the *Caſtle* of St. *Wenceſlaus*.

Prague was taken by *Henry the Fowler*, in 930, when that Prince obliged St. *Wenceſlaus*, then Duke of *Bohemia*, to pay him an annual Tribute. *Boleſlaus*, King of *Poland*, after he had treacherouſly put out the Eyes of *Boleſlaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, whom he invited in a ſeemingly amicable Manner to *Cracow*, under the Pretence of entering into an Alliance with him, laid Siege alſo to *Prague*, about the Year 1000, and in two Years Time ſtarved it to a Surrender. However, he could not reduce the *Wiſchehrad*; which eluded all his Efforts, till *Udalricus*, the Son or Brother of *Boleſlaus*, by a ſingular Stratagem, overthrew the *Poliſh* Army, in 1004. *Wladiſlaus the Second*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and *Conrad*, Prince of *Znaim*, having been intirely defeated in a bloody Battle by *Otho*, Prince of *Olmutz*, and ſeveral other Princes of the *Przemyſlæan* Family, *Prague* was again beſieged by the Victors, in 1142; but *Theobaldus*, Brother to *Wladiſlaus*, bravely defended it, till the Emperor *Conrad* advanced with a powerful Army to its Relief; at whoſe Approach the Beſiegers thought proper to retire. The City ſuſtained no other Damage from this Siege, than what happened to the Churches of St. *Vite* and St. *George*, which were ſet on Fire by ſome Flames conveyed to them by the Enemy's Arrows. *John*, King of *Bohemia*, having ſome Diſpute with *Elizabeth*, his Queen, who, with *Charles* her Son, retired to *Melnick*, and ſuſpecting that the Nobility of *Prague* eſpouſed her Intereſt, he laid Siege to his Capital City, with an Army raiſed in *Moravia*, A. D. 1319. But *William* of *Haſenburg*, the Commandant, defended the Place with great Valour, till the Arrival of *Peter de Roſis*, who came with a formidable Army, to the Succour of the Beſieged; and, after he had almoſt driven the King out of the Field, reſtored Peace to *Bohemia*. The Citizens of the *Old* and *New Town* joined the *Huſſites*, and, after a vigorous Action, entered the *Little Town*, in 1419. Neither could the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, King of *Bohemia*, attended by *Albert*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, afterwards Emperor, the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, &c. retake *Prague*, though he aſſaulted it from four different Quarters at once, with an Army of 140,000 Men. The Beſieged having thus, under the Conduct of *Ziſka*, repulſed the Emperor, ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the *Wiſchehrad*; which, till then, had been occupied by that Prince's Troops. This City eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Frederic* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; but returned to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, after the fatal Battle of *Weiſſenberg* near *Prague*, in 1620. The *Saxons* ſeized upon it, in 1631; but it was ſoon after recovered by *Wallenſtein*, the Imperial General. Laſtly, Count *Königſmarck*, the *Swediſh* General, making an Irruption out of the *Upper Palatinate* into *Bohemia*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Little Town*, and took the Caſtle appertaining to it at the firſt Aſſault, in 1648. But the *Old* and *New Town* repulſed him in every Attack, till the Treaty, then in Agitation, was ſigned. Theſe are the principal Events, in which *Prague* has been more immediately hitherto concerned.

The City is exceeding populous, containing, according the moſt approved and authentic Accounts, five-hundred-thouſand Souls; of which, if ſome may be credited, near Fifty-thouſand

are *Jews*. Be that as it will, for at leaſt four-hundred Years paſt, its Citizens have been extremely numerous, as we may find atteſted by the beſt Hiſtorians, who have treated of the *Bohemian* Affairs. Nay, we are told by *Matthias Lauda*, a celebrated Writer, who lived at that Time, that in the Year 1419, notwithſtanding the Troubles the Kingdom was then involved in, Fifty-thouſand idle Men, or more, might have been drawn into the Field in the Day-time, without being miſſed, or any ſenſible Diminution of the Inhabitants. A Thing, which, notwithſtanding the Authority of *Lauda*, will to many of our Readers, appear abſolutely incredible!

Prague, with its Territory, for above two-hundred Years, made up Part of the Dioceſe of *Ratisbon*. But at the Deſire of *Boleſlaus Pius*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and his Siſter *Mlada*, then a Nun at *Rome*, by the Conſent of St. *Wolffgang*, Biſhop of *Ratisbon*, *Ditmar*, a Member of the *Benedictin* Convent at *Magdeburg*, was declared the firſt Biſhop of *Prague*, by Pope *John the Thirteenth*, and conſecrated, as his Suffragan, by *Hatto*, or *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. *Ditmar* was ſucceeded by St. *Adalbert* in 969, according to *Hagecius*; or, as *Balbinus* will have it, in 979. St. *Adalbert*, or *Wogtiechus*, Nephew to *Boleſlaus*, was deſtroyed by the *Pagans*, in the mountainous Part of *Pruſſia*, whither he went, as a Miſſionary, to propagate the *Chriſtian* Religion, and ſucceeded by *Theadagus*, who belonged to a Monaſtery in *Saxony*, A. D. 997. After him came *Helikardus*, *Izo*, and *Severus*; the laſt of whom, at the Requeſt of the *Moravians*, though his Dioceſe was already very much diminiſhed, gave his Conſent, that a new Biſhopric ſhould be erected in *Moravia*. Which was accordingly done, Pope *Alexander the Second* giving a Sanction thereto. *Severus* dying in 1067, *Gerard*, or *Jaromir*, ſucceeded him, and re-united the Sees of *Olmutz* and *Prague*, the Emperor *Henry* giving his Conſent thereto. After *Gerard*'s Death, King *Wratiſlaus* again ſeparated the Dioceſe of *Olmutz* from that of *Prague*; appointing one *Coſmas* to preſide over the latter, in 1091. *Erneſt de Pardubicz*, the twentieth Prelate from *Coſmas*, was declared free from all Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Prague*, the next *Sunday* before *Advent*, 1343, in the uſual Manner. This is ſaid to have been foretold by St. *Wolffgang* to *Boleſlaus Pius*, near four-hundred Years before it happened. The Biſhop of *Prague* was not only thus dignified by Pope *Clement the Sixth*, at the Deſire of *John*, King of *Bohemia*, and his Son *Charles*, but had likewiſe the Privilege of crowning the King of *Bohemia* transferred to him from the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. Nay *Charles*, Succeſſor to the above-mentioned *John*, King of *Bohemia*, obtained of Pope *Urban the Fifth* the Office of perpetual Legate, in the Dioceſes of *Ratisbon*, *Bamberg*, *Miſnia*, &c. for the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, in 1365. After the Death of *Conrad*, in 1431, *Prague* was deſtitute of an Archbiſhop near Half an Age; the Revenues belonging to the Metropolitical Church there, according to the *Auſtrian* and *Bohemian* Writers, having been ſquandered away and diſſipated by *Conrad*, whom they ſcrupled not to accuſe of Hereſy. Neither could this Archbiſhopric be put upon its primitive Footing, though attempted by *Wladiſlaus* and other Kings of *Bohemia*, till the Reign of the Emperor *Ferdinand the Firſt*, of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who richly endowed it, reſtored it to its primitive Luſtre, and tranſlated the Biſhop of *Vienna*, to the Metropolitical Church of *Prague*, in 1562. We muſt not here omit Obſerving, that the Title of Prince was conferred on the Biſhop of *Prague*, by King *Wenceſlaus*, in 1315, and confirmed to the Archbiſhop of that City, by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, A. D. 1350. This Title was, however, for a long Time neglected, and, as it were, loſt; but the Archbiſhop, *Zbignæus Berka*, happily recovered it of the Emperor, *Rudolphus the Second*.

Though the Limits we have preſcribed ourſelves will not permit us to give a minute and particular Deſcription of all the principal Churches and religious Houſes, nor even a bare Enumeration of all the others, in *Prague*, yet we think it would be unpardonable to omit a ſhort Account of the following:

1. The Cathedral Church, in the Cittadel belonging to the *Little City*, was founded by St. *Wenceſlaus*, in the Year 935, and dedicated to St. *Vite*. This was occaſioned by *Henry*, King of *Germany*, then holding a Diet at *Ratisbon*, who made a Preſent of an Arm of St. *Vite* to that Prince; which induced him to build a Church in Honour of that Saint, as a proper Place to depoſit it in. However, Death prevented him from fully executing his Deſign; he dying before the Church was finiſhed. Some Authors affirm, that the Church of St. *Vite* was conſecrated by *Michael*, Biſhop of *Ratisbon*; and others by St. *Wolffgang*, who

who preſided over the ſame Dioceſe. But theſe two different Opinions may be rendered conſiſtent, by ſuppoſing, that the firſt Part of this Church, built by St. *Wenceſlaus*, was conſecrated by the former Prelate, and the whole Edifice, which was probably finiſhed in the Reign of *Boleſlaus Pius*, by the Latter. Afterwards, about the Year 1060, *Spitihnæus the Second*, ſirnamed *the Juſt*, obſerving that a greater Number of People than the Church could contain crowded to the Tomb of St. *Wenceſlaus*, he determined to remedy this Defect. In Order to which he demoliſhed the Chapels, in which St. *Vite* and St. *Adalbert* were worſhipped, and erected one magnificent Church for the three Saints, *Vite*, *Adalbert*, and *Wenceſlaus*; but Death would not permit him to put the laſt Hand to it. This afterwards going to Decay, *John*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Erneſt*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, laid the Foundation of a much more noble and auguſt Church, in 1343, but the whole Fabric was not finiſhed till the 1396. The preſent Church was built by the Emperor *Ferdinand the Firſt*, in 1555, the former having been burnt, in 1541. It conſiſts of ſquare-cut Stones, compacted in the *Gothic* Taſte. Within the Tower of St. *Vite*, which is very lofty, there is a Bell, ſaid to be twenty-two Thouſand ſeven-hundred Pounds Weight. In this Church there is a moſt ſumptuous *Mauſolæum*, in which the Bodies of the Emperors, *Charles the Fourth*, *Ferdinand the Firſt*, *Maximilian the Second*, *Rudolphus the Second*, and the Kings *Ladiſlaus*, *George* of *Podiebrad*, &c. are depoſited. But the greateſt Ornaments of the Church of St. *Vite*, in the Opinion of the *Bohemians*, are the Bodies of St. *Wenceſlaus*, St. *Adalbert*, St. *Vite*, and St. *Sigiſmund*, King of *Burgundy*; all of which are honoured in their reſpective *Sacella*, or Chapels. The fineſt and moſt grand of theſe is that of St. *Wenceſlaus*, which ſhines on all Sides with precious Stones, eſpecially Jaſper. To theſe may be added the noble and ſtupendous Tomb of St. *John Nepomucene*, ſecured by a double Chancel, on which if any Perſon careleſly treads, he will inevitably, according to the *Bohemians*, ſoon meet with ſome remarkable Misfortune, or Diſgrace. This, they ſay, has frequently been proved; ſo that it paſſes for an indiſputable Truth amongſt them. Upon this Tomb there ſtands the Foot of a Candleſtick, of unknown Metal, brought hither from *Milan*, when that Place was laid level with the Ground, by *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, in 1162, where it had long been kept as a moſt invaluable Treaſure. In Fine, here is depoſited ſuch an Infinity of ſacred Relicks, collected from all Parts of the *Chriſtian* World by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, that nothing like it of the Kind is to be met with out of the Walls of *Rome*.

2. The *Strahovian* Church on Mount *Petrzin*, and the Hill or Tract called *Ratzin*, or *Ratſchin*, belongs alſo to the *Little* Town. This Church may juſtly be reckoned amongſt the Ornaments of *Prague*, and has annexed to it a noble Monaſtery of the *White Order* of *Præmonſtrants*, founded and richly endowed by *Wladiſlaus the Eleventh*, Duke of *Bohemia*, at the Inſtigation of *Henry Zdik*, in 1143, Having received ſome additional Revenues, it was again conſecrated by *Albert* Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, by the Conſent of *Valentine* Biſhop of *Prague*, near forty Years after its Foundation. It was laid in Aſhes about 1258, but, to the great Surprize and Admiration of the Citizens of *Prague*, rebuilt in a more ſplendid Manner, at the ſole Expence of *John* the Abbot, in about five Years Time. The *Auſtrian* Writers affirm, that it was deſtroyed by the *Huſſites*, in 1421, and erected again, with the Addition of two *Odæa*, in Honour of the *Bleſſed Virgin* MARY *aſſumed into Heaven*, and St. ROCH. Here is depoſited the Body of St. *Norbert*, Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, and Patriarch of the *Præmonſtratenſian* Order, which was brought hither from *Magdeburg*, in 1626.

3. The Church of St. *George*, with a religious Houſe, inhabited by Virgins of the Rule of St. *Benedict*, annexed to it, ſtands in the Caſtle of *Little Prague*. This Nunnery is one of the moſt antient religious Houſes in *Prague*, having been built by *Wratiſlaus the Firſt*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and Father of St. *Wenceſlaus*, in the Year 912, according to *Hagecius*. *Conrad* Prince of *Znaim* reduced it to Aſhes, in 1142; which obliged the Nuns firſt to retire to a Houſe upon one of the Banks of the *Moldau*, and from thence to the Church of St. *John Baptiſt*; where they remained till their former Habitation was capable of receiving them. *Agnes*, the Daughter of King *Wladiſlaus the Firſt*, the Lady Abbeſs here, not only adorned this Convent with her Virtues and Sanctity of Life, but likewiſe greatly inriched it, in the thirteenth Century. The *Huſſites* expelled theſe Ladies a ſecond Time, in 1421; but they afterwards recovered their former Situation. Amongſt other Privileges, that theſe Nuns enjoy, may be ranked two, which are pretty remarkable: 1. Their Abbeſs is exempt from all Archiepiſ-

copal Juriſdiction, and even Subjection to the *Benedictin* Order; being ſubject only to the Pope, as having been taken under the immediate Protection of the *Holy See*, by Pope *Eugenius the Third*, in 1145. 2. The ſame Lady has the ſole Right and Privilege of crowning, with her own Hands, the Queen of *Bohemia*. Beſides the Crucifix, which the *Bohemians* pretend emits Blood from the Foot of the Croſs, when any ſignal Calamity is to happen to their Country, there are here the Remains of St. *Ludmilla*, the *Bleſſed Mlada* or *Milada*, and the Founder, on whoſe Tomb the Title *Bleſſed* is inſcribed.

4. The elegant Church of the *Carmelites*, from whence the Proteſtants were ejected in 1624, belongs to the Hill or Tract called *Radtſchin*, or the upper Part of the *Little Town*.

5. As does the Church of St. *Joſeph*, with the *Carmelite* Nunnery appertaining to it.

6. *Wenceſlaus the Second*, ſirnamed *the Good*, added a religious Houſe appropriated to the *Auguſtines* to the Church of St. *Thomas*, whoſe firſt Prior *Theobaldus*, or *Dipoldus*, was of the royal Family. The Church of St. *Thomas* is a fine Edifice, and famous for the fine Piece of Painting of the great Altar. It ſtands likewiſe in the Diſtrict abovementioned.

7. The Church of St. *Lawrence*, with the religious Houſe inhabited by Virgins of the Order of St. *Dominic* tranſlated to this Place from *Olmutz*, was built by *Elizabeth*, Queen of *Bohemia*, a little before her Death, in 1330.

8. The Church of *Sancta Maria de Victoria*, with the Monaſtery of the *Servites* adjoining to it, owes its Erection to the Emperor *Ferdinand the Second*, in the Year 1628.

9. The Houſe of the Profeſſors of the Society of *Jeſus*, beſides a numerous *Gymnaſium* conſiſting of ſix Schools, has two Churches, one of which is called the *German* Church, the other the *Bohemian*. The *German* Church is famous for the ſingular Neatneſs of its Images, and the Remains of St. *Criſpus* and St. *Caius* depoſited in it; the *Bohemian*, which has a pretty large Pariſh appertaining to it, goes under the Name of the Church of St. *Wenceſlaus*.

10. The two Churches of St. *Martha* and St. *Mary Magdalen* belong to the Order of the *Prædicants*.

11. Of the two Churches appropriated to the Knights of *Malta*, dedicated to the *Bleſſed Virgin Mary* and St. *Procopius*, the ſecond was erected, at the Perſuaſion of St. *Procopius* in a Dream, by *Suliſlaus* and his Wife *Dobromila*, and conſecrated by *Daniel* Biſhop of *Prague* in the Preſence of *Ottocar the Firſt*, King of *Bohemia*, *A. D.* 1213.

12. The Churches of St. *John the Evangeliſt* under the Rock, of St. *John* at the Water-ſide, of St. *Charles Borromeo* in the *Italian* Hoſpital, of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* at the Ferry, and St. *Mary Magdalen* in the Vineyards, are not to be paſſed over in Silence. Laſtly, the Churches of the *Theatines*, dedicated to the *Bleſſed Mother of* GOD, of the *Barnabites* at St. *Benedict*, and of the *Capuchins*, with their Houſe of *Loretto*, ſhall conclude our Obſervations, with Regard to the Places ſet apart for religious Purpoſes, not only on Mount *Petrzin*, and the Hill or Tract of *Radtſchin*, but in every Part of *Little Prague*.

13. The Pariſh Church of the *Bleſſed Virgin aſſumed into Heaven*, is famous on Account of its Antiquity, being built by ſome of the *Chriſtian* Dukes of *Bohemia*, and its Beauty, both within and without. This ſtands in the *Old Town*.

14. Not far from the former, a Traveller meets with the Church of St. *James*, famous for its Height, as well as for its eſcaping the Fury of the *Huſſites*, by the Bravery of the Butchers who defended it. In Honour of theſe Butchers, and to perpetuate the Memory of this glorious Event, the *Minorites* erected a Sort of Trophy over the Door of their Convent, adjoining to St. *James*'s Church, which likewiſe owed its Preſervation to the Valour of the Butchers, in 1598.

15. The Church of *our Saviour*, which is called the *German* Church, towards the Beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, was built by the Proteſtants, who were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of it, and ſucceeded by the Religious of St. *Francis de Paula*. Theſe laſt adorned it in a moſt beautiful Manner, after it came into their Hands.

16. The *Bleſſed Agnes*, Siſter of *Wenceſlaus the Firſt*, King of *Bohemia*, gave the Hoſpital at the Bridge, together with the Church of the *Holy Ghoſt*, to the *Crutched Friars*, who, by the Indulgence of Pope *Innocent the Fourth*, carried a red Star below the Croſs, in 1238. Theſe Religious, after the Taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Saladine*, ſettled themſelves at St. *Peter*'s Church, in the Village of *Porzicz* contiguous to *Prague*. There is likewiſe another Order of the *Crutched Friars*, *viz.* that of St. *Cyriacus*, inſtituted in 1256, and confirmed by Pope *Alexander the Fourth*. The General, or Chief, of this Order has reſided in *Old Prague*, at the

Holy Croſs, ever ſince the firſt Inſtitution of it.

17. The two Churches, and Convents, of the *Dominicans*, one of which appertains to the Nuns of St. *Anna*, and the other to the Religious of St. *Giles*, famous for its uncommon Breadth, which they took Poſſeſſion of in 1625, deſerve next to be mentioned. This Order was firſt ſettled upon the Spot where the preſent Academical College of the *Jeſuits* ſtands. The firſt *Dominicans* that came here were a Colony ſent by St. *Hyacinth*, under his Brother, the *Bleſſed Ceſlaus*, in 1222.

18. The Churches of St. *Clement* and *our Saviour* belong to the *Jeſuits*, who have likewiſe a famous College here. Theſe Fathers were invited to *Prague* by the Emperor *Ferdinand the Firſt*, in the Year 1552. In the former of theſe Churches the *Jeſuits* preach in *High Dutch*; and in the latter, which was built chiefly at the Expence of the Family of *Lobkowitz*, in *Bohemian*.

19. The Churches of the *Bleſſed Virgin aſſumed into Heaven*, erected, by *Peregrine* Biſhop of *Prague*, about 1224, and uſed chiefly by the *Italians*, and that at St. *Eligius*; where the Solemnities of the Goldſmiths are celebrated, occur likewiſe to a Traveller viſiting *Old Prague*. Theſe Churches are ſmaller than thoſe of St. *Clement* and *our Saviour*, and likewiſe belong to the *Jeſuits*.

20. Beſides the Churches and religious Houſes mentioned in the ſeven laſt Articles, we meet with the following Places, worthy of Notice, in *Old Prague*. The Churches of St. *Martin*, of the *Benedictines*, of the *Fratres Miſericordiæ*, of the *Servites*, of the *Carmelites*, of the *Præmonſtratenſes*, of the Nuns of *Santa Clara*; as alſo the Churches of the *Bleſſed Virgin born at the Lake*, St. *Leonard*, St. *Valentine*, St. *Caſtulus*, St. *Paul* in the Hoſpital, St. *John Baptiſt* at the Mills, St. *Stephen the leſs*, the *Holy Ghoſt*, which had formerly a Nunnery of the *Benedictin* Order, founded by *Nicolaus Rocknanerus*, in 1346, adjoining to it, and St. *Andrew*. The *Bohemians* pretend, that, when this laſt Church, with every Thing elſe in it, was reduced to Aſhes, by an accidental Fire, in 1338, the venerable Hoſt remained untouched amidſt the Flames.

21. The Monaſtery called *Emmaus*, founded by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, for the *Sclavonian* Nation in 1347, and dedicated to St. *Jerom* the *Dalmatian*, ſtands in the *New Town*. The Divine Service here is performed in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, by Virtue of a Privilege granted this Monaſtery, which belongs to the *Benedictines*, by the See of *Rome*.

22. The College of the Regular Canons of St. *Auguſtin*, in the *New Town*, with the beautiful Church appertaining to it, was begun by the ſame Prince, about the Year 1351, but not finiſhed before 1377.

23. The Church of St. *Maria ad Nives*, formerly a very grand and ſtately Edifice, with the Convent of the *Carmelites* adjoining to it, owed its Erection to the abovementioned *Charles the Fourth*, in 1347. In the Place of this, deſtroyed by the *Huſſites*, was afterwards ſubſtituted that at preſent belonging to the *Minores Obſervantes* of St. *Francis*, who have likewiſe another Church, called *The Church of the Conception of the immaculate Bleſſed Virgin*. Theſe Religious are known by the Name of the *Iriſh Religious*, or the *Iriſh Franciſcans*.

24. The *Jeſuits* College, in *New Prague*, is a noble and ſuperb Building, adorned with a *Gymnaſium* of ſix Schools, and ſurrounded by three Churches; of which the firſt, being a grand Structure, is dedicated to St. *Ignatius*, the Founder of the *Jeſuits* Order; the ſecond to St. *Francis Xavier*, the Apoſtle of the *Indians*; and the third, which is the oldeſt of the three, being built by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth* in 1364, and ſometimes aſſigned to the Academical Doctors of the *Bohemian* Nation, goes under the Denomination of *The Church of the Body of Chriſt*.

25. The Parochial Church at St. *Henry's*, in the *New Town*, deſerves to be viewed by every curious Traveller.

26. The Church of the *Auguſtines* at St. *Catharine's*, facing a high Tower, was built by *Charles the Fourth*, who founded that religious Houſe for the Virgins of the Rule of St. *Benedict*.

27. The Monaſtery of St. *Wenceſlaus*, inhabited by diſcalceated Friars, ſtands likewiſe in the *New Town*.

28. The ſame may be ſaid of the Convent of the *Capuchins*, called the Convent of St. *Joſeph*.

29. The *Urſuline* Nuns have likewiſe a religious Houſe here.

30. The *Servites* alſo have a Monaſtery in the *New Town*, built and endowed by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, in 1361.

31. Beſides which, the Churches of *The Trinity*, St. *Clement*, St. *Peter*, St. *Adalbert*, St. *Elizabeth*, St. *Nicholas*, St. *Michael*, St. *Lazarus*, St. *Bartholomew*, St. *Apollinaris*, and St. *Stephen* the *Greater*, all in *New Prague*,

deſerve to be ſeen by all Foreigners who make any Stay here.

We muſt not omit Obſerving, that the *Huſſites* deſtroyed many Churches in *Prague*, which were never afterwards rebuilt. In the *Wiſchehrad* only, according to *Balbinus*, they levelled fourteen with the Ground. But, tho' the Violences committed by them were undoubtedly great, yet we queſtion not, but they have been aggravated by the *Auſtrian* and *Bohemian* Hiſtorians.

The Caſtle or Cittadel of St. *Wenceſlaus*, which belongs to the *Little Town*, is ſeated in the Hill or Diſtrict of *Radtſchin*, and includes within its Walls ſeveral noble Buildings. Nay, whether we conſider its moſt commodious Situation, its delightful Proſpect, its vaſt Capaciouſneſs and Extent, or the Salubrity of its Air, it may juſtly be eſteemed as one of the fineſt, moſt beautiful, and moſt auguſt Palaces belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It owes its chief Beauty to the Emperor *Ferdinand the Third*, who reduced it to the more elegant Rules of Architecture. Amongſt the moſt remarkable Parts of it may be ranked the vaſt Parlour, or Hall, of *Wladiſlaus*, called the *Sala*, or *Hall*, and the *Mathematical Houſe*, which ſtands in the Royal Gardens. The former is two-hundred twelve Feet long, and ſixty broad; and the latter coſt the Emperor *Ferdinand the Firſt*, who built it, one-hundred-thouſand Florins. The Gardens, in which this is ſituated, are adorned with many rare and ſelect Trees brought from *Spain*, *Italy*, and even ſeveral Parts of *Aſia*, in the Reign of *Rudolphus the Second*. One of the principal Curioſities, to be met with in the Caſtle of St. *Wenceſlaus*, is a celebrated equeſtrian Statue of St. *George*, of Bell-Metal; the Workmanſhip of which is ſo exquiſitely fine, that the *Bohemians* think it cannot be parallelled. In this Caſtle the States of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* aſſemble, on all publick Occaſions; and all the Tribunals are held in it. When the Emperor comes to *Prague*, he fixes his Reſidence here.

The Town-Hall, or Council-Houſe, in *Old Prague*, is eminent for its Bulk; for the Election of *George*, King of *Bohemia*; and for the ſumptuous Banquets, and grand Entertainments, given in it, by ſeveral Emperors and Kings of *Bohemia*.

The old Town-Houſe, called *Rychta*, is a very proper Place for Boxing-Matches, Wreſtling, or any ſuch like Diverſions.

The two large Houſes or Palaces, where ſome of the Kings of *Bohemia* have formerly reſided, one of which, from the Money coined in it, is ſtiled *Domus Monetaria*, or *the Mint*, the other ſtill retaining the Name of the *Old Palace*, may be conſidered as ſome of the Ornaments of *Prague*.

But, in our Opinion, one of the fineſt Things *Prague* can boaſt of, is the famous Clock in the Council-Houſe, or Town-Hall, of the *Old City*, already mentioned. This, or rather the Maker of it, deſerves a peculiar Encomium. For, beſides the *Bohemian*, or *Italian*, and *German* Hours, it preſents the whole Face of the Heavens to one's View at once; exhibiting not only the Day, Month, and Year, but likewiſe the Riſings of the Sun and Moon, the new and full Moons, the Eclipſes, the Motions of the other Planets, the Signs of the *Zodiac*, the Cycles, and chief Feſtivals of the Calendar. This curious and moſt admirable Machine is not to be parallelled in *Germany*, nor, perhaps, in any other Part of the World.

The Cuſtom-Houſe and Toll-Booth at the Bridge will be eſteemed by all Perſons, who have any Skill in Architecture, as fine and magnificent Buildings.

The *Little Town*, particularly the upper Part of it, or the Hill or Diſtrict called *Ratzin*, or *Radtſchin*, abounds with noble and ſuperb Palaces, more than any other Part of *Prague*. The *Old* and *New Cities*, however, are not void of magnificent Structures. As the Limits of the preſent Piece will not permit us even to enumerate all the fine Edifices of this Metropolis, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning theſe that follow, which are the principal of thoſe that chiefly engage the Attention of every curious Traveller.

1. The Palace of Count *Czernin* is ſeated in the Tract abovementioned. There are many Pieces of Painting here, done by the moſt celebrated Hands of ſeveral Nations. This Palace has likewiſe a noble Gallery, which is generally eſteemed as a great Ornament to it.

2. In the ſame Tract ſtands the Palace of the Archbiſhop of *Prague*; which is very magnificent, and well worth Seeing.

3. The Palace of the Prince *de Schwartzenburg*, in the ſame Part of *Little Prague*, muſt be allowed a very ſplendid and ſuperb Edifice.

4. Our Guide ſhewed us a Palace, in the Hill or Diſtrict of *Radtſchin*, which he called the

Great Dutcheſs of *Tuſcany*'s. This ſeemed very ſtately; but we were not within it.

5. Count *Martinitt*'s Palace, in the upper Part of the *Little Town*, makes a fine Appearance.

6. That of Count *Thun*, in the *Little Town*, is an elegant and magnificent Structure.

7. That of Count *Waldſtein*, in the ſame Town, is admired by moſt Foreigners.

8. The ſame may be ſaid of that of the Prince *de Lichtenſtein*, in the ſame Town.

9. The Palace of Count *Martzin*, in *Little Prague*, is generally allowed to be a fine Structure.

10. That of the Count *de Collowrath*, in the ſame Town, is not inferior to many of the preceding.

11. That of Count *Wratiſlau*, in the ſame Town, is a ſtately and ſuperb Edifice.

12. That of the Prince *de Furſtemburg*, in the ſame Town, is a ſplendid and magnificent Palace.

13. The noble Palace of Count *Gallas* ſtands in the *Old City*.

14. As does that of Count *Kinſki*, which ought to be ſeen by all the Strangers that come to *Prague*.

15. The fine Palace of the Prince *de Piccolomini* ſtands likewiſe in *Old Prague*; but our Guide informed us, that he had a Seat much ſurpaſſing this, about two *German* Miles out of Town.

16. The laſt Palace, we ſhall take Notice of, is that of Count *Schafgotſch*; which ought to be viewed by every curious Foreigner, that viſits this Metropolis.

According to the Author of an antient Chronicon, cited by *Balbinus*, *Prague* muſt have been a very antient Seat of Literature, ſince he aſſerts that the Muſes were baniſhed that Place, about the Year 1248. *Wenceſlaus*, King of *Poland* and *Bohemia*, near fifty Years afterwards, at the Perſuaſion of *Tobias Bechinius*, Biſhop of *Prague*, declared his Reſolution of reinſtating them in their Power and Authority here; but, as he was oppoſed herein by the Magiſtracy and Nobleſſe, that ſalutary Deſign could not be put in Execution. But the Emperor *Charles the Fourth* founded an Univerſity at *Prague*; in 1347, ſettling large Revenues upon it, and granting it the ſame Privileges as thoſe enjoyed by the Univerſities of *Paris* and *Bologna*; which was confirmed by the Popes *Clement the Sixth*, *Urban the Fifth*, *Boniface the Ninth*, *Innocent the Seventh*, and *Nicholas the Fifth*. As the Clergy of *Prague* contributed much to inrich this Univerſity, the Archbiſhop of the City was appointed the perpetual Chancellor of it. The Year following, *viz.* 1348, it was divided into four Nations, *viz.* the *Bohemians*, which comprehended the *Moravians*, *Hungarians*, and *Sclavonians*, the *Poles*, the *Bavarians*, and *Saxons*. Four Faculties were likewiſe inſtituted here, *viz.* Theology, Law, Phyſic, and Philoſophy. The firſt Profeſſors of which were M. *Hermannus de Vintſwik*, M. *Fridmannus de Praga*, M. *Vigtoldus de Oſnaburgo*, M. *Henricus de Sicha*, M. *Jenikus de Praga*, M. *Nicolaus de Moravia*, M. *Dytherus de Widena*, and M. *Henricus Volerus*. The Emperor *Charles the Fourth* alſo erected a large and noble College for theſe, called the *Caroline* College; and appointed them to ſucceed to the Prebends of the royal Church of *All-Saints*, belonging to the Caſtle or Palace already mentioned, founded by him in 1342, according to their Seniority. Beſides the *Caroline* College, that Prince built two others in *Prague*, according to *Hagecius*. Amongſt other Colleges, here were likewiſe formerly the *Collegium Cæſareum*, or the College of King *Wenceſlaus*, who founded it in 1399; *Queen's-College*, founded by *Hedwig*, Queen of *Poland*, for the *Lithuanians*, lately converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith, in 1397; the College of St. *Wenceſlaus*, founded long before the Year 1407, for the *Bohemian* Nation, but then richly endowed by *Wenceſlaus de Chotlow*, Miniſter of the royal Church, or Chapel of *All-Saints*, who was therefore conſidered as its Founder; the College of the *Bleſſed Virgin Mary*, erected for the Uſe of the ſame Nation, by *John Reczko de Ledecz*, chief Magiſtrate of the *Old City*, in 1438; the *Collegium Nazarathenum*, or *Nazareth-College*, founded by one *Crux*, a Sort of Factor, in 1412, near the Church called *Bethlehem*, ſacred to the Apoſtles St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*; and laſtly, the College of the Apoſtles, or the College of *Lauda*, built by M. *Matthias Lauda de Chlumczan* in 1407, according to *Hagecius*, or, as *Balbinus* will have it, in 1451.

The Number of Students at *Prague* is not near ſo conſiderable now as it was in the Time of *John Hus*, if any Credit may be

given to the *Auſtrian* and *Bohemian* Hiſtorians. *Hus*, being in great Favour with the Queen, by her Means obtained of King *Wenceſlaus* a Decree, which gave the *Bohemians* the ſame Privileges in the Univerſity of *Prague*, that the *French* enjoyed in the Univerſity of *Paris*. This ſo incenſed the *German* Students and Profeſſors, that, in about eight Days Time, Forty-thouſand of them are ſaid to have abandoned *Prague*. The Univerſities of *Leipſick*, *Ingoldſtadt*, and *Roſtoch*, according to the *Bohemian* Writers, owed their Origin to this Seceſſion. *Hagecius* aſſerts, that, before this fatal Accident, which happened about the Year 1408, there were at leaſt forty-four Thouſand Foreigners, who ſtudied in *Prague*; whereas the higheſt Accounts, we received of the Number of Students at preſent ſeated here, did not make them to amount to Ten-thouſand, even including the Boys inſtructed in Grammar and Rhetoric. Nay, ſome Accounts reduced them to little more than Half that Number. We were told that the Scholars had frequent Skirmiſhes and Engagements with the *Jews*, to whom they bear a mortal Averſion; and that One-thouſand of them had lately taken on in the Emperor's Service. The Emperor *Ferdinand the Third* united the Academies, founded by his Predeceſſors *Charles the Fourth* and *Ferdinand the Firſt*, in the *Clementine* College of the *Jeſuits*; ſo that at preſent the Principles of Theology and Philoſophy are explained in the latter, and thoſe of Law and Phyſic in the former. This College, frequently called the *Carolino-Ferdinandean* College, is extremely noble, ſtately, and grand, and poſſeſſed by the *Jeſuits*, to whoſe Care the Education of Youth here is chiefly committed. The Doctors in all Faculties are created, and take their Degrees, and all ſolemn Acts of the Univerſity, as in our Convocation and Senate Houſes at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, are performed in this College. We were told, that the Quarrels between the Scholars, who are divided into *Humaniſts* and *Facultiſts*, as our Guide informed us, and the *Jews* were ſometimes attended with ſuch fatal Conſequences, that the Imperial Troops in Garriſon found themſelves obliged to interpoſe.

Prague being a Place of no great Strength, and of a very large Extent, requires a Garriſon of at leaſt thirty-thouſand Men to defend it, if attacked by a numerous and well-diſciplined Army. The Walls may be eaſily ſcaled, except defended by a ſufficient Body of Troops, by Soldiers endued with a common Degree of Reſolution; neither can the *Wiſchehrad*, the only Part of *Prague* capable of making any tolerable Reſiſtance, hold out long againſt a powerful Enemy. The Garriſon of *Prague*, at preſent commanded by General *Ogilvy*, of *Scotch* Extraction, is ſaid to conſiſt only of a ſingle Battalion of regular Troops, though upon any Emergency a Body of Militia might eaſily be thrown into the Town. Our Guide informed us, that Col. *Montgomery* and Col. *Mackawly*, the firſt a *Scotchman* and the latter an *Iriſhman*, two Officers in the Emperor's Service, reſided here; but we did not ſee either of them. Some ſkilful Engineers, after viewing the Place, are ſaid to have declared, that *Prague*, though poſſeſſed by a numerous Garriſon, can never be ſo fortified as to make a very long Defence againſt a much ſuperior Force.

The noble College of the *Jeſuits*, already mentioned, has a fine Library; where, as we were informed, the Works of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and ſome of the other firſt Reformers are depoſited. But theſe, as we likewiſe learned, are not to be looked into by any, except ſome few of the ſenior Fathers. The College is exceeding large, both with Regard to the Extent of its Buildings, and its Foundation. The Number of Fathers belonging to it, according to ſome authentic Accounts we received, amounts to between two and three-hundred, including thoſe imployed in the Miſſions. We were two or three Times to ſee this College, and were always received by the Fathers with great Affability and Politeneſs.

Some of the Churches here are adorned with tolerable good Paintings, though, in our Opinion, none of them can be deemed exquiſitely fine. The beſt we ſaw was one repreſenting the *Immaculate Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary*, in the Church of the *Capuchins*, in the Hill or Tract called *Radtſchin*; and ſome in the Church of the *Crutched Friars*, in *Old Prague*, done by *Rayner* a *German*. The Church of the *Carmelites* of St. *Gallus* has likewiſe ſome internal Decorations of this Kind, which deſerve to be ſeen.

In ſeveral of the Churches, where the Bodies of Saints are depoſited, may be ſeen hanging up printed Papers, with the Theſes defended by ſome of the Students of *Prague*,

under the Auſpices of ſome Saint, and Cuts or Devices, repreſenting the Subjects of theſe Theſes, or that Saint, upon them. To omit others that might be produced, we ſaw one in the Church of St. *Vite*, where St. *John Nepomucène*, who was the Saint of the Piece, had the moſt pompous Titles given him. The Saint generally uſed on theſe Occaſions, in *Prague*, is the famous St. *John Nepomucene*, Canon of St. *Vite*, and Confeſſor to the Queen of *Wenceſlaus the Fourth*, who ordered him to be drowned in the *Moldau*, becauſe he would not diſcover the Particulars of her Confeſſion. The Theſes in this Paper were propoſed to be defended by one *Paulus Woloczka*, a learned *Bohemian* Youth, as is therein inſinuated. Papers of this Kind may likewiſe frequently be met with in the public Houſes of the Villages and Towns for eight or ten *German* Miles round *Prague*, as has been already obſerved.

Amongſt other Places, we viſited the Convent of the *Iriſh Franciſcans*, who received us with great Civility and Reſpect. They have a good Library, keep their Rooms exceeding neat, and live in a very comfortable Manner.

Dr. *Smith*, to whom we were recommended by Mr. *Robinſon*, has exceeding good Practice here. He is much eſteemed by People of all Ranks and Degrees, and is Phyſician to moſt of the noble Families in *Prague*. He ſeems to have great Skill, and to be very eminent, in his Profeſſion. We were greatly obliged to him for the kind Reception he gave us, and for the many curious Particulars relating to *Prague*, and the great Families in it, that he communicated to us. Theſe it would be too tedious at preſent to recite, neither will the Limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves permit it. One Thing, however, that he related of General *Mercy*, who now commands the Imperial Army in *Italy*, with whom he had the Honour to be very intimately acquainted, we cannot paſs over in Silence. That General, though now far advanced in Years, is ſtill extremely choleric; and whenever he falls into a Paſſion, which frequently happens, he loſes his Sight, and is affected with an Apoplectic Diſorder, as long as it continues. This is more or leſs violent, in Proportion to the Intenſeneſs or Exceſs of the Fit of Choler he labours under. This Weakneſs ſometimes has been attended with no ſmall Inconveniencies; but, in other Reſpects, he has the Character of an able and experienced General.

Prague being the Capital of *Bohemia*, before we reſume our March, it will be proper to ſay ſomething of the Kingdom in which it ſtands.

Bohemia, called by the *Germans Boheim*, is bounded on the Eaſt by *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, on the South by *Auſtria*, on the Weſt by the *Upper Palatinate* and *Voigtland*, and on the North by *Miſnia* and *Luſatia*. It is almoſt of an oval Figure, and in a Manner circumſcribed by the *Hercynian* Foreſt, ſo celebrated amongſt the Antients. Its greateſt Length, excluſive of the County of *Glatz*, is about thirty-eight *German* Miles, its Breadth about thirty-four, and its Circumference above an hundred ſuch Miles. Its Air is ſalubrious, though, by Reaſon of the Northern Winds, pretty cold. The Soil produces all Things neceſſary to the Support of human Life, except Wine and Oyl, in vaſt Abundance. The Crops of Wheat, Barley, and Hops here are, for the moſt Part, exceeding copious; and no ſmall Quantity of Gold, Silver, Tin, Copper, Lead, Iron, Mercury, Sulphur, and Alum comes out of the *Bohemian* Mountains. The Rivers and ſtanding Waters abound with Fiſh, the Woods with wild Beaſts, and Game of various Kinds, *&c.* Gems likewiſe of different Sorts, as Amethyſts, Emeralds, Topazes, Sapphires, *&c.* are dug out of the Bowels of the Earth in *Bohemia*. Saffron alſo and other Aromatic Herbs, to the great Advantage of the Inhabitants, are found to flouriſh here.

The Emperor *Charles the Fourth* divided *Bohemia* into twelve Circles, or Provinces. Theſe were the Circles of *Caurzim*, *Pilſen*, *Leitmeritz*, *Konigingratz*, *Rakonitz*, *Chrudim*, *Prachin*, *Slaney* or *Schlan*, *Buntzlau* or *Buntzel*, *Saatz*, *Czaſlau*, and *Bechin*. To which King *Wladiſlaus* ſeems to have added thoſe of *Podbrd* and *Wltava*. In the Years 1569 and 1579, *Prague* was rendered independent on the Governors of the Circle of *Caurzim*; but had no particular Diſtrict aſſigned it. Some Geographers add to the Circles or Provinces abovementioned the Diſtricts of *Egra* and *Elbogen*, and the County of *Glatz*; the laſt of which has, for a long Time, been looked upon as a Part of *Sileſia*. Our Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here a brief Deſcription of the abovementioned Circles, which will give them a better Geographical Idea of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Caurzim*, ſo denominated from its principal City, is ſaid to have been

formerly

formerly ſubject to its own Dukes, and to have been a conſiderable State. It is bounded on the North by the *Elbe*, on the Eaſt by the Circle of *Czaſlau*, on the South by that of *Bechin*, and on the Weſt by that of *Wltava*. This fine Territory abounds with Salmon, and with Woods, out of which vaſt Quantities of Timber are carried down the *Moldau* and the *Sazawa* to *Prague*. The City of *Caurzim* is ſuppoſed to have been built by *Czech*, the Founder of the *Bohemian* Nation, ſoon after his Arrival in theſe Parts, and conſequently to be the oldeſt in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Konigingratz* is larger than any of the reſt. It is limited on the North by the *Cerconoſſian* Mountains and the great *Sileſian* Woods, on the Eaſt by the County of *Glatz*, on the South by the Circle of *Chrudim*, and on the Weſt by that of *Bunztlau*. It deduces its Name from that of its principal City; and abounds with Fiſh, Veniſon, and Pheaſants. It is alſo reckoned to produce the beſt Horſes in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Chrudim*, ſo called from *Chrudim* its chief City, is terminated on the North by the laſt Circle, on the Eaſt and South by *Moravia*, and on the Weſt by the Circle of *Czaſlau*. This Circle, which is none of the largeſt, is ſaid to abound with Fiſh-Ponds and ſtanding Waters more than any of the others.

The Circle of *Czaſlau*, which aſſumes its Name from the City of *Czaſlau*, is ſurrounded on the North by the Circle of *Konigingratz*, on the Eaſt by that of *Chrudim*, on the South by that of *Bechin* and *Moravia*, and on the Weſt by that of *Caurzim*. It is ſaid to produce a good Quantity of Silver, which is of conſiderable Advantage to the Emperor.

The Circle of *Bechin* is bounded on the North by the Circles of *Wltava* and *Caurzim*, on the Eaſt by that of *Czaſlau* and *Moravia*, on the Weſt by that of *Prachin*, and on the South by *Auſtria*. It receives its Name from *Bechin*, the capital City, about twelve *German* Miles from *Prague*.

The Circle of *Wltava*, ſo called from the *Wltava* or the *Moldau*, on the North and Eaſt is contiguous to the Circle of *Caurzim*, on the South to that of *Bechin*, and on the Weſt partly to that of *Podbrd*, and partly to that of *Prachin*. This is the leaſt of all the *Bohemian* Circles or Provinces, and is waſhed by the *Moldau* or the *Wltava*.

The Circle of *Podbrd*, ſo denominated from the *Brdian* Mountains, at the Foot of which it is ſituated, on the North is adjacent to the Circles of *Slaney* and *Rakonitz*, on the Eaſt to thoſe of *Caurzim* and *Wltava*, on the South to that of *Prachin*, and on the Weſt to that of *Pilſen*. It abounds with Iron, and is famous for the vaſt Numbers of Stags it produces, which far excel thoſe to be met with in any of the other Circles.

The Circle of *Prachin*, ſo denominated from the antient Caſtle of *Prachin* or *Prachn*, that now lies buried in its own Ruins, on the North is joined to the Diſtrict or Circle of *Podbrd*, on the Eaſt to thoſe of *Wltava* and *Bechin*, on the South to *Auſtria*, and on the Weſt to the Circle of *Pilſen*. This Diſtrict is ſaid to abound with Gems, and a particular Species of ſmall Shell-fiſh, that produces the Pearl called *Union*. It is remarkable, that, though theſe Pearls are found in great Numbers, not any two of them are alike; from which Circumſtance their Name ſeems to be derived.

The Circle of *Pilſen*, ſo called from its primary City, on the South is connected with *Bavaria*, on the Weſt with the *Palatinate* and the Diſtrict of *Egra*, on the North with the Circles of *Saatz* and *Rakonitz*, and on the Eaſt with thoſe of *Podbrd* and *Prachin*. This Province conſiſts chiefly of ſpatious Paſtures, and abounds with Sheep more than any other Part of *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Saatz*, ſo denominated from the City of *Saatz*, the chief Town in it, has for its Northern Limit *Miſnia* and the Circle of *Leitmeritz*, for its Eaſtern the Circles of *Slaney* and *Rakonitz*, for its Southern that of *Pilſen*, and for its Weſtern that of *Elbogen*. This Province produces the beſt Hops in *Bohemia*, and its Crops of Wheat equal thoſe of the Circle of *Slaney* itſelf.

The Circle of *Rakonitz* is bounded on the Eaſt by the Diſtricts of *Slaney* and *Podbrd*, on the South by thoſe of *Podbrd* and *Pilſen*, on the Weſt by that of *Saatz*, and on the North by thoſe of *Saatz* and *Slaney*. This Province is full of Woods and Mountains, and is of the leaſt Extent of any, except that of *Wltava*, in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Slaney*, or *Schlan*, which ſome call the Granary of *Prague*, is limited on the South by the Circle of *Rakonitz*, on the Weſt by that of *Saatz*, on the North by that of *Leitmeritz*, and on the Eaſt by that of *Caurzim*. It is commonly called *Slanſko*, from the royal City of *Slaney*, *Schlan*, or *Slana*, and *Zrzitſko*, from Mount *Zrzit*, or *Zrzito*, which is ſituated in it. The Appellation juſt men-

tioned may be conſidered as a Proof of its great and ſurprizing Fertility.

The Circle of *Leitmeritz* is of a pyramidal Figure, and ſeated, for the moſt Part, at the Foot of the *Montes Sudetes*. Its Limit on the Eaſt is the Circle of *Bunztlau* and *Luſatia*, on the Weſt *Miſnia* and the Circle of *Saatz*, on the South *Miſnia* and *Luſatia*, and on the North the Circles of *Rakonitz* and *Bunztlau*. This Province is famous for its Baths, and its Mines of Tin, from which the Emperor reaps conſiderable Advantage.

The Circle of *Buntzlau*, or *Buntzel*, touches on the Eaſt the Circle of *Konigingratz*, on the South that of *Caurzim*, on the Weſt that of *Leitmeritz*, and on the North *Sileſia* and *Luſatia*. It receives its Name from *Alt Buntlzau*, or *Old Buntzel*, the chief City ſeated in it, and is famous for the great Number of Gems it produces. It is one of the largeſt Provinces in *Bohemia*.

The Circle of *Elbogen*, or *Elenbogen*, called by the *Bohemians Loket*, is in a Manner ſurrounded by *Voigtland*, and the Circle of *Saatz*. *Elbogen*, or *Elenbogen*, is its *German* Name.

The Circle, or Diſtrict of *Egra*, ſo called from *Egra*, its principal City, has its Limits defined by *Voigtland*, the Circles of *Saatz* and *Pilſen*, and the *Upper Palatinate*. The County of *Glatz*, as already obſerved, has, for a long Time, belonged to *Sileſia*.

But notwithſtanding this Diviſion of the Provinces of *Bohemia*, obſerved by the more accurate *Bohemian* and *Auſtrian* Geographers, the Country we are now upon is generally conſidered at preſent as divided into the twelve following Circles: *Caurzim*, *Pilſen*, *Leitmeritz*, *Konigingratz*, *Rakonitz*, *Chrudim*, *Prachin*, *Buntzlau* or *Buntzel*, *Beraun*, *Saatz*, *Bechin*, and *Czaſlau*. Theſe Geographers make the Diſtrict of *Slaney* or *Schlan* to be a Part of the Circle of *Rakonitz*, and the Provinces of *Podbrd* and *Wltava* to compoſe the Circle of *Beraun*. The Diſtrict of *Egra*, according to them, belongs to the *Upper Palatinate*, and that of *Elbogen* to the Circle of *Saatz*. And let this ſuffice for a general Geographical Deſcription of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The firſt Migration of the *Boii* from *Gallia Comata* to this Country, a conſiderable Part of which was then covered with the *Hercynian Foreſt*, under the Conduct of *Sigoveſus*, Nephew to their King *Ambigatus*, happened, according to *Livy* *, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, about ſix-hundred Years before the Commencement of the *Chriſtian* Æra. The Tract they poſſeſſed was from them called *Boiohæm*, or *Boioheim*, i. e. *The Habitation*, *Houſe*, or *Seat*, *of the Boii*; which by Contraction became *Boheim*, the preſent *German* Name. This is countenanced by *Ptolemy* †, who calls the *Bæmi* a great Nation, and places them near the *Quadi*, making their Territories to extend from the *Hercynian Foreſt* to the *Danube*; and by *Tacitus* ‡, when he fixes the *Boii* at the *Hercynian Foreſt*, and affirms, that the Name of the Region they inhabited was called *in* his Time *Boiemus*, or *Boiem*. The Teſtimonies of *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* receive likewiſe ſome Acceſſion of Strength from *Strabo* ‖, to whom, for farther Satisfaction on this Head, we beg Leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive Readers.

It is probable that, before the abovementioned Migration of the *Boii*, ſome ſmall Colonies of the *Celtes* were diſperſed over this Tract. But who they were, or how they came here, we cannot determine, for Want of ſufficient Light from antient Hiſtory which ſupplies us with no Particulars at all relating to them.

About ſix-hundred Years after the Settlement of the *Boii* in theſe Parts, the *Marcomanni*, a People of *Germany*, having either expelled or ſubdued the former Inhabitants, ſeated themſelves here according to *Tacitus* §; which is confirmed by *Velleius* **, *Rufus* ††, and *Strabo* ‡‡. It likewiſe ſeems to appear from *Tacitus* |||, that the *Hermunduri* occupied one Part of *Bohemia*.

The *Marcomanni* did not keep Poſſeſſion of *Bohemia* ſo long as their Predeceſſors the *Boii*. That Nation, together with ſeveral others, ſeated on the *Elbe* and the *Danube*, were in a Manner ſwallowed up at once by an Inundation of the *Huns*, who came into theſe Parts from *Scythia*, under their Leader *Attila*, about *A. D.* 440, inſomuch that we find no Mention made of the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, or *Hermunduri*, by any Writer after that Period. Perhaps theſe Nations, in Order to avoid the Fury and Barbarity of the *Huns*, took Refuge in *Noricum*, and other neighbouring Countries, and left the Region, called *Bohemia*, in a Manner deſtitute of People; which, if it be allowed,

* *T. Liv.* Dec. i. Lib. 5. *Vell. Paterc.* Lib. ii. de Mor. *German.* ‖ *Strab.* apud *Cluver.* in *Germ. Antiq.* Lib. iii. Cap. 30. § *Tacit.* ubi ſup.
** *Vel. Paterc.* Lib. ii. †† *Ruf.* in Epit. ‡‡ *Strab.* Lib. vii. ||| *Tacit.* ubi ſup.
† *Ptol.* Geogr. Lib. ii. Cap. ii. ‡ *Tacit.*

ed,

ed, will account for *Czech*'s finding this Tract, upon his Arrival here, almoſt deſolate and uninhabited. He was a *Sclavonian*, born in *Illyricum*, or, as it is now denominated, *Croatia*; and, either through Diſlike of his own Country, or by Reaſon of a Murther he had committed, or for ſome other Cauſe, came into theſe Parts at the Head of a vaſt Colony of *Sclavonians*, in Company with his Brother *Lech*. *Czech* ſettled in *Bohemia*, and *Lech* in *Poland*. Some Writers however maintain, that *Czech* came directly from *Sarmatia*, the original Country of the *Sclavonians*, after having traverſed the Territories of the *Getæ* and *Daci*, into *Bohemia*; but, with * *Hagecius*, *Dubracius*, *Æneas Sylvius*, and many others †, we are inclined to embrace the former Opinion. With Regard to the Time of this Migration, Authors are not agreed; ‡ ſome placing it *A. D.* 12, 278, 407, 451, 454, 457, 496, 550; and others *A. D.* 583, 600, 611, 639, 644, *&c.* But, from *Procopius*, and *Paulus Diaconus* ‖, it ſeems probable, that *Czech* entered *Bohemia*, ſome Time between the Years 548 and 595. According to *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and others, the *Vendi* or *Venedi*, a Tribe of *Sclavonians*, advanced into *Bohemia*, long before the Time of § *Czech*; which probably induced that Leader to ſettle in the ſame Country. Be that as it will, he muſt have behaved himſelf extremely well amongſt the People he conducted hither; ſince they dropped their antient Name, and ſtiled themſelves *Czechites* or *Czechians*, which is the Appellation the *Bohemians* go by, amongſt themſelves, even at this Day.

Czech, the firſt Duke of *Bohemia*, was an Idolater, as were all his Succeſſors to the Year 894. *Radiſlaus*, King of *Moravia*, then invited *Borzivoius*, Duke of *Bohemia*, to *Welehrad*, in Order to draw him into a Confederacy againſt *Lewis*, King of *Germany*. He there met with St. *Cyril*, and St. *Methodius*, who converted him to the *Chriſtian* Faith. This eſtabliſhed the *Chriſtian* Religion in *Bohemia*, where it had been, before, but faintly introduced. *Wenceſlaus*, *Borzivoius*'s Grandſon, lived ſo holy a Life, that, after his Death, he was honoured with the Title of St. *Wenceſlaus*, and is at this Day looked upon as one of the principal *Bohemian* Saints. He was declared the firſt King of *Bohemia*, by the Emperor *Henry the Fowler*, in 935, and was inhumanly murdered by his Brother *Boleſlaus*, in 938. The Title of King did not however deſcend to his Succeſſors. But *Wratiſlaus the Second* received that Title and the royal Diadem from the Emperor *Henry the Fourth* in 1086, and was crowned by *Jaromir*, Biſhop of *Prague*, aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, and *Benno*, Biſhop of *Miſnia*. In the Year 1162, the Emperor *Frederic the Firſt* declared Duke *Wladiſlaus the Second* King of *Bohemia*; but his Succeſſors were not adorned with that Title till 1206, when the Emperor *Frederic the Second* not only conferred it upon *Przemiſlaus*, but likewiſe extended it to all his Succeſſors. The Crown was however elective, at leaſt for ſome Time, ſince after the Aſſaſſination of *Wenceſlaus the Third*, the laſt of the *Przemiſlæan* Family, in 1306, the *Bohemian* Nobility elected *Rudolph*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, Son to the Emperor *Albert the Firſt*, King of *Bohemia*, in Oppoſition to *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, who was the other Candidate for that Crown. The Throne was afterwards filled by Princes of ſeveral Families till the Year 1527, when *Ferdinand the Firſt*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, aſcended to it; and ſince that Time *Bohemia* has made up Part of the Hereditary Dominions of the auguſt Houſe of *Auſtria*.

We muſt not omit Obſerving here, that the Crown of *Bohemia* is rendered more illuſtrious by the Electoral Dignity added to it, as well as the Office of Chief Cup-bearer of the Empire. This appears from the *Golden Bull* of the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, which greatly diſtinguiſhes the Prince that wears it, and confers ſeveral ſingular Prerogatives upon him. The principal of which are, that he ſhall always ſit on the right Hand of the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, whenever either of them appears at the Head of the Imperial Court, or the Diet of the Empire, immediately after the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, or *Cologn*; and that, at the Election of an Emperor, the Elector of *Mentz* ſhall call his Vote as ſoon as the Electors of *Triers* and *Cologn* have given theirs, as being the firſt of the Laic Electors. The King of

* *Hagec.* Chron. *Bohem.* ad Ann. 644. *Dubrav.* Hiſt. *Bohem.* Lib. i. *Æn. Sylv.* de *Bohem.* Geſt. Cap. xiii. † *Piaſecius*, *Codicillus*, *Weleſlavinus*, *Vapovius*, *Reuſnerus*, *Matthias a Sudetis*, *Spandenberg*. *Car. Cuthen Chyhræus*, &c. ‡ *Rhenan.* Rer. *Ger.* Nov-ant. Lib. i. *Balbin.* Miſcel. *Bohem.* Dec. I. Lib. ii. Cap. 9. *Velſer. Hagec.* ad Ann 644. *Calviſ.* &c. ‖ *Procop.* de Bell. *Goth.* Lib viii. *Paul. Diac.* de Geſt. *Longobard.* Lib. vii. Cap. 4. § *Balbin.* Miſcel. *Boh.* Dec. I. Lib. ii. Cap 6. *Dubrav.* Hiſt. *Bohem.* Lib. i.

Bohemia may, as chief Cup-bearer of the Empire, if he pleaſes, claim the Privilege of firſt giving the Cup to the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*; though he is by no Means obliged to do this. In all Proceſſions, the King of *Bohemia* is alſo, by the *Golden Bull*, to be preceded by none, but the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*.

The Weather was exceſſively cold whilſt we were at *Prague*; though milder in this Climate, than might have been expected, the Spring being pretty far advanced. All this Time we ſtaid upon Mount *Petrzin*, and the Hill or Tract called *Radtſchin*, from whence we had a noble View of the City of *Prague*, we found the Air extremely ſharp. The ſame Night we ſaw an *Italian* Opera, which continued till near twelve o'Clock; but the Scenes were nothing near ſo fine and magnificent as thoſe exhibited in *Italy*. The Author of this Narrative was ſo affected by the cold Weather here, that he was confined to his Bed a Day or two by a Rheumatic Diſorder, and could ſcarce get into the Chaiſe, when we ſet out for *Saxony*. In fine, *Bohemia* has a ſharp and piercing Air, its Atmoſphere being loaded with cold moiſt Vapours, and does not at all agree with many Foreigners, eſpecially at certain Seaſons of the Year.

As *Bohemia* is a very fertile Country, it is no Wonder that there ſhould be ſo vaſt a Supply of all Kinds of Proviſions continually brought into *Prague*, and that the Market there ſhould be one of the fineſt and moſt plentiful in the World. Veniſon, Fowl, both wild and tame, Fiſh, and all Kinds of Butchers Meat are very cheap, though not near ſo cheap as in *Hungary*. Amongſt the vaſt Variety of Proviſions, with which the Citizens of *Prague* are conſtantly furniſhed, the Thighs of Frogs, at certain Seaſons of the Year, find a Place. They are then brought in very large Jars, and ſeldom fail, as we were informed, of being ſoon bought up. Though it has been already hinted, that Wine is not ſo common in *Bohemia* as in many other Parts of *Germany*, yet we ought to obſerve, that this Liquor is far from being ſcarce here. But, in its fine Qualities, it does not come up to the *Auſtrian* Wine, much leſs to that of *Hungary*.

Our Guide informed us, that ſome of the *Bohemian* Nobility were immenſely rich, and had very overgrown Eſtates. He ſaid, that the Prince *de Lichtenſtein* had five hundred-thouſand Florins *per Ann.* the Count *de Czernin* Three-hundred-thouſand, the Prince *de Schwartzenburg* Five-hundred-thouſand, the Count *de Gallas* Three-hundred-thouſand, and the Count *de Czernin's* younger Brother Two-hundred-thouſand. Several Heads of noble Families, according to him, are Proprietors of Tracts of Land ſix or ſeven *German* Miles in Extent. In the *Little Town*, if he may be depended upon, they generally ſpeak *High Dutch*; but in the *Old* and *New Towns* chiefly *Bohemian*. The extenſive Language, of which the *Bohemian*, *Poliſh*, and *Moravian* are Dialects, is called *Ratz*. 'Tis the old *Sclavonian*, and is at preſent ſpoken in a good Part of *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Ratzia*, *Servia*, *Dalmatia*, *Carniola*, &c. The *Poles* and *Moravians*, as is ſaid, underſtand the *Bohemians* perfectly well; but the latter, we were aſſured, do not ſo well underſtand the former. Nay the *Moravian* Dialect, if any Dependence may be had upon the ſame Authority, differs very conſiderably from thoſe uſed both in *Poland* and *Bohemia*. The *Jews* here have long Beards, wear Ruffs, Hats covered with coloured Silk, and have ſome other Peculiarities in their Habit, in Order to diſtinguiſh them from the other Inhabitants. Not only the Students but the Citizens of *Prague* have a great Averſion to them. They are intirely addicted to Trade, and deal chiefly in the Jewels which are the Produce of this Country. As they bring a good Deal of Caſh into the Emperor's Coffers, they have, for a long Time, been protected, and even encouraged, by the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Though the greateſt Part of the *Bohemians* are *Roman-Catholics*, and even Bigots, yet there are many *ſecret* Proteſtants amongſt them. Nay, we were told that many *Huſſites* might ſtill be found here, who have the *Huſſite* Liturgy and Confeſſion of Faith. But, as this Intelligence came from *Roman-Catholics*, who are ſeldom diſpoſed to give a true Repreſentation of the Principles of thoſe they differ from, perhaps theſe *Acatholics*, as their Adverſaries ſometimes affect to call them, when diſcourſing with Proteſtants, are all of them either *Lutherans* or *Reformed*. Be that as it will, we ſaw none of them, and therefore can ſay Nothing, of our own Knowledge, concerning them.

Before we conclude our imperfect Deſcription of the City of *Prague*, it will be proper to inform our Readers, that many of the Particulars it contains were related to us by our Guide, and therefore depend intirely on his Authority. However, as he ſeemed to us an honeſt Man, and could have no End to ſerve in impoſing on us, we ourſelves are very well ſatisfied as to the Truth of them. 'Tis true, he ſeemed

not a little inclined to Bigotry; but, as the abovementioned Particulars bear no Relation to Religion, this will not in the least affect their Credibility. Besides, as he talked and understood *Latin* tolerably well, had a good Share of common Sense, was versed in the History of *Bohemia*, appeared to be well acquainted with every Thing in this City, and was even a Native of it, we see no Reason to doubt his Veracity on this Occasion. Amongst the fine Monuments in the Church of St. *Vite*, may be reckoned that of Count *Schlick*, erected in the Year 1723. At the Tomb of St. *John Nepomucene* here, on which is this Inscription, *Divus* Joannes Nepomucenus, *Canonicus hujus Ecclesiæ, et Reginæ* Joannæ *Confessarius*, there are generally an infinite Number of People performing their Devotions. In this Church there is a *Madona* with two *Jesus*'s, one in each Arm, which we remember not elsewhere to have met with; as likewise a very good Head of our Saviour. We were told, that the Number of Churches in this City amounts to an Hundred and seven. All, or, at least, the greatest Part of the rich Furniture of the Imperial Palace here has been removed to *Vienna*, if our Guide deserves any Credit. That Quarter, inhabited by the *Jews*, goes under the Name of the *Jews Town*. Prince *de Lichtenstein*, besides his Palace in *Vienna* and *Prague*, already mentioned, has a noble Country-Seat at *Crumau* in *Moravia*, where he frequently resides. It stands in the Circle of *Znaim*, and has a very considerable Tract of Land appertaining to it. As the Author of this Narrative conversed with our Guide altogether in *Latin*, he sometimes found it a difficult Matter to express the modern Terms made Use of in the *Bohemian* Language; especially, as these related to Customs, Posts, Offices, Places, *&c.* to which we have nothing in *England* that intirely corresponds. An inaccurate Expression, therefore, or such a one as does not clearly enough exhibit the Idea it is intended to convey, may now and then possibly occur; though we hope, these will prove so rare, that they will be easily pardoned by all our candid and ingenuous Readers.

[*To be continued.*]

A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of *Mustapha*, Prince of *Turky*, eldest Son of *Mahomet*, present Emperor of the *Turks*. Together with an Account of the Marriage of his Daughter to his great Favourite *Mussaip*, at *Adrianople*, as it was sent in a Letter to a Person of Honour. By Mr. *Coke*, Secretary of the *Turky* Company; being in Company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Sir *John Finch*. Licensed, *January* 10, 1675-6. *Roger L'Estrange*. *London*: Printed by *J. C.* for *William Crook*, at the *Green Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*. 1676. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

SIR,

THESE last five Months I have spent in *Adrianople*; it is pleasantly situated on the Rising and Top of an easy Hill, which to the South and West gives the Prospect of a large Plain, where the Eye is not lost, but bounded with the Mountains of *Hæmus*; on the North and East are small Hills. It is watered with three Rivers (the chiefest *Hebrus*) which, often uniting and separating their Streams, make many Islands, capable of what the most refined Luxury could plant, or build;

build; but Spring-gardens and Walks, adorned with Ladies and Gallants, are Things unknown to us *Barbarians*.

I have now told you all that is good; for this airy Pleaſure of the Eye is loſt in ſo many ſolid Inconveniencies, that I never was yet, in any City, more uneaſy, nay, more inſupportable; the Buildings, except a Moſque or two, ſo mean and contemptible, that they would diſgrace a poor Village; the Water bad, Wine worſe, the Streets and all Avenues to the City ſo crouded with Carts, Dunghills, and Carrion, that nothing can be more troubleſome, or offenſive, to the Sight and Scent: In a Word, what the Riches and Invention of Mankind did contribute to make *Rome* delightful and glorious, the Stupidity and Sordidneſs of theſe People have outvied in the Reverſe, making this Place the Metropolis of Filth and Inconvenience.

Our Arrival here was on the Tenth of *May*; on the Fifteenth began the Feſtivals for the Circumciſion of the young Prince. In a large Piazza, or rather Field, before the Seraglio, were pitched the Tents of the Grand Signior, Viſier, and other great Men, which made a Side and Half of the Square; another Side and Half was taken up with Lamps hung upon Ropes, and faſtened to Poles, diſpoſed into ſeveral Figures of Ships, Buildings, and Woods, *&c.* which were changed every Night; others, as they uſe in *Egypt* at their Rejoicing, when they cut the *Nile*. The fourth Side was the Seraglio, where the Women had the Convenience of Seeing through Lattices.

The Show begun in the Afternoon, the Morning being ſpent in Entertainments. The Grand Signior, ſitting in an elevated Place by his Tent, much like a Summer-houſe in our Gardens, which overlooked all, received the Preſents brought him by the Baſhaws, and all the Officers of the Empire, and all the Arts of *Conſtantinople*. Theſe were not left to the Liberty and Generoſity of the Preſenter; but they were taxed what they ſhould give, and an Officer appointed to ſurvey the Quality of them; which, if not approved, was returned, and perhaps augmented; for, in this Country, it is no ill Manners to look a Gift-horſe in the Mouth.

The Mechanicks and ſome of the Soldiery were every Day entertained in a great Tent with a *Turkiſh* Feaſt; afterwards were antick Dances in ſeveral Habits, Singing and Dancing with moſt obſcene Geſticulations, Jack-pudding, and Punchinello's Repreſentations; Wreſtling, Rope-dancing, Feats of Activity and Strength; all theſe promiſcuouſly in the Area of the Square. Had there been but a Noiſe, Rabble, and abominable Pig's-head, nothing could have been an exacter Scene of *Bartholomew-fair*.

At Night, a Row of Poles, about a Man's Height, were ſtuck in the Ground; on the Top were Hoops of Iron, in which burnt Pine-wood, with a briſk and lively Flame, which, with the Lamps, gave a delightful and magnificent Proſpect.

About an Hour in the Night began the Fire-works, which were plentiful, and not amiſs; though, I think, thoſe I have ſeen at *Rome* ſurpaſs them: One Sort, indeed, I never ſaw, which was a great Baſon, like a Mortar-piece, fixed into the Ground, and filled with Wild-fire, which ſent out a violent Stream of Fire, with a hideous Noiſe, a great Height: It was an Object equally terrible and delightful. Theſe were the conſtant Diverſiſements, all the Time of the Solemnity.

The Twenty-fifth, the Mufti, Viſier, and all the Baſhaws and great Officers, with the Janiſaries walking before, and the Chiaux on Horſeback, attended the Prince, who was ſo adorned, or over-laden with Jewels, both himſelf and his Horſe, that one might ſay, he carried the Value of an Empire about him.

The Twenty-ſeventh, which was *Mahomet*'s Birth-day, he accompanied his Father to the Moſchea; here was no ſolemn Cavalcade, only the Grand Signior's own Retinue; and, though it was leſs in Number far than the Cavalcade, yet adjuſted neater, and Court-like, the Grand Signior's Footmen and Pages being very rich in Clothes and Jewels.

This Evening, the Prince was circumciſed in the Arms of his Father; he is about eleven Years old, of a good Aſpect, his Name *Muſtapha*. About Two-thouſand others were cut at this Solemnity, who had Money and a Quilt from the Grand Signior. It was done publickly in the Tents, and any one, *Turk* or *Chriſtian*, admitted to ſee them.

June the Fifth, this Solemnity was concluded with Horſe-races. After ten Days Repoſe, began the Feaſts for the Marriage of the Grand Signior's Daughter, of about ſeven Years old, unto the Muſſaip, or Favourite, who, by the Teſterdar, or Lord-Treaſurer

(who

(who was the Compeer) in a ſolemn Show, ſent his Preſents to her, thirty Mules laden with Sugar-plums and Sweet-meats; Figures of ſeveral Sorts of Birds and Beaſts, of Sugar, ſo ill-favouredly repreſented, that they could not be ſaid to break the Law againſt Making Images, though the Solemnity of the Time had not diſpenſed with it; fifty-ſix Men, each with five more Veſts of Cloth of Gold, Sattin, *&c.* then her Jewels, ſeveral Suits very rich; five led Horſes, with rich Furniture of Pearls and precious Stone; and, at laſt, Coaches with Slaves.

On the Nineteenth of *June*, was the Viſier, *&c.* in a ſolemn Cavalcade, to accompany the Preſents the Grand Signior gave her; eighty-ſix Mules laden with rich Houſhold-ſtuff, very rich Habits for her, and Jewels of all Sorts; twelve Coaches with Slaves, and ſix-and-thirty Black Eunuchs.

And, the Twenty-third, was the laſt Cavalcade of all the great Men, to attend her from the Seraglio to her Huſband's Houſe; they were in a cloſe Coach plated with Silver, attended with five-and-twenty others. At laſt came the Haſſaki, or Queen-regent's Coach, attended with ten more; to every one of theſe Coaches were two Black Eunuchs. In a great Court-yard of the Muſſaip's Palace, were repeated all the Sports and Fire-works that were before, at which the Grand Signior was a conſtant Spectator. Beſides, there was a Rope faſtened to a high Steeple, whence ſeveral Men came flying down; one having a Boy tied to his Back with a Drum, the Rope broke; but, being near the Ground, and falling on another Man, they had none of them any conſiderable Hurt. The moſt remarkable was a Man that walked upon a Rope, faſtened to the ſame Steeple, forward and backward; and another Man, that, upon a high looſe Rope, hanging by his Hand, his Body extended, ſwung himſelf over twelve Times, without Stop, or Touching any Thing.

But too much of theſe Trifles, though the Grand Signior was much delighted with them, and made them be continued many more Days than were intended. He took that Fancy to a Gypſy-boy, that ſwung and danced, as he hath him in the Degree of a Favourite, being taken into the Seraglio, and preſented by the Great Baſhaws.

The Muſſaip, that hath married the Grand Signior's Daughter, is a Man that meddles in no Buſineſs, nor is thought to be much capable of it; for, being Chimacham in the Viſier's Abſence, he ſhewed no great Abilities. The Grand Signior takes him for a conſtant Companion in all his Divertiſements, and hath a ſtrong Affection to him, which Time does not impair, but rather augment, he being a Prince moſt conſtant where he fixes. You would think this Marriage would make him happy, but it is quite contrary; for it not only cuts him off in his Pleaſures, to which he is indulgent, he being forced to diſcharge all his Women, even his own Siſters; but it ruins his Fortune, both by the Expence in maintaining her, while ſhe lives, and, ſhould ſhe die, he muſt refund to the Treaſury all he hath had with her, beſides four Millions (according to common Report) of Dollars, which is her Dote; which he is ſo far from an Ability of, that he cannot pay his preſent Debts: She hath good Proofs of his Abilities another Way, he having, it is ſaid, two-and-thirty Children.

To our own private Affairs, his Excellency my Lord Ambaſſador, Sir *John Finch*, had all Satisfaction, and hath obtained very advantageous Additions to our Capitulations; but, they being Things Mercantile, and, though not beyond, yet beneath your Knowledge, I ſhall not particulariſe.

We had a very hot Plague; my Lord Ambaſſador retired to a Village, but it ſoon arrived there; ſo he lived in his Tents till the Sickneſs got among the Servants, of whom five died: Then he returned to the Village. Mr. *North* and I ſtuck to the City, where, though in our Street only two Houſes were free, beſides our own, and the two adjoining had five ſick on the one, and two on the other Side, yet, God be praiſed, we and our Servants paſſed well along the Road; and here it is not much leſs: Sir *Thomas Baines*, my Lord Ambaſſador's Companion, that attended him in his Chamber, three Days after our Arrival, was taken, and in three more died; he is the only *Engliſhman* that hath been viſited. His Excellency hath retired upon this, a little Way out of Town, for ſome Time.

Dated from Pera, *the* 9*th of* October, 1675.

A brief Account of many memorable Paſſages of the Life and Death of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, ſometime Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, who departed this Life the twenty-firſt Day of *December*, 1683; giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majeſty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours, he uſed, to bring in the King into *England*, unto his juſt Rights, in Peace and Safety; with his Majeſty's grateful Acknowledgments of theſe his Kindneſſes to him, in preferring him to ſeveral eminent Places of Honour and Truſt; together with his great Patience under the Loſs of the ſame. Alſo, his twice Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and his witty Anſwer to one of the Popiſh Lords upon his Impriſonment; his Releaſement; and ſeveral Plots and Sham-Plots of the Papiſts, uſed to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Proteſtant Religion, and their Diſappointments. Of his Arrival in *Holland*, and his kind Entertainment there. Together with his Sickneſs, and worthy Speeches a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer worthy of the Peruſal of all Perſons. Printed for *J. Conyers*, in *Duck-Lane*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

IT is not my Preſumption, in this Sheet, to write the Life of this great Stateſman, but to give the Reader a brief Account of ſome remarkable Paſſages in the ſame, for the Satisfaction of the meaner Sort, that cannot purchaſe large Volumes.

Anthony, Earl of *Shaftſbury*, Baron *Aſhley* of *Wimbourn*, and Lord *Cooper* of *Paulet*, was deſcended from the honourable and ancient Family of the *Coopers* of *Wimbourn*, St. *Giles's*, in the County of *Dorſet*.

We ſhall, in the firſt Place (laying aſide all his other Virtues) treat of the Loyalty of this noble Peer, in the Words of the late Author; ſaith he, Could we have taken a View of the Inſide of this noble Peer, we might have ſeen his Heart full of Loyalty to his Prince, Love to his Country, and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; the Settlement of which can only ſecure us from the Attempts of his Majeſty's, and his People's Enemies. With what admirable Policy did he influence and manage the Councils in the late Times, in what he was concerned in, during the *Interregnum*, towards his Majeſty's Intereſt, and with what admirable Subtlety did he turn the Stream of their Counſels; and with unwearied Diligence did he tug at the Helm of State, till he had brought in his great Maſter,

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the King, into his Kingdoms again, in Proſperity and Safety, to the Joy of all good Subjects?

His Houſe was a Sanctuary for diſtreſſed Loyaliſts, and his Correſpondency with the King: Friends, though cloſely managed, as the Neceſſity of thoſe Times required, are not unknown to thoſe that were the principal Managers of his Majeſty's Affairs at that Time: This made the late Uſurper, *Oliver Cromwell*, ſo jealous of him, whoſe arbitrary Government he withſtood to the utmoſt of his Power. And we find that Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* was accuſed before the Rump Parliament, in the Year 1659, for keeping Intelligence with the King, and having provided Forces in *Dorſetſhire*, to join with Sir *George Booth*, in attempting to bring in our noble King, that now is, to his rightful Throne; and alſo his Concurrence with General *Monk*, in that important Juncture, if we remember that his Regiment was one of the firſt that declared for a free Parliament, and General *Monk*, in *March* 1659, ſo zealous was he in putting all his Strength to turn the great Wheel of State.

And, at the Time of his Majeſty's Reſtoration, as a moſt ſignal Teſtimony of his Majeſty's good Opinion of his former Actions, he was advanced to be one of the firſt Rank in his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-council, and was placed above his royal Brother, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, even General *Monk* himſelf, whom the King uſed to call his political Father: And, three Dayes after his Majeſty's Coronation, he was created Baron *Aſhley* of *Wimbourn* St. *Giles*'s, and alſo Lord *Cooper* of *Paulet*, and, at laſt, another Mark of royal Favour, in the Year 1672, he was made Earl of *Shaftſbury*; for his wiſe Adminiſtration in his Majeſty's Affairs, he was made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and, ſome Time after that, made Lord High-chancellor of *England*, about the Beginning of the Year 1672, which Place he executed with the greateſt Judgment and Equity imaginable.

Thus having briefly traced this great Miniſter of State, in theſe mighty Employments under his great and good Maſter, the King, I ſhall take ſome Notice of his Relinquiſhment of that high Employment, and what happened to him ſince.

About *November*, 1673, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend for the Lord Chancellor to *Whitehall*, where he reſigned the Great Seal of *England* to his Majeſty, and was diſmiſſed from being Treaſurer of the *Exchequer*: In the Afternoon of the ſame Day, the Earl of *Shaftſbury* was viſited by Prince *Rupert*, with other great Lords, at *Exeter* Houſe, where they gave his Lordſhip Thanks, for his faithful and honourable Diſcharge of that great Employment. Thus this great Miniſter of State, to the univerſal Satisfaction of all good Men, being raiſed to that high Degree of Intereſt in his Maſter's Favour, without a Murmur, laid all his Honour at his Majeſty's Feet, and was obſerved not to abate of the Chearfulneſs of his Temper, upon the Loſs of all theſe temporal and honourable Employments. I ſhall conclude this Part of his Life, with a Character that a late Author gave of him:

——— 'His choice Sagacity
'Straight ſolv'd the Knot that ſubtle Lawyers ty'd,
'And, through all Fogs, diſcern'd the oppreſſed Side;
'Baniſh'd Delays, and ſo this noble Peer
'Became a Star of Honour in our Sphere:
'A needful *Atlas* of our State.

On the Sixteenth of *February*, 1676, this Earl was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, by the Order of the Houſe of Lords; there were, at the ſame Time, committed ſeveral other Lords, for maintaining, That the then Parliament was diſſolved, and ought not to ſit any longer; where he continued Priſoner about a Year's Time, and, after ſubmitting himſelf to his Majeſty and the Parliament, he was diſcharged, by acknowledging his Fault. A little after his Releaſement, this Parliament was prorogued, and after diſſolved. Now was the wicked Plot of the Jeſuits and Papiſts diſcovered by the great Fidelity of Dr. *Oates*, which convinced both King, Lords, and Commons, and all the Nation in general, of a damnable, treaſonable, Popiſh Deſign, to murder our King, with the reſt of the Nobility and Gentry, and to reduce the Proteſtant Church to *Romiſh* Idolatry, and the State to a Catholick Slavery.

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On the Seventh of *March*, 1678, another Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; this Parliament did, like noble Patriots, endeavour to give a Check to the bloody Popiſh Deſigns a Foot, and paſſed many excellent Votes for that Purpoſe; many Members acquitted themſelves, in their Speeches, like Men of high Senſe of the Miſeries the Nation was like to be involved in; this Houſe carried up their Impeachments to the Houſe of Lords, againſt the Lord *Powis*, *Stafford*, *Arundel*, Lord *Peters*, Lord *Bellaſis*, for High-Treaſon, and other high Crimes: But I ſhall forbear Mentioning any farther, only inſtance how this noble Peer was ſtruck at in that helliſh Deſign: I ſhall refer the Reader to what hath been already publiſhed in Print, only note two or three Things of ſome Perſons, that made Attempts on the Life of this noble Peer; *firſt*, by *Dangerfield*, who had a great Sum offered him, to have murdered the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, on whom the Rage of the bloody *Romiſh* Party was now ſo great, that they left no baſe and unwarrantable Action unattempted, to rob him of his Life; ſome were hired to ſtab or piſtol him; others to ſwear Treaſon againſt him; or any other Way the Devil put in their Heads. Another Deſign againſt this noble Peer, was to have been acted by a Woman, called Madam *Cellier*, a Popiſh Midwife; who attempted that curſed Deſign, under the Pretence of a Viſit to the Earl, and under Pretence of her paying her Thanks for Favours received through his Means; but ſhe had a conſecrated Dagger under the Skirt of her Gown, ready to have expreſſed her Gratitude, by opening the Veins of this Proteſtant Peer's Heart.

Is then loyal Innocency, and Proteſtant Integrity, Armour of Proof againſt Poiſons, Piſtols, and Poniards? No; the Catholick Gallantry ſtops not here, but purſues this noble Peer with Forgery of his Hand, and other little Sham-plots: What baſe and villainous Acts the bloody Papiſts uſed, to deſtroy the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, by many Endeavours to have ſtabbed him, as hath been depoſed by many Perſons, to whom the Parliament, as well as the Nation, have given Belief? I ſhall inſtance one more of their miſchievous Practices in this Kind: There was a Gentleman, who was a Commander of a Regiment of Horſe in the late King's Army, and loſt all for his Sake, and his preſent Majeſty's, writ to this noble Peer about a Remedy againſt the Gout, which he uſed to be afflicted with very much; this Letter was intercepted, and (the Perſon then living in the *French* King's Dominions) after adding to it an Account, That the Writer was able to furniſh the Earl with forty-thouſand Soldiers from *France*, to oppoſe the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt; it was then conveyed to ſome of the *French* King's Miniſters, who, they ſuppoſe, would ſend a Copy hither; but, by a ſtrange Providence, the Original was returned into the Gentleman's own Hands.

Nor were they yet wanting in throwing Dirt, and ſlandering this noble Peer in his Reputation, which Faculty they are famous at; for now a Packquet of baſe Libels and treaſonable Reflexions were, by the Penny-poſt, ſent to a Printer, and Copies of the ſame diſperſed about the Parts of *Weſtminſter*. All of venomous and malicious Slanders and Imputations, tending to the Taking away the Life of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, and divers other Peers of honourable Account; but the Printer, deteſting ſuch a Deſign, publiſhed an Invitation to any Perſon that would diſcover the Author or Publiſher of that infamous Libel. And now we are got into ſuch a Bog of Plots, Sham-plots, Perjurers, Subornations, as the Hiſtories of no Age can parallel: In *October*, during the Seſſions of the laſt Parliament, it is remarkable, that *Franciſco de Faria*, Interpreter to the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, amongſt other Matters relating to the Plot, gave Information to the Bar of the Houſe, that he was tempted to kill the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, by throwing a Hand-grenado into his Coach, as he paſſed the Road into the Country. But, to ſum up all, ſeveral Methods, that were invented to be executed againſt the Life of this Peer, were innumerable, by theſe jeſuited Crew, who ſet all their Inventions and Engines on Work, to make away the Earl of *Shaftſbury*; he was the Beam in their Eye, and the Clog that hindered the Motion of their curſed Deſigns: What have they not attempted to make him diſtaſteful to the King, through the Foulneſs of their Treaſons on him? As was made appear before the King and Coun-

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cil in *October* 1681, that *Fitzgerard* told Mr. *Haines*, that he the ſaid *Fitzgerard* poſſeſſed his Majeſty, and had given it under his Hand and Seal, that the late Plot was a Preſbyterian Plot, and invented by the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, on Purpoſe to extirpate the Royal Family, and to dethrone his preſent Majeſty, and turn *England* into a Commonwealth, or elſe to ſet the Crown upon the Earl's own Head, with more ſuch wicked and treaſonable Matter; a further Account you may have in his Trial.

But a new Parliament was ſummoned to appear at *Oxford*, where Things of as high Nature were agitated, as ever came before the Conſideration of a Parliament, no leſs than the Preſervation of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Good of the People of *England*; all which now was invaded by the bloody Deſigns of the Papiſts, but, being very hot about the Buſineſs of *Fitzharris*, and Things of the like Nature, it pleaſed his Majeſty to diſſolve them.

Some Time after *Fitzharris* was tried and executed, the Earl of *Shaftſbury* was again committed to the *Tower* of *London*; the Circumſtances of his Examination, and Acquittal, would take too much Room here to be recited. To finiſh this tragical Story, only I cannot omit, that, on the Fifteenth of *Auguſt*, 1681, Mrs. *Fitzharris* gave a Depoſition on Oath, that her Huſband, a little before his Execution, not only told her, what great Offers he had made him, if he would have charged that treaſonable and infamous Libel (which he was executed afterwards for) on this noble Peer and the Lord *Howard*; and that he adviſed her to do it to ſave his Life; though he proteſted, at the ſame Time, that they were wholly innocent; ſhe likewiſe depoſed, that a certain Gentleman aſſured her, that ſhe ſhould have what Money ſhe pleaſed, if ſhe would accuſe the Earl and the Lord *Howard*, as the Authors of the ſaid Libel; but they having tampered with ſo many, on Account of this baffled Deſign, that it was impoſſible but their Conſult muſt take Wind, eſpecially when we conſider, they were a People, that, either to ſupply their Neceſſities, or to feed their Ambition, or, more probably, thought irreſiſtible Fatality, had blabbed and diſcovered the Secrets of Holy Mother, and had ſpoke ſo unſeaſonably in her Tip, that they had ſpoiled her Game: What Security could theſe *Romiſh* Sophiſters have, but that their corked Veſſel would prove leaky again? I ſhall give one memorable Paſſage, ſaid to have paſſed between the Earl, and one of the Popiſh Lords, ſoon after his Commitment; the Story is this: Meeting, accidentally, with one of the Popiſh Lords, he was aſked by him, What his Lordſhip did there, and that he little thought to have his good Company? To which the Earl of *Shaftſbury* replied, That he had lately been ſick of an Ague, and was come there to take ſome Jeſuits Powder. It was ſaid, during the whole Time of his Lordſhip being in the *Tower*, he remained very chearful, beyond what could have been expected from a Perſon labouring under ſuch extreme Pains and Diſeaſes. During the Earl's Impriſonment, many made it their Buſineſs to detract and vilify him; and it was their Mode to drink his Health at an Hem-penſtring, and call him *Tony Tapſkin*, and King of *Poland*. After the Earl's Trial, it is reported he arreſted one *Baines*, one of the Witneſſes for a Conſpiracy, alſo ſeveral others; but, being not ſuffered to have his Trial againſt them in *London* and *Middleſex*, he remitted the ſame till another Opportunity. Thus have we given a brief Account of the moſt remarkable Things relating to this great Peer, to this Time; after which he lived very private at his Houſe in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, till the Beginning of the Month of *November*, when, it is reported, he left *England*, and landed at *Brill* in *Holland*, where he was nobly entertained by the States, and, as ſome ſay, hath put into their Stock a conſiderable Sum of Money.

But, amongſt the reſt, let us take Cogniſance of his Deportment, in the Time of his ſeeming Affliction; he was little or nothing diſmayed at the contrary Current, which oppoſed the Stream of his aſpiring Mind, which was a generous and magnanimous Spirit in him; for, indeed, he was as much befriended by unexpected Favours Abroad, as afflicted by domeſtick Troubles in his own native Soil; his Reception in *Holland* was, unqueſtionably, very kind, as doubtleſs was appertinent to a Perſon of his Parts. It is not to be doubted, but the many Tranſactions, happening

pening in his Time, had recorded him there, as well as in other Countries, for a Politician, and ſo was he received by them. His Deportment there was ſuch, that he obliged all that came near him, indulged all that knew him, and, at his Death, left no Man without an Obligation of a *Memento*. It was much to be taken Notice of, that, during the Time of his Illneſs, he rather ſeemed to be of better Compoſure in Mind, than ordinary, as ſeeming to embrace his Malady with a Kind of Welcome, that might tranſmute his Soul into that endleſs Happineſs, which he had been ſo long labouring for; he ſeemed to covet after that continual Bleſſing, which alone makes happy, and rejoiced at his approaching Change. O happy is that Man, who, like an undaunted Champion, can boldly look upon the pale Meſſenger of grim Death without Terror, when no Aſtoniſhment comes to amaze the drooping Senſes; but, on the Contrary, if filled with Comfort, at the perfect Aſſurance of a better State, by the Help and Aſſiſtance of a bleſſed Change; no Peace like a quiet Mind, no Comfort like the Peace of Conſcience, nor no Conqueſt like the Victory over Sin: Thrice happy is that Man, whom the Thoughts of Death cannot terrify; then let us all labour ſo to live here, that we may aſſure ourſelves of an Inheritance hereafter, that ſhall furniſh our Souls with Joys everlaſting, that have no End. But when he perceived, that his fatal Hour was moſt certainly approaching, with a moſt heavenly Frame, he prepared himſelf to meet with that unwelcome Meſſenger, taking great and particular Care of his menial Servants, that will imprint a Memorial in their now bleeding Hearts; ſo having ſettled Affairs in his Houſe, according to his own Mind and Will, he recommended his Soul to him that gave it, in the following Words and Manner:

'O moſt gracious and merciful Lord God, 'who, out of thy infinite Mercy and 'Goodneſs, haſt preſerved and protected me 'through an Ocean of Trouble and Perplexity, yea, and brought me out of a Labyrinth of Danger, which, without thine Aſſiſtance, I could never have waded through; 'and now, ſince by thy Mercy I am made 'ſenſible of thy unſpeakable Love to me in 'this my laſt Hour, I beſeech thee, with 'an unfeigned Deſire, to have Mercy upon 'my immortal Soul, and let thine Angel 'conduct it to the Throne of thine everlaſting Happineſs. Lord preſerve and keep my ſo'vereign Liege, *Charles the Second*, King 'of the Land of my Nativity, and protect 'that poor Nation, now in a tottering Con'dition, from the Yoke and Burthen of 'Popiſh Tyranny, that the Goſpel may 'flouriſh in the Dominions thereof. Lord 'ſtrengthen me in this Hour of Tribulation, 'that I may chearfully paſs through the dark 'Paſſage, which leads to thy never fading 'Light. *Amen.*

A Speech of a Fellow-Commoner of *England*, to his Fellow-Commoners of the Convention. Printed in the Year 1689. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

THE preſent Providence deſerves our moſt ſerious Thoughts, and truly, Sir, I cannot but ſay, that we are extremely obliged to the great Goodneſs and Valour of the Prince of *Orange*, who, with ſuch Hazard and Expence, has brought us ſo ſeaſonable and eminent a Deliverance from Popery, and, I hope, from arbitrary Power alſo. Sir, we cannot give him too much, unleſs we give him more than our own (the Crown I mean) we have been of a long Time taught, that is not the Gift or Work of Subjects; ſovereign Princes have made bold with one another, but I am of Opinion, whatever Malice may ſuggeſt againſt his Highneſs, he has too noble a Soul to be guilty of ſuch an Attempt; he came not hither for Greatneſs, he has it of his own, and brought it with him, and values being *Optimus*

more than *Maximus*, which is the beſt Way of joining that Imperial Stile together *Optimus Maximus:* I ſay, I am confident it is more than he will judge proper to receive, and that he will think it more for his Glory to reduce the Monarchy to its juſt and legal Eſtabliſhment, than to be King himſelf, and to ſecure us againſt Popery, than to lead us into the Errors of it, of which the moſt peſtilentious are Depoſing Princes, and Breaking Faith with Hereticks.

Mr. *Speaker*, The Prince is too great a Diſciple both of Religion and Honour, not to be ſatisfied with our doing what is agreeable to them, and let us not preſs him out of his own Sentiments, which have been the greateſt and moſt heroick, that have appeared in this latter Age of the World, leſt, whilſt we have taken Arms to redreſs Grievances, we do not draw greater upon ourſelves, and that as well from Abroad as at Home.

For, Sir, when we believe Catholick Princes to have Zeal ſo unſeaſonably fierce, and unſafe to other People, we cannot at the ſame Time think they will tamely ſuffer a Catholick King to be kept out of his Kingdom, for little more than being ſo; and I am afraid that this Procedure may precipitate *Ireland* unto Extremities; and, if it ſhould follow the King to *France*, all ſober ſenſible Men know, of what ill Conſequence a Revolt to that Crown may be to this Kingdom; we ſhall then, inſtead of invading *France*, find Difficulties to preſerve our own Country; nor, for what I ſee, are we ſure of being at Peace here: The Tide is mightily abated ſince the King's Going from *Rocheſter*; thoſe, that wiſhed his Humiliation in the Government, will by no Means hear of his Excluſion and Perdition, from the Crown; they either believe the Fault none of his, or not of Weight enough to juſtify ſo extraordinary an Example; Kings muſt ſee and hear by the Eyes and Ears of others, which makes it their Misfortune, rather than their Crime, that they do amiſs. We are alſo of a Church that has been ſingular for her Honour and Deference to Kings, and, if we have any for her, we ought to tread tenderly in this Point; and, that we may be juſt, two Things compel us to it for our own Sake.

The Firſt is, That the moſt of Things that made the King's Government ſo obnoxious have already been done in this; we have had a diſpenſing Power exerciſed both at *Exeter* and at *London*; we have had free Quarter conſtrained almoſt in all Places where the *Dutch* Army has marched; we have, in great Part, a Popiſh Army too, though that was one of the moſt crying Offences we objected to the King, and from which we drew the moſt popular Notions of our Inſecurity; the very Money, that is now receiving, was aſked with Armies on Foot, and all Men will conclude, there was no Refuſing a Propoſal ſo ſeconded; and, how far our famous Petition of Right may be concerned in this, the Gentlemen of the Law muſt determine: But, I dare ſay, this very Loan could not eſcape this Cenſure under a lawful Prince, and, under our preſent Circumſtances, we cannot reaſonably think the Caſe better.

Nor is this all, the Second Reaſon of our Caution is, The little Truth, that at laſt appears in thoſe many Stories, that, above any Charge, ſeemed to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from his Majeſty, and to diſſolve that Tie of Affection and Duty they had to him, as his Subjects. Such as, the Alarms we had here of a *French* Invaſion; the King's Selling the Kingdom for five Millions Sterling; the *Iriſh* killing Man, Woman, and Child upon the Roads; the *French* embarked for the Weſt, but met and ſunk by the *Dutch*; the forty-thouſand new-faſhioned Knives of Slaughter; the Queen's Back-door for Bringing to Bed a ſuppoſititious Child; her Cuffing the Earl of *Craven* and the Princeſs *Anne*, with forty more of that Stamp, which Time hath proved as malicious as falſe; how much they have influenced to this preſent great Change, is not unworthy of our juſt Thoughts and Anſwer, and, in my Opinion, it calls upon us as loudly for a ſpeedy Reparation.

Mr. *Speaker*, Theſe are the Things that have driven the King out of *England*; and, if it can be proved that the Prince of *Wales* is an Impoſtor and that there was a League with *France* to cut off Proteſtants, I think Nothing has befallen him, too hard Meaſure for him: But, truly Sir, it is upon no other Terms that the People of *England* will part with their King, or with any Patience think of the Uſage he has got upon that Suppoſition. But it is objected that ſome of thoſe that were in Arms are in Apprehenſion, leſt their Eſtates and Lives ſhould be at the Mercy of the King, in caſe he returns; I think that the King will be ſo far from expecting, and the Nation from

yielding to it, that they muſt not only be all pardoned, but thoſe Lords and Gentlemen, that have been the noble Aſſertors of our *Engliſh* Liberties at this Juncture, muſt be poſted in the greateſt Places of Honour and Truſt. I hope the King himſelf will ſee it his Intereſt to leave off little and paraſitical Favourites, and be willing, that ſuch be employed in all his Affairs, as his People can confide in, and, as will uſe their Preferments for the Honour of their Prince, and the Good of his Subjects.

Mr. *Speaker*, The Objection againſt the King's Return, upon the Account of having deſerted his Kingdoms, by going into *France*, I am aſtoniſhed at it, ſince it is plain, he did not voluntarily deſert us, as the Queen of *Sweden* did her Kingdom, but was attacked from Abroad, and deſerted at Home: Conſequently, Sir, that cannot be in good Morality, as well as Law, a Demiſe, Forfeiture, Surrender, or Abdication of the Crown of *England*.

Mr. *Speaker*, I fear, that, if I have not tired your Patience, I have been, at leaſt, ordinary long for ſome Members of a contrary Judgment, who ſit in this Convention, and, therefore, I ſhall add this humble Caution, that our Convention conſider well their Power, which, I do conceive, is too ſcanty to make a new King, though it may call Home that to whom we have moſt, if not all of us, ſworn Allegiance: Nay, let me ſay further, if our Caſe were ſo deſperate that no Remedy would ſerve but Creating a new King, our Convention has not enough of our Fellow Subjects for the reſt to be concluded by: When Things are tranſacted, according to the known Laws and ancient Cuſtoms, the uſual Deputies may deliver and ſtate the Intentions of the People; but, when ſo many and great Alterations muſt be made in the Building, that is to be for the common Convenience, every Man thinketh himſelf worthy to be conſulted, as well as the greateſt Architect, when he is to dwell in the Houſe. Parliaments, that are called by Kings, cannot make Kings, and a Convention not called by a King, and as narrow-bottomed as a Parliament, is yet leſs nor a Parliament, becauſe it wants the Sanction, a Parliament has; if then it ſeems a Soleciſm, that a Meeting, leſs than a Parliament, can make a King, without whom a Parliament cannot be, What ſhall we think of this Convention's making a King of him that makes the Convention? Can you act lawfully upon an unlawful Call, or an unlawful Convention make him a lawful King? We are taught by an *Engliſh* Proverb, *That no Stream riſes higher than its Fountain.* How is it poſſible for them to give Authority to govern that have none, but what they receive from him, who, by our Law, can have none, to give? Sir, This is neither more nor leſs than for his Highneſs to make himſelf King by a Medium of his own, a Thing as much below him to do, as it is above us to think of; therefore, if we muſt go to this Work, let us call in more Heads to our Aſſiſtance; but I rather adviſe, and humbly move, that we pray the Prince, who has been our Deliverer, to be our Arbitrator, to give Limits to Prerogative and our Liberty, to ſecure us that are the Proteſtant Subjects in our Religion, and to ſhew the King what Sort of Liberty he only ought to expect for his *Roman* Catholick Subjects; I ſay, let us beſeech him to call back the King for theſe great Ends, the Accompliſhing of which will make both King and Kingdom happy, and the great Prince of *Orange* renowned in all the Hiſtories of *Europe*, as well as in our Annals.

A Philoſophical Eſſay, treating of the moſt probable Cauſe of that grand Myſtery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea. *London*, Printed by *T. M.* for *T. Paſſinger*, at the *Three Bibles*, on the Middle of *London-Bridge*, 1673. *Quarto*, containing eighteen Pages.

To

To the learned and judicious Sir John Marſham, *of* Whoornes-Place *in* Kent, *Knight and Baronet, one of the Six Clerks of his Majeſty's High-Court of* Chancery.

SIR,

WHEN the Sun opens the Curtains of the Eaſt, and gilds and enamels the Fringes of the Firmament with his early Beams, the leſſer Lights reſign themſelves up to his, and muffle themſelves up in their own Obſcurity, as being vanquiſhed with an Exceſs of Splendor; ſo the meaner and pettier Cenſures ſhall look faint and dim, if you, that are the great Luminary in the Orb of Learning, ſhall ſhed a propitious Beam and Influence upon this crude Eſſay, which will not only reſcue it from the Virulency of Detraction, but ſo foment and improve it, that it will bourge on and flouriſh under your Protection: So that, though it owe its Birth to my Pen, it will intitle its Verdure and Perfection to your candid Acceptance of it; now it is offered up to yours, from the Hands of him, who is,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Thomas Philipot.

THERE *is a huge Variety of Opinions, that intitle themſelves to have unwound the Cauſe of this Grand Myſtery of Nature,* The Flux and Reflux of the Sea; but they are erected upon untenable Principles, and ſo intwined and complicated, that I may ſay of them, as *Florus* did of the mountainous Inhabitants of the *Alps*, *Pluris erat invenire quam vincere*; it is a greater Difficulty to trace out and unravel them, than to ſubvert or diſmantle them.

The Firſt Opinion is,

Of *Leonardus Leſſius*, who affirms, that the Motion of Reciprocation or Replication, commonly ſtiled, The Flux and Reflux of the Sea, intitles its primitive and original Cauſality, to the ſupernatural Guidance and Managery of an Angel; but if the Strength of Man be ſeen in his Reaſon, and the Strength of Reaſon evidenced in his Judgment, and the Strength of Judgment manifeſted in his Knowledge, all theſe three, by this frail Opinion, muſt be deſtroyed; for, who will ever attempt by a noble Winnowing and induſtrious Purſuit and Inqueſt after the more eminent but cloudy and abſtruſe Cauſes of Nature, to unlock the Myſteries of them, which are laid up in her gloomy Cabinet, when he can affirm, that their Operation owes its original Emanation, or Efflux, to the ſupernatural Conduct of an Angel, and this at laſt will become the common Sanctuary to ſhelter a univerſal Ignorance? Indeed, I do not deny, but the Hand of God's ſpecial Providence is ſometimes ſtretched out and extended to ſupport Nature, when ſhe is feeble and faint in her Operations, or elſe to knit and twiſt extraordinary Cauſes with extraordinary Effects, when ſhe is not able to perfect and perform this Union, and then only when ſhe is defective either in her Strength or in her Light; but to do it always, and aſſert that theſe extraordinary Efforts of God's ſpecial Providence are viſibly manifeſted at all Times, and in all Seaſons, is to ravel and diſcompoſe the Chain of Second Cauſes, whoſe Operations are ſtill interwoven with the Concourſe and Concomitance of the Firſt. But the Irregularity of this Opinion will further appear by this Queſtion, Why have not the *Baltick*, *Euxine*, and *Caſpian* Seas this Flux and Reflux of Waters, by this angelical Motion; ſince they

are as capable of it, as other Parts of the Ocean abroad, that daily receive it? Beſides, it is abſurd to imagine that Seas, divided by ſuch vaſt Intervals, ſhould at one and the ſame Inſtant ſwell into Tides, and fall into Ebbings, by the Tranſport and Managery of one ſingle Angel, and yet theſe Waters, being equally moved, ſhould produce ſuch different Fluxes and Refluxes. And now, I hope, by this Time, wiſe Men will laugh at this Opinion, not in Applauſe, but Contempt of the Vanity of it.

The Second Opinion is,

That of our Countryman *Lydiat*, who avers, *That the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* owes its primitive Efficiency to ſubterraneous Fires, fed and fomented by a Stock either of ſulphurous or elſe of bituminous Matter; but this Poſition of his meets with ſo many ruinous and deſtructive Difficulties, that it is almoſt impoſſible to reconcile it to Truth; for it is by all agreed, *That the Flux and Reflux of the Sea* is periodical in its Revolution, and ſo determined, fixed, and certain: But, if this Opinion of his ſhould be aſſented to, where there is not this Collection of ſulphurous and bituminous Matter (as on the Coaſt of *Norway*, and other Places) there would be no Tides at all. Beſides, where this Stock of combuſtible Matter is wholly waſted and impaired, *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea* muſt wholly ceaſe. But then, *Secondly*, Why ſhould not the *Dead-Sea* in *Paleſtine*, or the Lake *Aſphaltites*, that has ſuch an eminent Congeſtion of Bitumen transfuſed through the Bowels of it, be capable of prodigious Tides? But this, we know, is contradicted by all Experience. *Thirdly*, Why ſhould not the *Baltick Sea*, that is repleniſhed with many bituminous Particles, as appears from the Generation of Amber, which moſt do conclude to be a Coagulum or Concretion of Salt, Sulphur, and Bitumen, and which is frequently found upon the Coaſt of *Lieſland*, *Courland*, and *Pruſſia*, have theſe Tides and Ebbings, which every one knows to be contrary to all Obſervation? *Fourthly*, Why do not the Tides upon the Coaſts of *Sicily* and *Naples* ſwell to a very important Height, ſince both their circumambient Shores abound with ſuch a copious Quantity of Sulphur? But this we know is evidently falſe, the Sea not ſwelling upon thoſe Coaſts to a Diameter of above three or four Feet, when it is at the higheſt. But, laſt of all, if you aſk *Lydiat*, what ſuperior Cauſe produces theſe ſubterraneous Fires, he will tell you, that it is the Reflexion of the Beams of the Sun upon the convex Superficies of the Sea. To this I anſwer, That, by the Conſent of many eminent Philoſophers, the Rays of the Sun never operate by Penetration upon that watery Body above fifteen Cubits, and ſo impoſſible, where the Sea is of any conſiderable Depth, to produce theſe ſubterraneous Fires. And thus, I think, I have ſufficiently diſarmed his Opinion.

The Third Opinion is,

That *The Flux and Reflux of the Sea* is cauſed by ſome prodigious Eddies and Whirlpools, that ſuck and tranſport the Sea from the North to the South; and from the South to the North; that there is ſuch a vaſt Whirlpool upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, is moſt certain, which is by Mariners ſtiled, *The Navel of the Sea*: But, that there is ſuch an one in the Southern Hemiſphere to refund back the Sea by a Motion of Replication, no Obſervations either of *Ramuſius*, *Linſchoten*, or the more curious *De Leat* have ever diſcovered to us, whoſe Searches and Inquiſitions into the Myſteries of the *Eaſt-Indian* and *Weſt-Indian* Seas were never yet cavilled or quarrelled at: Beſides, if there were any ſuch in thoſe Parts, upon the reciprocal Return of the Southern Waters toward the North, that Multitude of angry Circles, which diſcompoſe, by reaſon of that voluminous Whirlpool, the Face of the *Norwegian* Sea, would every twenty-four Hours diſband, and be ſmooth, as the Aſpect of Peace, and even as the Margin of a Pool, when it is not diſordered into Wrinkles by the rough Breath of a ruder Tempeſt. But this is contradictory to the daily Obſervation of the Inhabitants that confine upon the Fringes of this ſtupendous Whirlpool.

Thus, I think likewiſe, this Opinion, that is ſupported by ſuch feeble Crutches, is at laſt overturned.

The Fourth Opinion.

But, as ſome have found out a Navel, ſo *Kepler* hath found out the Lungs of the Sea; for

for he aſſeveres the Terreſtrial Globe to be but one great Animal, and that the *Flux and Reflux of the Sea* does proceed from the Syſtole and Diaſtole, or the Contraction and Expanſion of its ſpacious Lungs. But then I aſk, *Firſt*, Whether does this Motion reſult, either from Air, or ſome Spirit? Or, *Secondly*, Does it iſſue either from a ſenſitive or rational Soul? And, *Thirdly*, I enquire upon what Coaſt theſe prodigious Lungs are ſituated? And, until the Abettors of this wild Opinion, if there be any ſuch, do give ſome ſatisfactory Anſwers to theſe Queries, this Opinion is demoliſhed by a bare Negation of it.

The Fifth Opinion is,

Of *Picus Mirandula*, that this Increaſe and Decreaſe of Water is cauſed *per mutuas & benevolas aquarum allicientias*; that is, by a Motion of Aggregation or ſympathetical Connexion, by which Water does vigorouſly endeavour to unite and combine with Water. But, if this were granted, Streams would ſeek to intwine with Streams, and Lakes twiſt with Lakes, till, at laſt, long before this, the World muſt have ſuffered under the angry Baptiſm of a publick Deluge. *Secondly*, Where there is this Motion of Aggregation or Connexion, the Tides would ſwell to an important Height, as in the *Caſpian*, *Euxine*, and *Baltick* Seas, where all Geographers, that have diſplayed to us the Topography of thoſe Places, have diſcovered to us, that a Multitude of huge Rivers do daily diſembogue themſelves: And, on the other Side, thoſe Seas that do not ſwell with the additional Supplies of very few or no Rivers, as the *Norwegian* Ocean, and others, would have very little or no Tides at all; both which are evidently falſe, and repugnant to daily Obſervation: Therefore this Opinion of his, eſtabliſhed upon ſuch frail Principles, does eaſily ſhrink and languiſh into its own Ruin.

The Sixth Opinion,

Does aver, that the Sea does intitle the Cauſality of its *Flux and Reflux* to ſome Currents that either ſet from Eaſt to Weſt, or from North to South: But, if this were aſſented to, the *Red-Sea*, the *Euxine Sea*, and the *Baltick Sea*, would improve themſelves to a huge Increaſe of Tides, conſidering all three are fed by a Communication of perpetual Currents: But this is manifeſtly falſe, for the *Red Sea* and *Euxine* have little or no Tides, and the *Baltick Sea* none at all. Therefore I wave this Opinion as altogether erroneous.

The Seventh Opinion,

Intitles the Motion of the Earth to be the Cauſe of the Motion of the Sea: Thoſe, who abet this Opinion, affirm three Things.

Firſt, That the Earth and Sea have but one Center, to render the whole Globe more regularly and uniformly orbicular, and ſo more apt for that Motion they are deſigned to receive.

Secondly, They aſſert, that every Part and Particle of this ſpherical Body is ſo tied and threaded together by a magnetical Union, that is is impoſſible that the leaſt Atom ſhould ſtart out of its natural Situation, being faſtened and fettered to its Station, by ſo inexpugnable a Magnetiſm.

Thirdly, That its Motion is circular; now the Flux and Reflux of the Sea is *motus tranſverſus*, or a Motion of Reciprocation and Rejection, like Water that is juſtled, and thrown from Side to Side, in a Pail or Bowl; now, if it ſhould move circularly, every Part would move ſo evenly and magnetically, that there would be no Flux or Reflux of the Sea at all. *Secondly*, ſince the *Euxine*, *Baltick* and *Caſpian* Seas are ſuch conſiderable Parts of this globous Body, they muſt move equally with it, if it move at all; and then why have they not the ſame Flux and Reflux, as other Seas have, ſince they have the ſame Aptitude, or natural intrinſick Capacity, to receive this Motion, as other Seas have? But that they have not Flux or Reflux at all is demonſtratively true. But whether this Opinion be ſo or no, I refer to the Scrutiny of the judicious Reader: Indeed, I could wiſh that thoſe, who defend the Motion of the Earth, would produce more vigorous Arguments to fortify and ſecure their Theſis, merely to ſubvert the Pope's Infallibility; one of whom, not many Years ſince, by a ſignal Determination and Definition, *ex Cathedra*, blaſted it for impious and heretical, and condemned the obſtinate Aſſertors of it, to his trueſt Purgatory, the Inquiſition.

The Eighth Opinion is,

That the Sun is the ſole, primary, and efficient Cauſe of this Flux and Reflux; that the Sun is a partial, concurrent, or concomitant Cauſe, I affirm; but that it is the Sole and Principal, I deny, and that upon theſe Foundations; for, if it ſhould be, the Tides, in the vaſt Wilderneſs of the Northern Seas, would upon the *Apogæum*, or Receſs of the Sun, ſhrink and contract themſelves, for Want of his vigorous Excitation to a conſiderable Decreaſe; and again, upon his *Perigæum*, or neareſt Approach, ſwell to an important Magnitude, both which are evidently falſe; for it is generally obſerved, that about the Autumnal Æquinox, and ſometimes after, the Tides, in thoſe Seas aboveſaid, are improved and increaſed to an extraordinary Height; and on the Contrary, about the Summer Solſtice, they ſuffer a ſenſible and viſible Diminution and Decreaſe, rather than any Augmentation; both which were abſurd to imagine, if the Sun was the ſole efficient Cauſe.

Secondly, Why ſhould not the *Caſpian*, *Euxine*, and *Baltick* Seas be capable of this Motion, ſince they are alſo expoſed to the Impreſſions of the Sun, either perpendicular, or by Vibration, when he is in, or near his *Perigæum*; but this they have not, is evident; and therefore, the Sun is not the prime, ſole, and efficient Cauſe of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea.

The Ninth Opinion is,

That the Moon is the principal Cauſe of this Marine Motion; that it is a ſubſervient, concurrent, and concomitant Cauſe, I ſhall grant, but that it is the ſole Efficient, I ſhall never affirm, for if it were, it would univerſally and equally move all Seas, eſpecially when they are under its *Perigæum*, and then the *Baltick*, *Euxine*, and *Caſpian* Seas would be capable of this Flux and Reflux likewiſe, but that they are not is apparently evident; I know, it is objected, that the Moon hath a principal Efficiency in the Flowings of the Sea, becauſe it is obſerved, that when ſhe is in her Sextile, and in her Full, Shell-fiſh do ſwell and increaſe to an unuſual Bulk and Corpulency: But to this I anſwer, that this is produced not by any direct Cauſality of the Moon, but only by Accident; for thoſe great Tides, which intervene at thoſe Times, tranſport with them a large Quantity of Mud and Sullage, which treaſure up a fat ſlimy unctuous Juice, which Shell-fiſh greedily ſucking in, by the Supply of ſo luſcious an Aliment, enlarge themſelves to that Dimenſion they arrive at, at thoſe Seaſons.

The Tenth Opinion,

Which I adhere to, is, that there is a vitriolated, volatile, or Armoniack Salt or Spirit, that is wrapped up in the Bowels of the Sea, and lies there claſped up and impriſoned in the Embraces of the fixed and nitrous Salt, which upon its Excitation, by the Agitation of the Superficies of the Sea, and the Opening of it, by the combined and complicated Impreſſions of the Sun and Moon, diſlodges from its Incloſure, and ſhoots itſelf up to the watery Margin, and drags along with it, that Heap of Waters we ſtile the Flux (though I do not deny, but that it is ſomething aided and aſſiſted in this Operation by an Elater or Spring of Air, that being reſcued from its Compreſſion and Confinement, aſcends up with it) and upon cloſing and contracting its Face upon the Receſs of thoſe two great Luminaries, ſhrinks back again, and with it pulls along that Maſs of Waters, it before had elevated, and this produces the Reflux. And this Opinion is ſupported by three Experiments: The *Firſt* is, That of *Zuingerus*, a modern Chymiſt, cited by *Fromondus*, in his Book of Meteors, who obſerved that ſome Sort of Chymical Oil of Vitriol did aſcend and deſcend in Times proportionate and adequate to the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. The *Second* is, that of *Athanaſius Kircherus*, in his *Mundus Subterraneus*, who there diſcovers to us, that an Infuſion of Sal Armonick, lodged in an open Veſſel, and placed obliquely to receive the Influence of the Moon, when ſhe was in her Sextile, did increaſe and decreaſe, as if it held an equal Correſpondence, by an uninterrupted Chain of Atoms, with the Flowings and Ebbings of the Marine Waters. The *Third* is that of *Greatrick*'s Glaſſes, upon whoſe Sides if you beat with important Onſets, they reſiſt their Impreſſion, but break it at the Top, and it flies in Pieces with much Violence and Tumult; and the Reaſon is, becauſe the Armoniack or volatile Salt, that lay impriſoned, and cloiſtered up, in the Claſpings and Circumſcription

ſcription of the nitrous or fixed Salt, finding itſelf infranchiſed and redeemed from the ſtrict Incloſures of thoſe two rigid Adverſaries, ſallies out, with an impetuous Eagerneſs, and that Eruption occaſions that Diſorder and Concuſſion.

But I know it will be objected, Why have not the *Euxine*, *Baltick* and *Caſpian* Seas their Flux and Reflux likewiſe, ſince it is probable their Waters impriſoned as great a Stock of vitriolated, volatile, or Armoniack Salt, as other Seas are intruſted with, that have the Viciſſitudes? To this I anſwer, That it is as probable they have not; but ſuppoſe they had, yet its volatile Spirit is checked and depreſſed by that Multitude of vaſt and deep Rivers, that perpetually diſgorge themſelves into thoſe Seas above-ſaid; and it is likewiſe poſſible, that there is a conſiderable Quantity of Sulphur, Bitumen, fixed and nitrous Salt, conducted along with their Currents, whoſe fixing Quality may improve the Depreſſion of the Vitriolated and Armoniack Particles, and ſo benumb their Volatility, that it is almoſt impoſſible for the united Influences of the Sun and Moon, to excite their ſo ſtupified Vigour. But if it be enquired how it happens, ſince ſo many capacious Streams diſembogue themſelves into thoſe Seas, that the neighbouring Territories do not ſuffer under a conſtant Inundation? I anſwer, that the Water that is treaſured up in the Cells and Caverns of the Earth, which it is probable, here are more than ordinary copious, intice and allure back the Marine Waters, *Per Motum Nexus*, by a Motion of Adherence, Aggregation, Union and Connexion, and ſo by a continual Circulation, reimburſe, and new-ſtock the Rivers, with additional Streams which are daily paid, in ſo profuſe a Tribute, to the vaſt Exchequer of their watery Sovereign.

And thus have I as compendiouſly as might be wound up this Eſſay; yet I am not ſo confident to believe, but that Poſterity may by new Diſcoveries, and Scrutinies, for Arts are not yet in their Solſtice, nor Knowledge in its Zenith, improve it to greater Advantage of the Publick, than could be expected from this faint Reſult of my Pen; in the Interim I ſhall deſire the Reader, to acquieſce in that amicable and ingenuous Determination of the Poet; —— *Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis, candidus imperti: Si non, his utere mecum.*

Brief Notes on the Creed of St. *Athanaſius*. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

'WHoſoever will be ſaved, before all Things, it is neceſſary that he hold the Catholic Faith.'

A good Life is of abſolute Neceſſity to Salvation; but a right Belief in theſe Points, that have been always controverted in the Churches of God, is in no Degree neceſſary, much leſs neceſſary before all Things. He, that leads a profane or vicious Life, ſins againſt a plain acknowledged Rule, and the expreſs unqueſtioned Words and Letter of the Divine Law, and the Dictates of natural Conſcience; he wilfully refuſes to advert to theſe Monitors, and, therefore, can no Way palliate or excuſe his Wickedneſs. But he that errs in a Queſtion of Faith, after having uſed reaſonable Diligence to be rightly informed, is in no Fault at all; his Error is pure Ignorance: Not a culpable Ignorance; for how can it be culpable, not to know that, of which a Man is ignorant, after a diligent and impartial Inquiry?

'Which Faith, except a Man keep whole 'and undefiled, without Doubt he ſhall periſh 'everlaſtingly.'

By keeping this Faith whole and undefiled, muſt be meant, if any Thing be meant, that a Man ſhould believe and profeſs it, without Adding to it, or Taking from it. If we take from it, we do not keep it whole; if we add aught to it, we do not keep it undefiled; and either Way we ſhall periſh everlaſtingly.

Firſt, for Adding. What if an honeſt plain Man, becauſe he is a Chriſtian and a Proteſtant, ſhould think it neceſſary to add this Article to the *Athanaſian* Creed: 'I believe the holy 'Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments,

'to

'to be a divine, infallible, and compleat Rule, 'both for Faith and Manners?' I hope no Proteſtant would think a Man ſhould be damned for ſuch Addition: And, if ſo, then this Creed of *Athanaſius* is at leaſt an unneceſſary Rule of Faith.

Then, for Taking aught from this Creed; the whole *Greek* Church (diffuſed through ſo many Provinces) rejects, as heretical, that Period of it, *The Holy Ghoſt is of the Father, and of the Son*; contending, that the Holy Spirit is from the Father only. Which, alſo, they clearly and demonſtratively prove, as we ſhall ſee in its proper Place. And, for the Menace here of *Athanaſius*, That they ſhall periſh everlaſtingly, they laugh at it, and ſay, He was drunk when he made this Creed, *Gennad. Schol. A. Bp. of Conſtantinople.*

'And the Catholick Faith is this,'

Catholick Faith is as much as to ſay in plain *Engliſh*, The Faith of the whole Church. Now in what Age was this, which here follows, the Faith of the whole Church? Not in the Age of *Athanaſius* himſelf; who for this Faith, and for ſeditious Practices, was baniſhed from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where he was Biſhop, no leſs than four Times; whereof the firſt was by *Conſtantine* the Great. He was alſo condemned in his own Life-time by ſix Councils, as an Heretick and ſeditious Perſon: Of theſe Councils, that at *Milan* conſiſted of three-hundred Biſhops; and that at *Ariminum* of five-hundred and fifty, the greateſt Convention of Biſhops that ever was. This Conſent of the Churches of God, againſt him and his Doctrine, occaſioned that famous Proverb, Athanaſius *againſt all the World, and all the World againſt* Athanaſius.

For the Times before and after, the curious Reader may ſee *Chr. Sandius*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; in which the learned Author gives a large Account, by what, and whoſe Means, the *Athanaſian* and Trinitarian Faith did at length prevail, againſt the antient Belief of but one God, or but One who is God. Therefore *quære*, With what Forehead, the Author of this Creed calls this, the Catholick Faith, or, Faith of the whole Church? When it is certain, it has been ſo in no Age, and leaſt of all in the Author's.

'The Catholick Faith is this, That we wor-'ſhip one God in Trinity; and, Trinity in 'Unity.'

He means here, that we muſt ſo worſhip the one true God, as to remember he is three Perſons; and ſo worſhip the three Perſons, as to bear in Mind, that they are but one Subſtance, or Godhead, of God. So the Author explains himſelf in the three next Articles, which are theſe:

'Neither confounding the Perſons, nor 'dividing the Subſtance; for there is one 'Perſon of the Father, another of the Son, 'another of the Holy Ghoſt; but the Godhead 'of the Father, and of the Son, and of the 'Holy Ghoſt, is all one.' Therefore, all theſe Articles make indeed but one Article, which is this: 'The one true God is three 'diſtinct Perſons; and three diſtinct Perſons '(Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are the one 'true God.'

Plainly, as if a Man ſhould ſay, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, being three Perſons, are one Man; and one Man is theſe three diſtinct Perſons, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*. Is it not now a ridiculous Attempt, as well as a barbarous Indignity, to go about thus to make Aſſes of all Mankind, under Pretence of teaching them a Creed, and Things divine, to deſpoil them of their Reaſon, the Image of God, and the Character of our Nature? But let us, in two Words, examine the Parts of this monſtrous Propoſition, as it is laid down in the Creed itſelf.

'Neither confounding the Perſons, nor di-'viding the Subſtance.'

But how can we not confound the Perſons, that have, they ſay, but one numerical Subſtance? And how can we but divide the Subſtance, which we find in three diſtinct divided Perſons?

'There is one Perſon of the Father, ano-'ther of the Son, another of the Holy Ghoſt.'

Then the Son is not the Father, nor is the Father the Son, nor the Holy Ghoſt either of them: I ſhall not need to prove this Conſequence, not only becauſe it is evident, but becauſe it is acknowledged by the Trinitarians. But, if the Father is not the Son, and yet is, by Confeſſion of all, the one true God, then the Son is not the one true God, becauſe he is not the Father: The Reaſon is ſelf-evident, for, How can the Son be the one true God, if he is not he who is the one true God? After the ſame Manner it may be proved, that, on the *Athanaſian* Principles, neither the Father, nor Holy Spirit are, or can be God, or the one true God; for neither of them is the Son, who is the one true God, according to *Athanaſius*, and all Trinitarians: For they all ſay,

the

the Father is the one true God, the Son is the one true God, and the Holy Ghoſt is the one true God. Which is a threefold Contradiction, becauſe there is but one true God, and one of theſe Perſons is not the other. But, if it be a Contradiction, it is certainly falſe; for every Contradiction, being made up of Inconſiſtencies, deſtroys itſelf, and is its own Confutation.

'The Godhead of the Father, and of the 'Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, is all one; the 'Glory equal, the Majeſty coeternal.'

The Meaning of the laſt Clauſe is, That the Glory and Majeſty of the Son and Holy Spirit is equal to the Glory and Majeſty of the Father; or, the Son and Holy Spirit are equally glorious and majeſtical with God the Father.

Therefore I aſk, Whether the Glory and Majeſty, with which the Son and Spirit are glorious and majeſtical, be the ſame in Number (that is, the very ſame) with which the Father is glorious and majeſtical; or only the ſame for Kind and Degree? If it be not the ſame in Number, then the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, is not, as this Creed teaches, all one; and they are not one and the ſame God: For two infinite and diſtinct Glories, and Majeſties, make two Gods, and three make three Gods; as every one ſees, and, to ſay true, the Trinitarians themſelves confeſs. It remains therefore that, they ſay, the Glory and Majeſty of the Son and Spirit is the ſame in Number, and not for Kind and Degree only, with that of the Father: But then it follows, that the Glory and Majeſty of theſe Perſons is neither equal nor coeternal. Not equal; for it is the ſame, which Equals never are: Nor coeternal, for this alſo plainly intimates, that that they are diſtinct; for, How coeternal, if not diſtinct? Do we ſay, a Thing is coeternal or contemporary with itſelf? Therefore, this Article alſo doth impugn and deſtroy itſelf. Beſides, if the Glory and Majeſty of the three Perſons be numerically the ſame, then ſo are all their other Attributes: From whence it follows, that there is not any real Difference between the three Perſons, and they are only three ſeveral Names of God; which is the Hereſy of the *Sabellians*.

In the next Place, this Creed teaches, that 'the Father is incomprehenſible, uncreate, 'eternal, almighty; the Son is incomprehen- 'ſible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Holy 'Spirit is incomprehenſible, uncreate, eternal, 'almighty: Alſo, that each of theſe Perſons 'by himſelf is God and Lord; ſo that the 'Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy 'Ghoſt is God: Yet there are not three Gods 'or Lords, nor three Incomprehenſibles, nor 'three Almighties, nor three Eternals or Un- 'created.'

Now if, in Imitation of this, a Man ſhould have a Mind to ſay: 'The Father is a Perſon, 'the Son is a Perſon, and the Holy Ghoſt is a 'Perſon; yet not three Perſons, but one Per- 'ſon.' I would know, why this were not as good Grammar and Arithmetick, as when *Athanaſius* ſays, The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghoſt is God, yet not three Gods, but one God: Or, when he ſays, The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Ghoſt uncreated, yet not three Uncreated, but one Uncreated; and ſo of the reſt?

Doth not a Man contradict himſelf, when the Term or Terms, in his Negation, are the ſame with thoſe in his Affirmation? If not, then it may be true, that, 'The Father is a 'Perſon, the Son is a Perſon, the Holy Ghoſt 'is a Perſon, yet there are not three Perſons, 'but one Perſon: For all the Fault here is only this, that, in the laſt Clauſe, the Term Perſon is denied to belong to more than one, when, in the firſt, it had been affirmed of no fewer than three. For the ſame Reaſon, it muſt be a Contradiction to ſay, 'The Father 'is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghoſt 'is God, yet there are not three Gods, but 'one God:' For the Term God is at laſt denied to belong to more than one, though, in the firſt Clauſe, it was affirmed of three. Will they ſay, that in theſe Words, There are not three Gods, but one God, the Term God is not denied to belong to more than one, or is not appropriated to one? If ſo, then there are not three Perſons, but one Perſon; and again, there are not three Men, but one Man: Then I ſay, theſe Propoſitions do not deny the Terms Perſon and Man to belong to more than one, or appropriate them to one only; which yet every Body confeſſes they do.

But here is a numerical, or arithmetical, as well as grammatical Contradiction. For, in ſaying, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt; yet not three Gods, but one God: A Man firſt diſtinctly numbers three Gods; and then, in ſumming them up, brutiſhly ſays, Not three Gods, but one God.

To theſe Things it will, perhaps, be anſwered, that when we ſay, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt; or thus, The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghoſt is God; the Term God is uſed perſonally: But, when it is ſaid, There are not three Gods, but one God; the Term God is uſed eſſentially, and therefore comprehends the whole three Perſons; ſo that there is neither a grammatical, nor arithmetical Contradiction. But this Remedy is worſe, if poſſible, than the Diſeaſe; for it owns that there are three perſonal Gods, though there is but one eſſential God; and that, otherways, the Propoſitions, of which we are ſpeaking, would imply all the aforeſaid Contradictions. This Remedy, I ſay, is worſe than the Diſeaſe; for, 1. Three perſonal Gods, and one eſſential God, make four Gods, if the eſſential God be not the ſame with the perſonal Gods; and, though he is the ſame with them, yet, ſince they are not the ſame with one another, but diſtinct, it follows, that there are three Gods, that is, three perſonal Gods. 2. It introduces two Sorts of true Gods, three perſonal, and one eſſential. But the Chriſtian Religion knows and owns but one true and moſt high God, of any Sort. And I would know of the Trinitarians, whether they dare ſay, in expreſs Words, There are two Sorts of true Gods?

'For like as we are compelled by the 'Chriſtian Verity, to acknowledge every Per-'ſon by himſelf to be Lord and God, *&c.*'

By the Chriſtian Verity, I ſuppoſe is meant, the ſacred Books which contain the Chriſtian Religion; that is, the Books of the Old and New Teſtaments. But do theſe Books, and does this Verity compel us to the Acknowledgment of three Perſons, each of which is, by himſelf, ſupreme God and Lord, and yet, all of them together, but one God? Doth, I ſay, the Holy Scripture compel us to this contradictory Acknowledgment? Is there any Text alledged from Scripture, which all the Unitarians, and ſome or other of the moſt learned Trinitarians, do not eaſily interpret in ſuch Senſe, that the Unity of God is preſerved; and, no more than one Perſon, even the God and Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, acknowledged to be God? *See the Hiſtory of the* Unitarians. But, if there is no Text of Scripture, but what is, in the Opinion of ſome or other of their own learned Men, fairly capable of a Senſe contrary to the Faith delivered in this Creed, then we are not compelled to acknowledge this Faith. And the Truth is, the Conteſt between the Unitarians and Trinitarians is not, as is commonly thought, a Claſh of Reaſon with Scripture: But it lieth here, Whether, when the Holy Scriptures may be underſtood as teaching only one God, or but one who is God, which agrees with the reſt of Scripture, and with natural Reaſon; we muſt, notwithſtanding, prefer an Interpretation of it that is abſurd, and contrary to itſelf, to Reaſon, and to the reſt of Scripture, ſuch as the Trinitarian Interpretation, expreſſed in this Creed, appears to be? In a Word, the Queſtion only is, Whether we ought to interpret Holy Scripture when it ſpeaks of God, according to Reaſon, or not; that is, like Fools, or like wiſe Men?

'The Son is of the Father alone, not 'made, nor created, but begotten.'

Here, and in the next Period, *Athanaſius* is got into his Altitudes, or Profundities, which you will. Here it is, that the Ignorant think they are taught the inmoſt Secrets of Theological Knowledge; but *High* and *Low* are not more contrary, than the Things which are here affirmed as equal Truths.

If the Creed-maker had ſpoke here of the Generation of the Son by the Divine Power on the Virgin *Mary*, it would have been true, that 'the Son is neither made, nor created, 'but begotten;' but then the firſt Part of the Article would be falſe, 'That the Son is of 'the Father alone;' for he, that has a Father and a Mother, is of both: But, ſince he ſpeaks of the (pretended) eternal Generation, the latter Part of the Article is falſe, and inconſiſtent with the firſt Part of it. Every Novice in Grammar or proper Speaking knows, that *Begotten*, when it is diſtinguiſhed from *Made* and *Created*, always ſuppoſes two Parents, a Mother, as well as a Father: It is, therefore, a Contradiction to ſay, 'The Son is of 'the Father alone, not made, nor created, 'but begotten;' for, if he is begotten, he cannot be of the Father alone; and, if he is of the Father alone, he is not begotten, but either made, or created.

'The Holy Ghoſt is of the Father, and of 'the Son, neither made, nor created, nor 'begotten, but proceeding.'

The firſt Fault here is, That the Holy Spirit is ſaid to proceed from the Father, and from the

the Son: To which Hereſy the *Greek* Church have ever oppoſed thoſe clear Words, *John* xv. 26. *When the Comforter is come, whom I will ſend unto you* from the Father, *even the Spirit of Truth*, which proceedeth from the Father, *he ſhall teſtify of me.*

Secondly, He ſaith here, That the Holy Ghoſt is not begotten, but proceeding; he adds, ſhortly after, That 'he, who will be 'ſaved, muſt thus think of the Trinity.' Therefore, ſurely, *Begotten* and *Proceeding* differ very much, and very clearly; elſe it is an harſh Sentence, That we ſhall be damned, if we do not conceive, beſides all other inconceivable Myſteries of this Creed, that the Holy Ghoſt is not begotten, but proceeds. Yet, after all, it is now confeſſed, by the moſt learned Trinitarians, that *Begotten* and *Proceeding* differ nothing at all; and that it is rightly ſaid, 'The Son proceeds from the Fa-'ther, and that the Holy Ghoſt is generated 'of both,' directly contrary to this Creed. It follows, that *Athanaſius* has damned the whole World, for not diſtinguiſhing, where no Diſtinction can be made, at leaſt with any Certainty. And, perhaps, this damning Humour of his has juſtly provoked ſome to write him, not *S. Athanaſius*, but, drawing the *S* a little nearer, *Sathanaſius.*

'So there is one Father, not three Fa-'thers; one Son, not three Sons; one Ho-'ly Ghoſt, not three Holy Ghoſts.'

In Conſiſtence with what goes before, he ſhould have ſaid, Two Fathers, two Sons, and three Holy Ghoſts, or Spirits. For the ſecond Perſon is the Son of the firſt, and the third proceeds (which is nothing elſe but *is generated*) from the firſt and ſecond; which makes two Fathers, and two Sons; and all three of them are Holy Spirits; for the Father is an Holy Spirit, and ſo is the Son, no leſs than the third Perſon. But this is not the firſt Time, in this Creed, that *Athanaſius* has diſcovered he could not count.

'In this Trinity, none is afore, or after 'other; none is greater, or leſs than ano-'ther.'

Yet the Son himſelf ſaith, *John* xiv. 28. *My Father is greater than I.* And, for the other Clauſe, 'None is afore, or after other,' it is juſt as true, as that there is no Difference between *afore*, and *after*. I aſk, Whether the Son doth not, as he is a Son, derive both Life and Godhead from the Father? All Trinitarians agree, he does; grounding themſelves on the *Nicene* Creed, which expreſly calls the Son 'God of God, Light of Light, very 'God of very God; begotten, not made.' But, if the Father gave to the Son Life and Godhead, he muſt have both, before he could communicate or give either of them to the Son, and conſequently was before the Son was. No Effect is ſo early as its Cauſe; for, if it were, it ſhould not have needed, or had that for its Cauſe. No Propoſition in *Euclid* is more certain or evident than this.

'The right Faith is, That we believe and 'confeſs, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son 'of God, is both God and Man.'

Then the Lord Chriſt is two Perſons; for, as he is God, he is the ſecond Perſon of the (pretended) Trinity; and, as he is Man (a *perfect Man*, as this Creed afterwards ſpeaks) he is alſo a Perſon; for a rational Soul, vitally united to an human Body, is a Perſon, if there be any ſuch Thing as a Perſon upon Earth; nay, it is the only Thing upon Earth, that is a Perſon. Let the *Athanaſians*, therefore, either ſay, that the Lord Chriſt is two Perſons; which is the Hereſy of *Neſtorius*, condemned in a General Council; or, that he is not a Man, contrary to 1 *Tim.* ii. 5. *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jeſus Chriſt*; or, that he is not God, which is the Truth.

'Who, although he be God and Man, yet 'he is not two, but one Chriſt; one, not by 'Converſion of the Godhead into Fleſh, but 'by Taking of the Manhood into God; one, 'not by Confuſion of Subſtance, but by U-'nity of Perſon.'

But, becauſe theſe Words, 'One, by 'Taking of the Manhood into God, not by 'Converſion of the Godhead into Fleſh;' and again, 'One, not by Confuſion of Subſtance, 'but by Unity of Perſon,' cannot readily be underſtood by themſelves, therefore the Creed-maker explains them, in this following Article: 'For, as the reaſonable Soul and Fleſh 'is one Man, ſo God and Man is one Chriſt.' That is, As a Soul, united vitally to a Body, maketh one Perſon, called Man, without Confounding the two Subſtances of Soul and Body; for the Soul remains what it was, and ſo alſo does the Body; ſo God the Son, being united to a reaſonable Soul and Body, doth, together with them, make one Perſon, called Chriſt, without Confounding the Subſtances of the

Divinity, or Humanity; for the Divinity remains, without the leaſt Change, what it was, and ſo doth the Humanity, or reaſonable Soul and Body. This is the only Offer at Senſe, that is to be found in this whole Creed; but ſo far from explicating, that it farther perplexes the Difficulty of the (pretended) Incarnation; as will appear by theſe two Conſiderations:

1. In the perſonal Union of a Soul with a Body, the Union is between two finite Things; but, in the (pretended) perſonal Union of God to Man, and Man to God, the Union is between Finite and Infinite; which, on the Principles of the Trinitarians, is impoſſible. For we muſt either ſuppoſe, that Finite and Infinite are commenſurate, that is, equal; which every one knows is falſe; or that the Finite is united but to ſome Part of the Infinite, and is disjoined from the reſt; which all Trinitarians deny and abhor.

You will ſay, If they admit neither of theſe, How do they ſhew the Poſſibility of the Incarnation, or Union of God and Man? They tell you, God indeed is infinite, and every reaſonable Soul and Body, even that of Chriſt, is finite; yet the whole God and whole Man are united; becauſe, as the whole Eternity of God doth co-exiſt to a Moment of Time, ſo the whole Immenſity of God is in every Mathematical Point of Space. The very Truth is, they cannot otherwiſe defend the Incarnation, or perſonal Union of an infinite God to a finite Man; but, withal, it muſt be owned, that then the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation do infer, imply, and ſuppoſe all the Contradictions, that Mr. *Johnſon* has objected to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, in that little golden Tract ſo deſervedly eſteemed by all. His whole Book and all his Demonſtrations are founded on theſe two Suppoſitions: That a longer Time doth not all of it co-exiſt to a ſhorter; nor is a greater Extenſion conſtipated or contained in a leſs, much leſs in a Mathematical Point. Therefore all his Book, and all, that he hath ſo well ſaid and argued, in the Preface, concerning the Authority and Judicature of Reaſon in Matters of Religion, equally and effectually deſtroys the Doctrines of the Trinity and Tranſubſtantiation. If the Reader would have an excellent Book, let him procure that. But Oh! were the Preſs as free for the Unitarians, as it is for other Proteſtants, How eaſily would they make it appear, that the Follies and Contradictions, ſo juſtly charged on the Tranſubſtantiation, are neither, for Number, Conſequence, nor Clearneſs, any way comparable to thoſe implied in the *Athanaſian* Creed! And that the Trinity hath the ſame, and no other Foundation with the Tranſubſtantiation! So that we muſt of Neceſſity admit both, or neither. If the Church is to interpret Scripture for us, we muſt admit both; but, if Reaſon, we can admit neither; and this, I think, the Trinitarians will not deny.

But, *ſecondly*, in the (pretended) Incarnation or Union of God with Man, the Union cannot be perſonal, as it is between the Soul and Body; it cannot, I mean, be ſuch an Union, as to make but one Perſon. The Union of the Soul and Body may be properly perſonal, that is, may conſtitute or make one Perſon, becauſe it is not the Union of two Perſons, but only of one Perſon, the Soul, to a Thing otherwiſe without Life, Reaſon, Memory, or Free-will. The Body is but, as it were, the Garment of the Soul, and is wholly acted by it, and depending on it: But, in the (pretended) Union of God with a Man, there are two diſtinct and very different Lives, Memories, Reaſons, and Free-wills; which utterly deſtroys a perſonal Union; for that ſuppoſes but one Life, one Reaſon, one Memory, one Free-will. For, if theſe Things, which conſtitute a Perſon, are found more than once, there is no longer one Perſon, but two, and conſequently no perſonal Union, in the Senſe of which we are ſpeaking.

'This is the Catholick Faith; which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be 'ſaved.'

By Believing, *Athanaſius* doth not mean bare Believing, but he includeth alſo therein Profeſſion; for he ſaith a little before: 'The 'right Faith is, That we believe and confeſs, '*&c.*' So that a Man cannot be ſaved, unleſs he believes and profeſſes, as this Creed directs him.

Firſt, For Believing: What if a Man cannot believe it? Are we obliged, under the Penalty of the Loſs of Salvation, to believe it, whether we can, or no? Doth God require of any Man an impoſſible Condition, in order to Salvation?

Secondly, As to Profeſſing, under Pain of Damnation: What if it be againſt a Man's

Conſcience to profeſs it? The Scripture ſaith, *Whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin*; if therefore a Man profeſs againſt his Conſcience, he ſins; and if, notwithſtanding this, a Man muſt either profeſs, or be damned, then God requires ſome Men to ſin in order to their Salvation: But this we are ſure is falſe, and therefore that the Menace in the Article is vain.

And now I appeal to all Men, that have any Freedom of Judgment remaining: Whether this Creed is fit to be retained in any Chriſtian, much leſs Proteſtant and Reformed Church? Since it ſubverts the Foundations, not only of Chriſtianity, but of all Religion, that is to ſay, Reaſon and Revelation: There being no Principle in Reaſon and Scripture more evident, than that *God is One*; or, that there is one Almighty, only Wiſe and Good Perſon, or Father of all. If we cannot be ſure of this, then Religion and Chriſtianity are built upon Fancy only, and have no ſolid Foundation.

This Creed may be profeſſed by the *Roman* Political Church, becauſe it gives Countenance to their abſurd Tranſubſtantiation, and cunning Traditions added to Scripture; as thoſe Doctrines do to the Gaining of Veneration, and conſequently Dominion and Riches to their Clergy: But, in a Reformed Church, where the Scripture is held to be a compleat Rule of Faith and Manners, and alſo to be clear and plain in all Things neceſſary to Salvation, even to the meaneſt Underſtanding, that reads it or hears it with Sobriety and Attention; ſuch a Confeſſion of Faith is, I think, intolerable, as being utterly inconſiſtent with thoſe Principles, and reducing us back to the *Roman* Bondage.

Beſides, Nothing has been or is more ſcandalous to *Jews* and *Mahometans*, than this Creed, the chief Article of whoſe Religion is, that there is *One only God*. The Evidence of which Principle is ſuch in Nature as well as Scripture, that it has propagated *Mahometiſm* among greater Numbers, than at this Day own *Chriſtianity*; for the Sake of that one Truth, ſo many Nations have ſwallowed all the Errors and Follies of the *Alchoran*, or that of *Mahomet*; as, on the other Hand, *Chriſtianity* has been rejected and deteſted among them, on the Account of the Chriſtians *Three Perſons, who are ſeverally and each of them God.*

But the Miſchiefs of this Creed do not ſtay here, it is levelled not only againſt the true Faith, but is alſo deſtructive of that Love and Charity, which is the Spirit and Life of Chriſtianity; and, without which, Faith is but a lifeleſs Body. For, as if it would effectually inſpire all its Believers, with a Spirit of Judging, Damning, and Uncharitableneſs; it pronounces the Sentence of eternal Damnation, in the Beginning, Middle, and Concluſion, upon all that do not both believe and profeſs this Faith, and keep it whole and undefiled; that is, upon the whole *Greek* Church, and other Churches in the *Eaſt*; and upon at leaſt Five Parts of Six of all that profeſs *Chriſtianity* in the World, whoſe Underſtandings cannot poſſibly reach to the Senſe and Coherence, which ſome pretend to find in this Creed.

Thus the *Chriſtian* Religion is deſtroyed, in both the eſſential Parts of it, Faith and Love. Hence have proceeded many and endleſs Controverſies, bitter Animoſities, cruel Perſecutions, Wars among *Chriſtians*; and, at length, the more fierce and violent, the more deceitful and ſophiſtical Part, have attained their tyrannical Domination over their Oppoſers; and have introduced and ſettled, a *Chriſtianity* ſhall I call it, or, *a Superſtition*, or a *Polity*, quite contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of our Bleſſed Lord, and of his Apoſtles.

A Deſcription of the moſt glorious and moſt magnificent Arches erected at the *Hague*, for the Reception of *William the Third*, King of *Great-Britain*. With all the Motto's and *Latin* Inſcriptions that were written upon every one of the ſaid Arches. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* from the *Dutch*. *London*: Printed for *F. S.* and are to be ſold by *Richard Baldwin*, at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1691. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

HIS Majeſty *William the Third* of *Great-Britain*, having made his Voyage into *Holland*, and being arrived at the *Hague*, the moſt Noble and moſt High the Eſtates of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, as well as the Honourable Magiſtrates of the *Hague*, gave Orders to prepare for a Reception correſpondent to the Majeſty of ſo glorious and ſo excellent a Monarch. To which Purpoſe their High and Mighty Lordſhips, among other Things, have erected one triumphal Arch, and the Magiſtrates two more, to be ſet, one in the Piazza, called *Buyton-Hoff*, the other in the publick Piazza, and the Third in the Market-place of the *Hague*; the Figure and Structure of which, together with the *Latin* Inſcriptions which adorn them, are as follow.

That which was ſet up at the *Buyton-Hoff* was a triumphal Arch, of a moſt curious *Italian* Architecture, the Order compounded *Dorick*, having three open Gates, that of the Middle being the higheſt of all, ſupported backwards and forwards upon eight Pillars, underneath upon large Baſements, ſeparated from the Body of the Work.

Upon every one of thoſe Baſements, ſtand two of the ſaid Pillars, with a Cupolo of eight Faces upon the ſaid Overture: In the Middle of which Cupolo appears a Pedeſtal, upon which is repreſented his Majeſty on Horſeback, both Figures coſtly gilded. To the Horſes, on each Side are tied two Slaves, or Statues, of a Braſs Colour, proſtrate and groveling, and the whole Work is coloured, as if it were of Free-ſtone; between the Pillars, and upon each Side, inward and outward, the Spaces are filled with Pictures, comprehending ſome Hiſtorical Repreſentation, and Hieroglyphical Figure, relating to the Life and glorious Actions of his Majeſty. At the Frontiſpiece of that ſtately Arch, and upon the fore-mentioned Pillars, as well backwards as forwards, and at each Side are placed in the ſame Order eight Statues of both Sexes together, to the Heighth and Bigneſs of the Life. In that Part of the Arch, which faceth the End of the Town, upon a very high Pedeſtal, ſet above all, on both Sides of the round Pieces that cover the Work, is erected a *Neptune*, lying down with his Trident in his Hand, with this Motto underneath:

Triumphet in Undis. Let him triumph upon the Seas.

At the other Side of the Arch that looks towards the Street, commonly called *Cingel*, upon a like Pedeſtal, a Plough-man with a Spade in his Hand, with this Motto underneath,

Attingat Solium Jovis. Let him reach to *Jupiter's* Throne.

Round about the Cupolo is written the following Inſcription:

'Pio, Felici, Inclyto, Guilielmo tertio, triumphanti Patriæ patri, Gubernatori, *P.C.I.P.* 'Reſtauratori Belgii fœderati, Liberatori Anglicæ, Servatori Scotiæ, Pacificatori Hiberniæ, 'reduci.

To

To the pious, happy, renowned *William the Third*, the triumphant Father of his Country, Governor, Stadtholder, and Reſtorer of the *United Netherlands*, *England*'s Liberator, *Scotland*'s Preſerver, *Ireland*'s Pacificator, now returned.

Upon the Frontiſpiece, underneath the Statues above-mentioned on the Side of the *Buyton-hoff*, are theſe following Inſcriptions:

In the *firſt* Place,

'Poſt maximas res domi foriſque geſtas, 'arctiſſimo cum Principibus icto fœdere, ſuo-'rum vindex, Defenſor oppreſſorum.

After great Things done at Home and Abroad, as having made a ſtrict League with the Princes, the Revenger of his Subjects Wrongs, and Defender of the Oppreſſed.

Under that, and upon a large Picture, there is a little Table upon which are repreſented ſeveral armed Men, fighting a Dragon, with this Motto,

Uniti fortius obſtant. Being united they make a ſtronger Oppoſition.

In the ſecond hollow Seat this Motto,

'Mare tranſvectus liberat Britanniam, & 'latè dominantibus ornatus Sceptris, in Patriam 'publica cum lætitia receptus eſt.

Being paſſed beyond Sea, he has reſcued *Great-Britain*, and being adorned with Scepters of a vaſt extended Power, he has been received in his own Country with all the Demonſtrations of publick Joy.

In the Table underneath is repreſented a Balance with the two Scales, in one of which are ſeveral Crowns, and in the other a Sword, the Sword out-weighing the Crowns, with theſe Words,

Præmia non æquant. Rewards are not anſwerable to Merit.

In the third hollow Seat, this Motto,

'Lugente Patria, mœrente Europa, afflicta 'antiquiſſima Naſſoviorum ſtirpe, Heroum, Im-'peratorum, Principum fœcunda.

Our Country mourning and bewailing, *Europe* in Tears, the moſt ancient Family of *Naſſau*, fertile and producing Heroes, Emperors, and Princes afflicted.

In a Table underneath is repreſented a Phœnix burning, with this Sentence:

Prælucet poſthuma proles. Born after his Father's Death, ſhines ſo much the more.

In the fourth hollow Nich,

'Gulielmum poſthumum, Britannorum A-'rauſionenſiumque tertium, Patriæ ſpem, Rei-'publicæ palladium.

William born after his Father's Death, the Third of *Great-Britain*, and of *Orange*, the Hope of his own Country, and the Support of the Commonwealth.

In a Table underneath is repreſented a Scepter and three Crowns with this Motto,

Tenues ornant diademata cunæ. Tender Age an Ornament to Diadems.

On the Back-ſide of the ſaid Arch, towards the Palace, are alſo four hollow Niches in the Frontiſpiece, with the following Inſcriptions:

In the firſt hollow Nich,

'Fatum, Europæ favens, dedit de Cœlo, fa-'turam portendens Majeſtatem, admodum pue-'rum exemplar conſtituit.

Fate, favourable to *Europe*, has beſtowed him from Heaven, and portending his future Majeſty fixed him for an Example, when he was but very young.

As on the other Side, above a large Picture, there is a little Table, upon which is repreſented a young Eagle flying upwards againſt the Riſing of the Sun, with this Motto, *Tener adverſis enititur alis.* Young and tender as he is, he ſtrives with all the Force of his Wings againſt the Wind.

In the Second, 'Qui juventute ſtrenuè 'tranſacta, funeſtis jactata bellis ac diſſidiis in 'tanto rerum diſcrimine.' Who having ſpent his Youth in many Hardſhips, toſſed with funeſt Wars and Seditions, in ſo much Hazard, vanquiſhed all before him.

In the Table underneath is repreſented a Caſtle upon a Hill, at the Foot of which is a Javelin planted, from which ſpring up two Branches of Lawrel, with theſe Words, *Contorta Triumphos portendit.* Darted forth it preſages Triumphs.

In the Third, 'Nutantis Belgii, qua Mari, 'qua Terra admotus, in priſtinum decus gu-'ber-

' bernaculi, gloriam, aras & focos aſſeruit.' The *Netherlands* tottering, and he made Chief Commander by Sea and Land, has re-eſtabliſhed the Government in its firſt Luſtre, conſerved our Religion, and ſecured the People.

In the Table underneath is a Boat with ſome armed Men in it, who row it forward, with this Inſcription, *Alter erit Tethys.* There will be another *Tethys.*

In the Fourth hollow Seat, ' Meritis famam ſuperantibus Trophæis, Principiatavis ' Regibus editæ, felicibus junctis hymenæis.' His merited Triumphs ſurmounting Fame itſelf, more glorious ſtill by happy Marriage with a Princeſs, born of Royal Anceſtors.

In the Table underneath, are an Unicorn and a Lion, going Side by Side, the Unicorn thruſting with his Horn a Heap of Serpents and Vipers, with theſe Words, *Viruſque fugant vireſque repellunt,* They drive away the Venom and repel the Force of it.

On the one Side of the Pedeſtal, where is the King on Horſeback, are theſe Words written, *Populi Salus.* The People's Welfare. *Procerum decus.* The Glory of the States.

Within the Arch's Cieling are four different Hiſtorical Repreſentations, in four Tables ſeparated one from another, and each of them has an Inſcription: That of the firſt Table is, *Refert Saturnia Regna.* He reviveth the golden Age.

In the ſecond Table, *Novos orbes nova Sceptra paramus.* We are preparing for new Worlds and new Scepters.

In the Third, *Superare & parcere veſtrum eſt.* Your Part it is to overcome and to forgive.

In the Fourth, *Cætera tranſibunt.* All other Things are tranſitory.

The Arch itſelf is adorned both before and behind, and at the Top of the afore-mentioned Overtures, you ſee the Arms of *England,* and the Supporters withal; and of the large Overture, both behind and before, the Arms of *Holland,* and two flying Fames at each Side of them, blowing their Trumpets.

The Deſcription of the Arch in the Publick Piazza.

This triumphal Arch is, as the other, of a very fine and ſtately Architecture, with Pillars coloured like Marble, red and white, and the reſt of the Body of the Work of Marble, black and white; the Baſis and the Chapter gilded with four great Pictures, two behind, and two before, ſet between the fore-mentioned Pillars, drawn in lively Colours; the two that are foremoſt, repreſenting a Battle of the *Romans* by Sea and Land; and the two that are behind, one repreſenting War, and the other Peace: War, with a flaming World, near which, ſeveral Perſons repreſented, ſome dead, and ſome alive, make Juſtice lie down in Diſtreſs. Peace, with a World, upon which Juſtice and Peace ſtanding, embrace one another, and by them is the God *Pan,* and his Companions, making themſelves merry with ſome Fruits of the Earth. At the upper Part of the Arch in the Middle, is a Pedeſtal, upon which is the King on Horſeback, as big as the Life, Braſs-like, with this Motto,

Regi Triumphanti.
To the Triumphant King.

Above the King on Horſeback are erected two Wreaths, croſſing and covering his Head, adorned with Green, and above it a royal Crown, with the Scepters, and a Croſs underneath.

On each Side of the Arch are two Squares, wherein are ſet, both behind and before, tranſparent Pictures, wrought upon Silk, which were lighted in the Evening, and ſhewed on one Side a Cloud, and a Pillar of Fire on the other, the Corners being adorned with Green. At the gilded Frize of the Arch, are written theſe Words:

Soloque Saloque,
By Land and Sea.
In reprimenda tyrannide & reſtituenda ſæculi felicitate;
In repreſſing Tyranny, and reſtoring the Felicity of the Age.

And on each Side of the aforeſaid Frize are theſe Inſcriptions:

On the Right, *Heroibus priori.* To him that excels the Heroes.

And on the Left Side, *Antiquis Majori.* To him who is greater than any of the Ancients.

On

On each Side of the forementioned Pedeſtal, upon which is the King on Horſeback, are two gilded Armours, and two covered with Silver, adorned with Feathers, and ſome Trophies beſides; *England*'s Coat of Arms before, and the King's Cypher behind.

The ſaid Arch has on every Side two Wings, in which are repreſented the Hiſtories of *Hercules*, *Perſeus*, *Phaeton*, and *Andromeda*'s Deliverance, with four Eſcutcheons of the four Kingdoms, *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

Underneath, round about the ſaid Arch, are theſe Words: Before, *Sceptris exercitibus, claſſibus votis.* Behind, *Auguſto, armato, parato, recepto.* Which muſt be read thus: *Auguſto ſceptris, Armato exercitibus, Parato claſſibus, Recepto votis.*

Honoured with Scepters, armed with Armies, provided with Fleets, and received with Acclamations.

On each Side of the Arch are two Pictures, one repreſenting *Europe* Diſtreſſed, and the other, *Neptune* Raviſhing, with this Motto: *Eripe raptori miſeram;* Snatch the Wretched from the Raviſher. The other, *Mea jura tuere*, Defend my Right.

Above the Door of the Arch theſe Words are written, *Haga poſuit Coſſ. decreto.* The Town of the *Hague* has erected this Arch by the Decree of the Magiſtrates.

The Deſcription of the ſtately Arch erected at the Great Market-place.

This Arch is the higheſt of all, without any Pillars in Relief. However, it is filled with very large Pictures of a greyiſh Colour, of which, two, that are upon the Door, are drawn upon Silk, to be tranſparent by Torch-light in the Evening. Upon that Arch is a Rainbow, with three Crowns, ſeeming to hang in the Air. There is beſides upon that Arch a Sphere, and upon it a Flying Fame with her Trumpet, and the Horſe *Pegaſus* running by her, and ſome Trophies on every Corner of each Side. On the Backſide of the ſaid Arch is ſeen the Imperial Coat of Arms of *Naſſau*, that of the Emperor *Adolphus* of the Family of *Naſſau*, with the eight Quarters on every Side. Round about the fore-mentioned Arch are theſe following Inſcriptions:

Nobilium Primo, Ducum Maximo, Poſthumo Gulielmo tertio, Cœlitus dato. To the Firſt of Noble Heroes, to the greateſt of Generals *William the Third*, a *Poſthumus*, the Gift of Heaven. Above the Pictures on the Backſide, *Victoriis, Trophæis, Fortiſſimo Imperatori, Cautiſſimo Gubernatori, deſtinatis.* Erected to the Victories and Trophies deſigned for a moſt ſtrenuous Leader, and prudent Commander.

Underneath at the Bottom of the Arch upon one Side, *Quatuor Regnorum Regi, fœderati Belgii Gubernatori, Gulielmo tertio, Virtute & Triumphis fulgenti.* For *William the Third*, King of four Kingdoms, Governor of the *United-Provinces*, ſhining with Virtues and Triumphs.

On the other Side, *Grati animi & letitiæ publicæ ſignum hoc erexit Haga Comitis.* The *Hague* has erected this as a Teſtimony of publick Joy and Gratitude.

On each Side of the Arch are two Wings, compoſing together a half Circle, and in each of thoſe Wings are ſeven Pictures, repreſenting the Battles and Victories of the precedent Princes of *Orange* by Sea and Land, each Picture having its Motto: Upon the Firſt of the Right Wing, *Patientia læſa furor fit.* Patience exaſperated turns to Fury.

Upon the Second, *Res poſcit opem & conſpirat amicè.* The Matter requires Aid, and friendly Confederacy.

Upon the Third, *Per tela, per undas.* Through Darts and Waves.

Upon the Fourth, *Audentes Deus ipſe juvat.* God himſelf aſſiſts the Courageous.

Upon the Fifth, *Tantas dedit Unio vires.* Such is the Force of Union.

Upon the Sixth, *Aquilas & mœnia cepit.* Nor Walls nor Armies can reſiſt him.

Upon the Seventh, *Celſas ſuperas Virtute carinas.* Your Valour maſters the talleſt Navies.

Upon the Firſt of the Left Wing, *Repetenda quieſcunt arma Virûm.* Armies laid aſide are again to be taken in Hand.

Upon the Second, *Non uno Virtus contenta Triumpho.* Valour not ſatisfied with a ſingle Triumph.

Upon the Third, *Creſcunt numero creſcente Trophæa.* Number increaſing, the Trophies increaſe.

Upon the Fourth, *Cæſorum replebant funera campos.* The Funerals of the Dead filled up the Fields.

Upon

Upon the Fifth, *Ultra Garamantas & Indos.* Farther than the *Garamantes* and the *Indies.*

Upon the Sixth, *Fortis promiſſa Juventas.* The Promiſes of a courageous Youth.

Upon the Seventh, *Deos in prælia confert.* He conſults the Gods before he goes to Battle.

In the Middle of every one of thoſe Wings are two Pyramids, one at each Side upon their Pedeſtals, which ſupport a Picture with this Inſcription: Upon that of the Right Hand, *Hanc accipe Magne Coronam.* Great Hero, accept this Crown. Upon that of the Left Hand, *Thure tuo redolent aræ.* Your Incenſe perfumes the Altar.

The ſame Pyramids have each in the Front three tranſparent Pictures, comprehending either a Hieroglyphical Figure, or ſome Trophy or Cypher, being adorned on the Sides with Green, upon one of thoſe Pyramids. The King and the Queen upon the other are ſet to the Bigneſs of the Life.

Upon that of the King is this Inſcription, *Quis gratior appulit oris?* Whoe'er arrived more welcome to our Shore?

Upon that of the Queen, *Reprimit & refigit.* She repreſſes and re-eſtabliſhes.

Upon the Border of the Wings are, in their Order, the firſt four Princes of *Orange* between two Trophies.

Under the Effigies of *William the Firſt, Patriæ Liberatori.* To his Country's Liberator.

Under that of Prince *Maurice, Gloriæ Vindici.* To Glory's Vindicator.

Under that of Prince *Frederick Henry, Libertatis Aſſertori.* To our Liberty's Defender.

Under that of Prince *William the Second, Publicæ felicitatis Statori.* To the Conſervator of our Public Felicity.

Above the Opening of the Arch before is the Eſcutcheon of the *Hague*, with theſe Words underneath, *Hic Incunabula Divûm.* Behold the Cradles of the Gods.

Before the Town-Houſe of the *Hague* are ſeven Pictures tranſparent for a Light. In the higheſt Range are placed in the Middle the Repreſentations of the King and Queen; and on each Side two Hieroglyphical Figures, one repreſenting a Lion with this Motto, *Placidum venerantur, & horrent infeſtum.* They venerate the Moderate, and abhor the Tyrant.

On the other an Unicorn thruſting with his Horn ſome Serpents, with this Inſcription, *Nil paſſa Veneni.* Enduring nothing venomous.

At the Order underneath it contains three Symbols more: The Firſt repreſenting a Crane ſitting upon her Neſt, and clapping her Wings at the Riſing Sun, with theſe Words, *Recreatur ab ortu.* Revived by the Riſing Sun.

The Second repreſents *Atlas* upholding the World upon his Shoulders, and ſtooping under the Weight, and reſting upon a Mountain, with this Inſcription, *In te Domus inclinata recumbit.* Upon thee the falling Manſion leans.

The Third repreſents a Crane reſting in her Neſt, and clapping her Wings at the Riſing Sun, with this Motto, *Vidit & exultavit.* She ſaw and rejoiced.

By the Town-Houſe in the publick Place of Execution, is a Tree like a Maypole, ſurrounded with Arms in four Rows one above another for Torch-light.

The Arch of the Bridge, commonly called the *Looſduyn*, has been coloured with a Repreſentation of a Man and a Woman at an Altar, upon which is the King's Effigies with a Staff in his Hand, upon which Staff his Majeſty's Name is written, with a Crown, and theſe Words underneath, *Io Triumphator.* All hail Triumpher.

Upon the two Pillars of the ſaid Arch of the Bridge, are theſe following Inſcriptions, *Ob Cives ſervatos, & Hoſtes fugatos.* For Citizens preſerved, and Enemies put to Flight.

The other Side of the Arch, *Ob Liberata Regna, & Reſtitutas Provincias.* For the Kingdoms reſcued, and Provinces reſtored.

Behind are two Ovals beſides, in one of which is repreſented a Lawrel, and underneath the Word *Victoriæ*, To Victory.

On the other an Orange-Tree with the Word *Clementiæ*, To Clemency.

I add here for the Concluſion, that in the Middle of the Pond of the Palace was erected a great Scaffold, upon which was ſet down the Cypher of his Majeſty's Name, with a Royal Crown above, which was ſhewn by Torch-light, without mentioning many other curious and artful Lights, in ſeveral other Places; beſides the Firing of thirty great Guns that were planted by the ſaid Pond, and frequently diſcharged as Occaſion and the Deſign required.

A Qvip,

A Qvip for an vpſtart Courtier: Or, a quaint Diſpute between Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches. Wherein is plainely ſet downe the Diſorders in all Eſtates and Trades. *London:* Imprinted by *Iohn Wolfe*, and are to bee ſold at his Shop at *Poules Chayne*, 1592. *In black Letter*, *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

To the Right Worſhipfull *Thomas Burnabie*, Eſquier, *Robert Greene* wiſheth Hartes Eaſe and Heauens Bliſſe.

SIR,

AFTER *I had ended this* Quippe for an vpſtart Courtier, *containing a quaint Diſpute betweene Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches; wherein, vnder a Dreame, I ſhadowed the Abuſes, that Pride had bred in* Englande: *How it had infected the Court with aſpiring Enuie, the Citie with griping Couetouſneſſe, and the Countrye with Contempte and Diſdaine: How, ſince Men placed their Delights in proud Lookes and braue Atyre, Hoſpitality was left off, Neighbourhood was excided, Conſtience was ſkoft at, and Charitie lay frozen in the Streets: How vpſtart Gentlemen, for the Maintainance of that their Fathers neuer lookt after, raiſed Rents, rackte their Tenants, and impoſed great Fines; I ſtoode in a Muſe to whome I ſhoulde dedicate my Labours, knowing I ſhoulde bee bitten by many, ſithens I had toucht many, and therefore neede ſome woorthye Patrone, vnder whoſe Winges I might ſhroud my ſelfe from Goodman Findefault. At laſt I cald to Mind your Worſhip, and thought you the fitteſt of all my Frends, both for the Duetie that I owe, and the worſhipfull Qualities you are indued withall; as alſo for that all* Northamtonſhire *reports, how you are a Father of the Poore, a Supporter of auntient Hoſpitalitie, an Enimie to Pride, and, to be ſhort, a Maintayner of Cloth-breeches, I meane, of the old and woorthye Cuſtomes of the Gentilitie and Yeomanrie of* Englande. *Induced by theſe Reaſons, I humbly preſent this Pamphlet to your Worſhip, only crauing you wil accept it as courtiouſly, as I preſent it duetifully, and then I haue the End of my Deſire; and ſo, reſting in Hope of your fauourable Acceptance, I humbly take my Leaue.*

Your duetifull, adopted Sonne,

ROBERT GREENE.

To the Gentlemen Readers, Health.

Gentle Gentlemen,

I HOPE, Cloth-breeches ſhall find you gentle Cenſors of this homely Apologie of his auntient Prerogatiues, ſith, though he ſpeakes againſt Veluet-breeches, which you weare, yet he twits not the Weede, but the Vice; not the Apparell when tis worthily worn, but the vnworthie Perſon that weares it, who, ſprang of a Peſant,

ſant, will vſe any ſiniſter Meanes to clime to Preferment, being then ſo proude, as the Foppe forgets, like the Mule, that an Aſſe was his Father. For auntient Gentility and Yeomanrie Cloth-breeches attempteth this Quarrell, and hopes of their Fauour; for Vpſtarts he is halfe careles; and the more, bicauſe he knowes, whatſoeuer ſome thincke priuately, they will bee no publike Carpers, leaſt, by kicking where they are toucht, they bewray their gald Backs to the World, and, by ſtarting vp to find Fault, proue themſelues Vpſtarts and Fooles. So, then, poore Cloth-breeches ſets downe his Reſt on the Courteſie of gentle Gentlemen and bold Yeomen, that they will ſuffer him to take no Wrong. But ſuppoſe the Worſt, that hee ſhould bee fround at, and that ſuch Occupations, as hee hath vppon Conſcience diſcarded from the Iury, ſhould commence an Action of Vnkindneſſe againſt him, heele proue it not to hold *Plea*, bicauſe all the Debate was but a Dreame. And ſo, hoping all Men will merrilie take it, he ſtands ſollemnlie leaning on his Pike Staffe, till he heare what you conceaue of him for being ſo peremptorie: If well, he ſweares to crack his Hoſe at the Knees to quite your Courteſie: If hardly, he hath vowed, that whatſoeuer he dreames, neuer to blab it again; and ſo he wiſheth me humbly to bid you Farewell.

IT was iuſt at that Time, when the Cuckould's Quirreſter began to bewray *Aprill* Gentlemen, with his neuer chaunged Notes, that I, damped with a melancholy Humor, went into ye Fields to cheere vp my Wits with the freſh Aire; where ſolitarie ſeeking to ſolace my ſelfe, I fell in a Dreame, and in that drowſie Slomber I wandered into a Vale, all tapiſtred with ſweet and choice Flowres; there grew many Simples, whoſe Vertues taught Men to be ſubtil, and to think Nature, by her Weeds, warnd Men to be wary, and by their ſecret Properties, to check wanton and ſenſuall Imperfections. Amongſt the reſt, there was the yellow Daffadil, a Flowre fit for gelous Dottrels, who through the Bewty of their honeſt Wiues, grow ſuſpitious, and ſo p[illegible]e themſelves, in the End, cuckould Heretikes; there buded out the checkerd (Paunſie) or party coloured Harts Eaſe, an Herbe ſildome ſeene, either of ſuch Men as are wedded to Shrewes, or of ſuch Women that haue haſty Huſbands; yet ther it grew, and as I ſtept to gather it, it ſlipt from me like *Tantalus* Fruit, that failes their Maiſter. At laſt, woondring at this ſecret Qualitie, I learned that none can weare it, be they Kinges, but ſuch as deſire no more then they are borne to, nor haue their Wiſhes aboue their Fortunes. Vppon a Banke bordring by, grewe Womens Weedes, Fenell I meane for Flatterers, fit generally for that Sexe, ſith while they are Maidens, they wiſhe wantonly; while they are Wiues, they will wilfully; while they are Widowes, they would willingly; and yet all theſe proud Deſires are but cloſe Diſſemblinges. Neere adioyning, ſprouted out the Courtiers Comfort, Time: An Herb that many ſtumble on, and yet ouerſlip, whoſe rancke Sauor, and thick Leaues, haue this peculiar Property, to make a Snaile, if ſhe taſt of the Sappe, as ſwift as a Swallow, yet ioyned with this Preiudice, that if ſhe clime too haſtily, ſhe falls too ſuddenly. Mee thought I ſaw diuers yong Courtiers tread vppon it with high Diſdain, but as they paſt away, an Adder, lurking there, bit them by the Heeles that they wept; and then I might perceiue certaine Clownes in clowted Shoone gather it, and eat of it with Greedineſſe; which no ſooner was ſunke into their Mawes, but they were metamorphoſed, and lookt as proudlye, though Peſants, as if they had been borne to be Princes Companions.

Amongſt the reſt of theſe Changlings whome the Taſt of Time had thus altered, there was ſome that lifted their Heades ſo hie, as if they had beene bred to look no lower then Stars; they thought *Noli altum ſapere* was rather the Saying of a Foole, then the Cenſure of a Philoſopher, and therefore ſtrecht themſelues on their Tiptoes, as if they had beene a Kindred to the Lord Tiptoſt, and began to diſdain their Equals, ſcorne their Inferiours, and euen their Betters, forgetting now that Time had taught them to ſay Maſſe, how before they had plaide the Clarks Part to ſay Amen to the Prieſt. Tuſh, then they were not ſo little as Gentle-

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men, and their owne Conceipt was the Herralde to blaſon their Deſcente from an olde Houſe, whoſe great Grandfathers would have bin glad of a new Cottage to hide their Heades in. Yet, as the Peacocke wrapt in the Pride of his beautious Feathers is knowne to be but a Dunghill Birde by his foule Feete; ſo, though the high Lookes, and coſtly Suts, argue to the Eies of the World they were Caualiers of great Worſhip, yet the churliſh Illiberalitie of their Mindes bewraide their Fathers were not aboue three Poundes in the Kinges Bookes at a Subſidie; but, as theſe vpſtart Changelings went ſtrouting, like *Philopolimarchides* the Bragart in *Plautus*, they lookte ſo proudlye at the ſame, that they ſtumbled on a Bed of Rue that grewe at the Bottome of the Banke where the Time was planted, which, falln vpon the Dew of ſo bitter an Herbe, taught them that ſuch proud Peacockes as ouer haſtily out run their Fortunes, at laſt, to ſpeedily, fall to Repentaunce; and yet ſome of them ſmild and ſaid, Rue was called Herbe Grace, which though they ſcorned in their Youth they might weare in their Age, and it was neuer too late to ſay *Miſerere*. As thus I ſtood muſinge at this Time borne broad, they vaniſht away like *Cadmus* Copeſmates, that ſprang vp of Vipers Teeth; ſo that, caſting mine Eie aſide after them, I ſaw where a Crew of all Eſtates were gathering Flowres, what Kind they were of I knewe not, but pretious I geſte them, in that they pluckt them with Greedineſs, ſo that I drew towards them to be Partaker of their Profits; coming neerer, I might ſee the Weede they ſo wrangled for was a little daper Flowre, like a Ground Hunniſuckle, called Thrift, praiſed generally of all, but practiſed for Diſtillation but of few; amongſt the Crue that ſeemed couetous of this Herbe, ther was a Troope of old Graiberds in Veluet, Sattin, and Woorſted Iackets, that ſtooped as nimbly to pluck it vp by the Rootes, as if their Joynts had bene ſupled in the Oile of Miſers Skins; they ſpared no Labour and Pains to get and gather, and what they got they gaue to certaine yong Boies and Girls that ſtood behinde them, with their Skirts and Laps open to receiue it; among whome ſome ſcattered it as faſt as their Fathers gathered it, waſting and ſpoyling it at their Pleaſure, which their Fathers got with Labour.

I thought them to be ſome Herbaliſtes, or ſome Apothecaries, that had imployed ſuch Pains to extract ſome rare Quinteſſence out of this Flowre; but one, ſtanding by, told me they were Cormorantes and Vſurers, that gathered it to fill their Cofers with; and whereto, quoth I, is it pretious? What is the Vertue of it? Mary, quoth he, to qualifie the Heat of inſatiable Mindes, that, like the Serpente *Dipſas*, neuer drinketh enough till they are ſo full they burſte; why then, ſaid I, the Diuell burſt them all; and with that I fell into a great Laughter, to ſee certain *Italianate* Cantes, humorous Caualiers, youthfull Gentlemen, and *Inamorati gagliardi*, that ſcornefully pluckt of it, and wore it a While as if they were weary of it, and at laſt left it as to baſe a Flowre to put in their Noſegayes. Others, that ſeemed *Homini di grandi iſtima* by their Lookes and their Walkes, gathered earneſtly and did pocket it vp, as if they meant to keepe it carefully; but, as they wer carrieng it away, there met them a Troup of nice Wantons, fair Women, that like to *Lamiæ* had Faces like Angels, Eies like Stars, Breſtes like the golden Front in the *Heſperides*, but from the Middle downwards their Shapes like Serpents. Theſe with Syrenlike Allurementē ſo entiſed theſe quaint Squires, that they beſtowed all their Flowres vppon them for Fauours, they themſelues walkinge Home by Beggars Buſhe for a Pennance. Amongſt this Crew were Lawyers, and they gathered the Diuell and all; but poore Poets were thruſt backe, and coulde not bee ſuffered to haue one Handfull to put amongſt their withered Garlands of Baies, to make them glorious. But *Hob* and *Iohn* of the Countrey they ſtept in churliſhly, in their high Startvps, and gathered whole Sackfuls; inſomuch they wore Beeſoms of Thrift in their Hats like Fore-horſes, or the luſty Gallants in a Morice-dance: Seeing the Crue thus to wrangle for ſo paltry a Weed, I went alone to take one of all the other fragrante Flowres that diapred this Valley; thereby I ſaw the Batchelers Buttons, whoſe Vertue is to make wanton Maidens weepe, when they haue worne it forty Weekes vnder their Aprons for a Fauour.

Next them grew the deſſembling Daſie, to warne ſuch light of Loue Wenches, not to truſt euery faire Promiſe that ſuch amorous Batchelers make them, but ſweete Smels breed bitter Repentaunce. Hard by grew the true Louers

Primroſe, whoſe kind Sauour wiſheth Men to be faithfull, and Women courteous. Alongſt in a Border, grew Maidenhair, fit for modeſt Maidens to beholde, and immodeſt to bluſhe at, bicauſe it praiſeth the one for their naturall Treſſes, and condemneth the other for their beaſtly and counterfeit Perriwigs. There was the gentle Gilliflowre that Wiues ſhould weare, if they were not too froward; and loiall Lauender, but that was full of Cuckoe-ſpittes, to ſhew that Womens light Thoghts make their Husbands heuy Heads. There were ſweete Lillies, Gods Plenty, which ſhewed faire Virgins need not weepe for Wooers; and Store of Balme, which could cure ſtrange Wounds, only not that Wound which Women receiue when they looſe their Maidenheads; for no Herbe hath Vertue inough to ſcrape out that Blot, and therefore it is the greater Blemiſh. Infinit were the Flowres beſide that beautified the Valley, that, to know their Names and Operations, I needed ſome curious Herball; but I paſſe them ouer as needeleſſe, ſith the Viſion of their Vertues was but a Dreame, and therefore I wiſh no Man to holde any Diſcourſe herein authenticall; yet thus much I muſt ſay for a parting Blow, that at the lower End of the Dale I ſaw a great many of Women vſing high Wordes to their Husbands; ſome ſtriuing for the Breeches, others to haue the laſt Word; ſome fretting they could not find a Knot in a Ruſh, others ſtriuinge whether it were Wooll or Hair the Goat bare. Queſtioning with one that I met, why theſe Women were ſo cholericke, he, like a skoffing Fellow, pointed to a Buſh of Nettles; I, not willing to be ſatisfied by Signes, asked him what he meant thereby? Mary (quoth hee) all theſe Women that you heare brawling, frowning, and ſcolding thus, haue ſeverally piſt on this Buſhe of Nettles, and the Vertue of them is to force a Woman, that waters them, to be as peeuiſh for a whole Day and as waſpiſh as if ſhe had bene ſtung in the Brow with a Hornet. Well, I ſmild at this, and left the Company to ſeeke further, when, in the Twinckling of an Eye, I was left alone, the Valley cleered of all Company, and I, a diſtreſſed Man, deſirous to wander out of that ſolitary Place to ſeeke good Conſorts and boone Companions, to paſſe away the Day withall. As thus I walked forward, ſeeking vp the Hill, I was driuen halfe into a Maſe with the Imagination of a ſtrange Woonder, which fell out thus: Mee thought I ſaw an uncouth headleſſe thinge come pacing downe the Hill, ſtepping ſo proudly with ſuch a Geometricall Grace, as if ſome artificiall Bragart had reſolued to meaſure the World with his Paces: I could not deſcrie it to be a Man, although it had Motion, for that it wanted a Body, yet, ſeeing Legges and Hoſe, I ſuppoſed it to bee ſome Monſter nuriſhte up in thoſe Deſartes: At laſt, as it drewe more nigh unto mee, I might perceiue that it was a very paſſing coſtly Paire of Veluet Breeches, whoſe Panes, being made of the cheefeſt *Neapolitane* Stuffe, was drawne out with the beſt *Spaniſh* Satine, and maruellous curiouſly ouer whipt with Gold Twiſt, interſemed with Knots of Pearle; the Nether-ſtocke was of the pureſt *Granado* Silck; no Coſt was ſpared to ſet out theſe coſtly Breeches, who had girt unto them a Rapyer and Dagger gilt, Point pendante, as quaintly as if ſome curious *Florentine* had trickte them up to ſquare it vp and downe the Streetes before his Miſtreſſe. As theſe Breeches were exceeding ſumptuous to the Eie, ſo were they paſſing pompous in their Geſtures, for they ſtrouted vp and downe the Vally as proudly as though they had there appointed to act ſome deſperat Combat.

Blame mee not if I were driuen into a Muſe with this moſt monſtrous Sight, to ſee in that Place ſuch a ſtrange headleſſe Courtier iettinge up and downe like the Uſher of a Fenſe Schoole about to play his Priſe, when I deeme neuer in any Age ſuch a woonderfull Obiect fortuned unto any Man before. Well, the greater Dumpe this Nouelty draue me into, the more Deſire I had to ſee what Euent would follow: Whereupon looking about to ſe if that any more Company would come, I might perceiue from the Top of the other Hill an other Pair of Breeches more ſoberly marching, and with a ſofter Pace, as if they were not too haſty, and yet would keepe Promiſe nevertheleſſe at the Place appointed. As ſoone as they were come into the Vallie, I ſawe they were a plaine Paire of Cloth-breeches, without either Welte or Garde, ſtraight to the Thigh, of white Kerſie, without a Slop, the Nether-ſtocke of the ſame, ſewed too above the Knee, and only ſeamed with a little Country Blewe, ſuch as in *Diebus illis* our great Grandfathers wore, when Neighbourhood and Hoſpitality had baniſht Pride out of

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Englande: Nor were theſe plaine Breeches weaponleſſe, for they had a good ſower Bat with a Pike in the Ende, able to lay on Load inough, if the Hart were anſwerable to the Weapon; and upon this Staffe, pitcht downe upon the Ground, Cloth-breeches ſtood ſolemnly leaning, as if they meant not to ſtart, but to anſwere to the uttermoſt whatſoeuer in that Place might be obiected. Looking upon theſe two, I might perceiue by the Pride of the one, and homely Reſolution of the other, that this their Meeting would grow to ſome dangerous Conflict; and therefore, to preuent the fatall Iſſue of ſuch a pretended Quarell, I ſtept betwene them both; when Veluet-breeches greeted Cloth-breeches with this Salutation: Proud and inſolent Peſant, how dareſt thou, without Leaue or lowe Reuerence, preſſe into the Place whether I am come for to diſport my ſelfe? Art thou not afraide thy high Preſumption ſhould ſommon me to Diſpleaſure, and ſo force me draw my Rapyer, which is neuer vnſheathed but it turnes into the Scabberd with a Triumph of mine Enimies Bloud: Bold *Bayard* auaunt, beard mee not to my Face, for this Time I pardon thy Folly, and grant thy Legges Leaue to carry away thy Life. Cloth-breeches nothing amaſed at this Bravado, bending his Staffe as if he meant (if he were wronged) to beſtow his Beniſon, with a ſcornefull Kind of Smiling, made this ſmooth Reply: Mary gip Goodman Vpſtart, who made your Father a Gentleman? Soft Fire makes ſweet Mault, the curſteſt Cow hath the ſhorteſt Hornes, and a brawling Curre, of all, bites the leaſt. Alas! good Sir, are you ſo fine that no Man may be your Fellow? I pray you, what Defference is betweene you and mee, but in the Coſt and the Making? Tho' you bee neuer ſo richly daubde with Gould and powdred with Pearle, yet you are but a Caſe for the Buttockes, and a Couer for the baſeſt Part of a Mans Body, no more then I; the greateſt Preheminence is in the Garniſhing, and thereof you are proud; but come to the true Vſe we were appointed to, my Honor is more then thine, for I belong to the old auncient Yeomanry, yea, and Gentility, the Fathers, and thou to a Companie of proud and vnmanerly Vpſtarts the Sonnes. At this, Veluet-breeches ſtormd and ſaid, Why thou Beggars Brat, deſcended from the Reuerſion of baſe Pouertye, Is thy Inſolency ſo great to make Compariſon with me, whoſe Defference is as great as the Brightneſſe of the Sunne, and the ſlender Light of a Candle: I, poor Snake, am ſprung from the auncient *Romans*, borne in *Italy*, the Miſtreſſe of the World for Chiualry, cald into *England* from my natiue Home, where I was famous, to honour your Countrie and yong Gentlemen here in *Englande* with my Countenaunce, where I am holden in high Regarde, that I can preſſe into the Preſence, when thou, poore Soule, ſhalt, with Cap and Knee, beg Leaue of the Porter to enter; and I ſit and dine with the Nobility, when thou art faine to wait for the Reuerſion of the Almes Baſket: I am admitted boldly to tell my Tale, when thou art fain to ſue, by Means of Supplication, and that and thou to, ſo little regarded, that moſt commonly it neuer comes to the Princes Hand, but dies inpriſoned in ſom obſcure Pocket: Sith then there is ſuch Defference betwene our Eſtates, ceaſe to vrge my Patience with thy inſolent Preſumption. Cloth-breeches, as breeſe as hee was proud, ſwore by the Pike of his Staffe, that his Choplogicke was not worth a Pinne, and that he would turne his own Weapon into his Boſome thus: Why Signor *Glorioſo*, quoth hee, tho' I haue not ſuch gloſing Phraſe to trick out my Speeches withall as you, yet I will come ouer your Fallowes with this bad Rhethoricke: I pray you, Mounſier *Malapart*, are you therefore my Superiour, becauſe you are taken vp with Gentlemen, and I with the Yeomanry? Doth true Vertue conſiſt in Riches, or Humanity in Welth? Is auncient Honour tied to outward Brauery? Or not rather true Nobility, a Mind excellently qualified with rare Vertues? I will teach thee a Leſſon worth the Hearing, proud Princocks, how Gentility firſt ſprung up; I will not forget the olde Wiues Logick, When *Adam* delvd, and *Eue* ſpan, who was then a Gentleman? But I tell thee, after the generall Flood, that there was no more Men upon the Earth but *Noe* and his three Sonnes, and that *Cham* had wickedly diſcouered his Fathers Secrets, then grew the Diuiſion of Eſtates thus: The Church was figured in *Sem*, Gentilitye in *Japheth*, and Labour and Drudgerie in *Cham*: *Sem* being chaſt and holy, *Japheth* learned and valiaunt, *Chem* churliſh and ſeruile; yet did not the Curſe extend ſo far vpon *Cham*, nor the Bleſing upon *Japheth*, but, if the one altered his Na-

ture, and became either indued with Learning or Valour, he might be a Gentleman; or, if the other degenerated from his auncient Vertues, hee might be held a Peſaunt; whereupon *Noe* inferred, that Gentility grew not only by Propagation of Nature, but by Perfection of Qualities: Then is your Worſhip wide, that boaſt of your Worth for your Gold and Pearl, ſith *Cucullus non facit Monachum*, nor a Veluet Slop make a Slouen a Gentleman: And whereas thou ſayſt thou wert borne in *Italy*, and called hither by our Courtiers, him may we curſe that brought thee firſt into *Englande*, for thou cameſt not alone but accompanied with a Multitude of abhominable Vices, hanging to thy Bumbaſt nothing but infectious Abuſes, as Vaine-glory, Selfe loue, Sodomie, and ſtrange Poiſonings, wherewith thou haſt infected this glorious Iſland; yea, inſolent Bragart, thou haſt defiled thine one Neaſt, and fatal was the Day of thy Byrth, for, ſince the Time of thy hatching in *Italy*, as then famous for Chiualrey and Learninge, the Imperiall State, through thy Pride, hath decayed, and thou haſt, like the yonge Pellican, peckt at thy Mothers Breſt with thy Preſumption, cauſing them to loſe that their Forefathers with true Honor conquered; ſo haſt thou beene the Ruine of the *Romane* Empyre, and nowe fatally art thou come into *Englande* to atempte heere the like Subuerſion. Whereas thou dooſt boaſt that I am little regarded where thou art highly accounted of, and haſt Sufferance to preſſe into the Preſence, when I am, for my Simpleneſs, ſhut out of Dore: I grant thy Allegation in Part, but not in Whole, for Men of high Wiſdom and Honour meaſure not Men by the outward Shewe of Brauery, but by the inward Worth and Honeſty, and ſo, though I am diſdained of a few ouerweening Fooles, I am valued, as well as thy ſelfe, with the Wiſe. In that thou ſayſt thou canſt ſpeake when I ſue by Supplication, I grant it; but the Tale thou telſt is to the Ruine of the Poore, for comming into high Favour with an impudent Face, what Farme is there expired whoſe Leaſe thou dooſt not begge? What Forfeite of penal Statutes? What conſealed Lands can overſlip thee? Yea, rather then thy Brauery ſhould faile, begge powling Pence for the verye Smooke that comes out of poore Mens Chemnies? Shameſt thou not, vplandiſh Vpſtart, to heare me diſcourſe thy Imperfections; get thee Home againe into thy owne Country, and let me, as I was wont, liue famous in my natiue Home in *Englande* where I was borne and bred, yea, and bearded *Cæſar*, thy Countryman, til he compaſt the Conqueſt by Treaſon. The Right and Title in this Country, baſe Brat, quoth Veluet-breeches; now Authority fauours me, I am admitted Viceroy, and I will make thee do me Homage, and confeſſe, that thou holdſt thy Being and Reſidence in my Land from the gratious Fauour of my Sufferance; and with that he laid on the Hilts of his Rapyer, and Cloth-breeches betooke him to his Staffe, when I, ſtepping betwixt them, parted them thus: Why, what meane ye, will you decide your Controverſie by Blowes, when you may debate it by Reaſon; this is a Land of Peace, gouerned by true Iuſticiaries and honorable Magiſtrats, where you ſhall haue Equitie without Partiality, and therefore liſten to me, and diſcuſſe the Matter by Lawe; your Quarrel is, Whether of you are moſt auncient and moſt worthy? You, Sir, boaſt of your Country and Parentage, hé of his natiue Birth in *Englande*; you claime all, he would haue bu his owne; both plead an abſolute Title of Reſidence in this Country; then muſt the Courſe betweene you be Treſpaſſe or Diſſeiſon of franke Tenament; you Veluet-breeches, in that you claime the firſt Title, you ſhall bee Plaintiffe, and plead a Treſpaſſe of Diſſeiſon doone you by Cloth-breeches; ſo ſhall it be brought to a Iurie, and tried by a Verdict of twelue or fower and twenty. Tuſh, tuſh, quoth Veluet-breeches, I neither like to be Plaintiffe, nor yet allow of a Iurie, for they may be partiall, and ſo condemne me in mine owne Action; for the Country Swaines cannot value of my Worth, nor can mine Honors come within the Compaſſe of their baſe Wits; bicauſe I am a Stranger in this Land, and but heere latly ariued, they wil hold me as an Vpſtart, and ſo lightly eſteeme of my Worthineſſe, and, for my Aduerſary is their Countriman and leſſe chargeable, he ſhall haue the Lawe mitigated, if a Iurie of Hinds or Peſaunts ſhould bee inpanelled; if auncient Gentlemen, Yeomen, or plaine Miniſters ſhould bee of the Queſt, I were ſure to loſe the Day, becauſe they loath me, in that I haue perſuaded ſo many Landlords, for the Maintenance of my Brauerie, to raiſe their Rentes. You ſeeke a Knot in a Ruſh, quoth

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I, you need not doubt of that, for whom you diſtruſt and think not indifferent, him you, vppon a Cauſe manifeſted, challeng from your Iurie. If your Law allowe ſuch large Fauour, quoth Veluet-breeches, I am content my Title be tried by a Iurie, and therefore let mine Aduerſary plead me *Nul tort*, *Nul diſſeiſon*. Cloth-breeches was content with this, and ſo they both agreed I ſhould bee Iudge and Iuror in this Controuerſie; wherevpon I wiſht them to ſay for themſelues what they could, that I might diſcours to the Iurie what Reaſons they alledged of their Titles. Then Veluet-breeches began thus: I cannot but greeue that I ſhould be thus outfacſt with a Carters Weed, onely fit for Huſbandry, ſeeing I am the Originall of all honourable Endeuors: To what End doth Youth beſtow their Witts on Law, Phiſicke, or Theology, were it not the Ende, they aime at, is the Wearing of me and Wining of Preferment? Honor noriſheth Art, and, for the Regarde of Dignity, do learned Men ſtriue to exceede in their Faculty:

Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos,
Per mare, per ſaxa, &c.

What driues the Merchants to ſeeke forren Marts, to venter their Goods and hazard their Liues? Not, if ſtill the End of their Trauell were a Paire of Cloth Breeches; no, Veluet, coſtly Attire, curious and quaint Apparell is the Spur that prickes them forward to attempt ſuch Daunger. Doth not the Souldior fight to be braue, the Lawyer ſtudy to countenance himſelfe with Coſt? The Artificer takes Paines only for my Sake, that wearing me he may brag it among the beſt. What Credite carries he now adaies that goes pind up in a Cloth Breech? Who will keepe him Companie that thinkes well of himſelfe, vnleſſe he vſe the ſimple Slaue to make cleane his Shoone? The Worlds are chaungde, and Men are growen to more Wit, and their Mindes to aſpire after more honorable Thoughts; they were Dunces in *Diebus illis*, they had not the true Vſe of Gentility, and therefore they lived meanely and died obſurely, but now Mennes Capacities are refined; Time hath ſet a new Edge on Gentlemens Humors, and they ſhew them as they ſhould bee, not like Glottons as their Fathers did, in Chines of Beefe and Almes to the Poore, but in Veluets, Sattins, Cloth of Gold, Pearle, yea, Pearle Lace, which ſcarſe *Caligula* wore on his Birth-Day; and to this honourable Humor haue I brought theſe Gentlemen ſince I came from *Italy*. What is the End of Seruice to a Man but to countenance himſelfe and credit his Maiſter with braue Suites? The ſcuruy Tapſters and Oſtlers, *ſex populi*, fill Pots, and rubbe Horſeheeles, to prancke themſelues with my Glory. Alas! were it not to wear me, why would ſo many apply themſelues to extraordinary Idlenes? Beſide, I make Fooles be reuerenſt, and thought wiſe amongſt the common Sort; I am a ſeuere Senſor to ſuch as offend the Law, prouided there be a Penalty annexed that may bring in ſome Profite; yea, by me the cheefeſt Part of the Realm is gouerned, and therefore I refer my Title to the Verdit of any Men of Judgment. To this mildly Cloth-breeches aunſwered thus:

As I haue had alwayes that honeſt Humor in mee to meaſure all Eſtates by their Virtues, not by their Apparell, ſo did I neuer grudge at the Brauery of any whome Birth, Time, Place, or Dignity, made worthy of ſuch coſtly Ornaments; but, if by the Fauour of their Prince and their owne Deſarts, they merited them, I helde both lawfull and commendable to anſwere their Degrees in Apparell, correſpondent vnto their Dignities, I am not ſo preciſe directly to inueigh againſt the Vſe of Veluet, either in Breeches, or in other Sutes; nor will I have Men goe like *John Baptiſt*, in Coates of Camels Hairs. Let Princes have their Diademes, and *Cæſar* what is due to *Cæſar*; let Noblemen goe as their Byrth requires, and Gentlemen as they are borne or beare Office. I ſpeake in mine owne Defence, for the auncient Gentility and Yeomanrie of *Englande*, and inueigh againſt none, but ſuch malapart Vpſtarts as raiſed vp from the Plough, or aduanced for their *Italian* Deuiſes, or for their witleſſe Wealth, couet in Brauerye to match, nay, to exceed the greateſt Noblemen in this Land.

But leauing this Digreſſion, Mounſier Veluet-breeches, againe to the Perticulars of your fond Allegation. Whereas you affirme yourſelfe to be both original and final End of Learning; alas! proud Princor, you pearch a Bow to hie: Did all the Philoſophers beat their Braines, and buſie their Wits to wear Veluet Breeches? Why both at that Time thou were unknowne,

unknowne, yea, unborne, and all Exceſs in Apparell had in high Contempt; and nowe in theſe Daies all Men of Worth are taught by Reading, that Exceſs is a great Sin; that Pride is the firſt Step to the Downefall of Shame. They ſtudy with *Tully*, that they may ſeeme borne for their Countries, as well as for themſelues. The Devine to Juſtice, the Phiſition to diſcover the Secretes of Godes Wonders, by working ſtrange Cures. To be breeſe, the End of all Being, as to knowe God; and not as your Worſhip, good Maiſter Veluet-breeches, wreſts to creep into Acquaintance.

I will not denie, but there be as fantaſticall Fooles as yourſelfe, that, perhaps, are puft vp with ſuch preſuming Thoughts, and ambitiouſly aime to trick themſelves in your Worſhips Maſking Sutes; but, while ſuch climbe for great Honors, they often fall to great Shames. It may be therevpon you bring in *Honos alit Artes*, but I geſſe your Maiſterſhip never tried what true Honor meant, that truſſe it ope within the Compaſſe of a Paire of Veluet Breeches, and place it in the Arrogancy of the Hart: No, no, ſay Honor is Idolatry, for they make Fooles of themſelves, and Idols of their Carcaſſes; But he that valueth Honor ſo, ſhall reade a Lecture out of *Apuleius* Golden Aſſe, to learne him more Wit. But now, Sir, by your Leaue, a Blow with your next Argument, which is, that Marchants hazard their Goods and Liues to be acquainted with your Maiſterſhip. Indeed you are awrie, for wiſe Men frequent Marts for Profit, not for Pride, unleſſe it be ſome, that by Wearing of Veluet Breeches, and Apparell too high for their Calling, have prooued Bankeroutes in their Youth, and haue been glade in their Age to deſire my Acquaintance, and to truſſe vp their Tailes in Homeſpun Ruſſet. Whereas thou doſt object the Valour of hardy Souldiors to grow for the Deſire of braue Apparell: Tis falſe, and I knowe, if any were preſent, they would proue vpon thy Bones, that thou wert a Lier; for their Countreys Good, their Princes Seruice, the Defence of their Frends, the Hope of Fauor is the finall Ende of their Reſolutions; eſteeming not only them, but the Worlds Glory, fickle, tranſitory, and inconſtant. Shall I fetch from thine own Country Weapons to wound thyſelfe withall? What ſaiſt thou to *Cincinnatus?* Was he not caled to be Dictator from the Plough, and, after many Victories, what, did he iet up and downe the Court in coſtly Garments and Veluet Breeches? No, he diſpiſed Dignitie, contemned vain Glorie and Pride, and returned againe to his quiet contented Life in the Country. How much did *Cajus Fabritius* value their *Numa Pompilius*, *Sceuola*, *Scipio*, *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides*; they held themſelues Wormes Meate, and counted Pride Vanity; and yet thou art not aſhamed to ſay, thou art the Ende of Soldiors worthy Honor. I tell thee, ſawcy Skipiack, it was a good and a bleſſed Time here in *England*, when K. *Stephen* wore a Payre of Cloth Breeches, of a Noble a Payre, and thought them paſſing coſtlye; then did hee count *Weſtminſter* Hal to little to be his Dining Chamber, and his Almes was not bare Bones, inſtead of broken Meat, but luſty Chines of Beefe fel into the poore Mens Baſket. Then Charity flouriſhed in the Court, and yong Courtiers ſtrove to exceede one an other in Vertue, not in Brauery: They rode, not with Fans to ward their Faces from the Wind, but with Burgant to reſiſt the Stroke of a Battleaxe; they could then better exhort a Soldior to Armor, then court a Lady with Amorets; they cauſed the Trumpette to ſounde them Pointes of Warre, not Poets to write them wanton Eligies of Love; they ſoght after honorable Fame, but hunted not after fading Honor; which Diſtinction, by the Way, take thus: There be ſome that ſeek Honor, and ſome are ſoght after by Honor. Such Upſtarts as fetch their Pedigree from their Fathers auncient Leather Apron, and creepe into the Court with great Humility, redy at the firſt *Baſciare li piedi di la voſtra ſignoria*, hauing gotten the Countenance of ſome Nobleman, will ſtrait be a Kindred to *Cadwallader*, and ſwear his great grand Mother was one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliamente Houſe; will, at laſt, ſteale by Degrees into ſome Credite by their double Diligence, and then winde ſome worſhipfull Place, as far as a hungry Sow can ſmell a Sir Reuerence, and then, with all their Frends, ſeeke Day and Night, with Coyne and Countenance, till they haue got it. Others there be, whome Honor itſelfe ſeekes, and ſuch be they whome Vertue doth frame fit for that Purpoſe, that riſing by high Deſarts, as Learning, or Valour, merite more then eyther they looke for, or their Prince hath anye Eaſe conueniently to beſtow on them. Such Ho or ſeekes, and they, with a bluſhing Conſcience, entertain him; be they neuer ſo high in Fauor, yet they beg no Office, as the ſhameleſſe Vp-

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ſtart doth, that hath a hungry Eie to ſpy out, an impudent Face to ſue, and a flattring Toong to intreat, for ſome void Place of Worſhip, which little belonged to them, if the Prince intended to beſtow Offices for Vertue, not Fauor. Other, M. Veluet-breeches, there be of your Crue, that pinch their Bellies to poliſh their Backs; that keepe their Mawes emptie, to fill their Purſſes; that have no Shewe of Gentillity but a Veluet Slop, who, by Poling or Selling of Land that their Father left, will beſtow all to buye an Office about the Court, that they may be worſhipfull, extorting from the Poore, to raiſe vp their Money, that the baſe deceiueng Companions haue laid out to haue an Office of ſome Countenance and Credit, wherein they may haue of me better then themſelues, bee tearmed by the Name of Worſhip. The laſt, whome Vertue pleadeth for, and neyther Silver, Gold, Frends, nor Fauor aduaunceth, bee Men of great Worth, ſuch as are thought of Worſhip, and unwillinglie interteine hir, rather vouchſafing profered Honour for their Countreys Cauſe, then for any proud Opinion of hoped for Preferment.

Bleſſed are ſuch Landes whoſe Officers are ſo placed, and where the Prince promoteth not for Coine nor Countenance, but for his worthy deſerving Vertues. But, leauing this By-talke, me thought I heard you ſay, Signior Veluet-breeches, that you were the Father of Mechanicall Arts, and Handiecraftes were found out to foſter your Brauery. In Faith, goodman Gooſecap, you that are come from the Start-vps, and therefore is called an Vpſtart, *quaſi*, ſtart up from clouted Shoone; your Lippes hoong in your Light when you brought forth this Lodgike: For, I hope, there is none ſo ſimple, but knowes that Handiecrafts and Occupations grew for Neceſſity, not Pride. That Mens Inuentions waxed ſharpe to profit the Common-wealth, not to pranke up themſelves in Brauery. I pray you, when *Tubulcane* inuented Tempring of Mettals, had he Veluet-breeches to weare? In Sadneſs, where was your Worſhip when his Brother found out the Accords and Diſcords of Muſick hidden in Hell, and not yet thought on by the Diuell, to caſt forth a Baite to bring many proud Fooles to Ruine?

Indeede I cannot deny, but your Worſhip hath brought in Deceipt as a Journeyman into all Companies, and made that a ſubtle Crafte, which while I was holden in Eſteem was but a ſimple Myſtery: Now euery Trade hath his Sleights, to ſlubber vp his Worke to the Eie, and to make it good to the Sale, howſoeuer it proues in the Wearing. The Shoomaker cares not if his Shoes hold the Drawing on: The Tailor ſowes with hot Needle and burnt Thred. Tuſh Pride has baniſht Conſcience, and Veluet-breeches Honeſtie; and euery ſeruile Drudge muſt ruffle in his Silkes, or elſe he is not ſuteable.

The World was not ſo *a Principio*; for, when Veluet was worne but in Kings Caps, then Conſcience was not a Brome Man in *Kent-Street*, but a Courtier; then the Farmer was content his Sonne ſhould hold the Plough, and liue as he had done before: Beggars then feared to aſpire, and the higher Sort ſcorned to enuie. Now euery Lowt muſt haue his Sonne a Courtnoll, and thoſe dunghil Drudges waxe ſo proud, that they will preſume to wear on their Feet what Kings haue worne on their Heads. A Clownes Sonne muſt be clapt in a Veluet Pantophle, and a Veluet Breech, though the preſumptuous Aſſe be drowned in the Mercers Booke, and make a Convey of all his Lands to the Uſurer for Commodities; yea, the Fop muſt go like a Gallant for a While, although at laſt in his Age he beg. But, indeed, ſuch yong Yooths, when the Broker hath bleſt them with Saint *Needams* Croſſe, fall then to ſprivy Lifts and Cooſenages, and, when their Credit is utterly crakt, they practiſe ſome bad Shift, and ſo come to a ſhamefull End.

Laſtly, Whereas thou ſaiſt thou art a ſeuere Senſour to puniſh Sins, as auſtere as *Cato* to correct Vice, of Truth I hold thee ſo in penal Statutes when thou haſt begged the Forfeit of the Prince; but ſuch Correction is open Extortion and Oppreſſion of the Poor, nor can I compare it better, M. Veluet-breech, then to the Wolfe chaſtiſing the Lamb for Diſturbing the Fountaine, or the Devill caſting foorth Deuilles through the Power of *Belzebub*. And thus much, curteous Sir, I haue ſaid, to diſplay the Follies of mine Adverſary, and to ſhewe the Right of mine own Intereſt. Why then, quoth I, if you have both ſaide, it reſteth but that we hadde ſome to empanel upon a Jury, and then no Doubt but the Verdict would ſoone be giuen on one Side. As thus I was talking to them, I might ſee comming downe

downe the Hil a braue dapper *Dicke*, quaintly attired in Veluet and Sattin, and a Cloake of Cloth Raſh, with a Cambrick Ruffe as ſmoothly ſet, and he as neatlie ſponged as if he had beene a Bridegroome; only I geſt by his Paſe a far off he ſhould be a Tailor, his Head was holden uppe ſo pert, and his Legges ſhackle hamd, as if his Knees had beene laced to his Thighes with Points. Coming more neere indeed, I ſpied a Tailors Morice Pike on his Breaſt, a *Spaniſh* Needle; and then I fitted my Salutations, not to his Sutes but to his Trade, and incountred him by a thread bare Courteſy, as if I had not knowne him, and aſked him of what Occupation he was? A Tailor, quoth he. Marry then, my Frend, quoth I, you are the more welcome, for heere is a great Quarrell growne betwixt Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches for their Prerogative in *England*; the Matter is growne to an Iſſue, there muſt a Iury be empanelled, and I would deſire and intreat you to be one of the Queſt.

Not ſo, quoth Cloth-breeches, I chalenge him. And why, quoth I? What Reaſon haue you, dooth he not make them both? Yes, quoth he, but his Gaines is not alike: Alas, by me he getteth ſmall, onely he is paid for his Workemanſhip, unleſſe by Miſfortune his Shieres ſlyppe awrye, and then his Vailes is but a Shred of home ſpunne Cloth; wheras in making of Veluet Breeches, where there is required ſilke Lace, Cloth of Golde, of Siluer, and ſuch coſtly Stuffe, to welt, guard, whip ſtitch, edge, face, and draw out, that the Vales of one Veluet Breech is more then twenty Paire of mine. I hope there is no Tailor ſo preciſe, but he can play the Cooke and licke his owne Fingers; thogh he look vp to Heauen, yet he can caſt large Shreads of ſuch rich Stuffe into Hel under his Shoppe Boord. Beſide, he ſets downe, like the Clarke of the Check, a large Bill of Reckoninges, which, for he keepes long in his Pocket, he ſo powders for Stinking, that the yong Vpſtart, that needes it, feeles it ſalt in his Stomach a Month after. Beſide, Sir, Veluet Breeches hath advanced him; for, whereas, in my Time, he was counted but Goodman Tailor, now he is growne, ſince Veluet Breeches came in, to be called a Marchant or Gentleman Marchant Taylor, giving Armes and the Holy Lambe in his Creaſt, where before he had no other Cogniſance but a plaine *Spaniſh* Needle with a *Welſh* Cricket on the Top; ſith then his Gaine is ſo great, and his Honor ſo advanſt by Veluet Breeches, I will not truſt his Conſcience, nor ſhall he come upon my Iury.

Indeed you have ſome Reaſon, quoth I, but perhaps the Tailor doth this upon meer Deuotion to puniſh Pride, and, hauing no other Authority nor Meane, thinkes it beſt to pinch them by the Purſſe and make them pay wel, as to aſke twiſe ſo much ſilke Lace and other Stuffe as would ſuffice, and yet to over-reach my yong Maiſter with a Bill of Reckonings that will make him ſcratch where it itcheth not. Herein I hold the Tailor for a neceſſarye Member to teach yong Novices the Way to weeping Croſſe; that, when they have waſted what their Fathers left them by Pride, they may grow ſparing and humble by inferred Pouerty: And by this Reaſon the Tailor plaies Gods Part; he exalteth the Poor, and pulleth down the Proud; for, of a wealthy Eſquires Son, he makes a thread bare Beggar; and of a ſcornefull Tailor, he ſets up an vpſtart ſcuruy Gentleman. Yet, ſeeing you haue made a reaſonable Chalenge to him, the Tailor ſhall be none of the Queſt.

As I bad him ſtand by, there was comming alongſt the Valley towards vs a ſquare ſet Fellow well fed, and as briſkly apparelled, in a blacke Taffata Doublet and a ſpruce Leather Jerkin with Chriſtall Buttons; a Cloke facſt afore with Veluet, and a *Coventry* Cap of the fineſt Wool; his Face ſomthing Ruby bluſh, Cherry-cheeked, like a Shred of Scarlet or a little darker, like the Lees of olde Claret Wine; a Noſe, *Autem* Noſe, purpled pretiouſlie with Pearle and Stone, like a counterfait Worke, and, betweene the filthy Reumicaſt of his Blood-ſhotten Snowt, there appeared ſmal Holes, whereat Wormes Heads peeped, as if they meant by their Appearance to preach, and ſhew the Antiquity and Antientie of his Houſe.

This fiery facſt Churle had upon his Fingers as many golde Ringes as would furniſh a Goldſmiths Shop, or beſeeme a Pandor of longe Profeſſion to weare. Wondring what Companion this ſhould be, I inquired of what Occupation? Marry, Sir, quoth he, a Broker—why do you aske, have you any Pawnes at my Houſe? No, quoth I, nor by the Help of God

God neuer will haue; but the Reaſon is to haue you vpon a Jurye. At this Word, before I could enter my Diſcourſe vnto him, Veluet-breeches ſtart up, and ſwore he ſhould be none of the Queſt, for he woulde challenge him. And why, quoth I, what knowe you by him? This baſe Churle is one of the Moaths of the Common-wealth, beſide he is the Spoile of yong Gentlemen, a Bloud-ſucker of the Poore, as thirſty as a Horſleach, that wil never leave Drinking while he burſt; a Knaue that hath Intereſt in the Leaſes of forty Bawdy-houſes, a Receyver for Lifts, and a diſhonorable Supporter for Cutpurſſes: To conclude, he was gotten by an *Incubus* a He Diuell, and brought forth by an ouerworne Refuſe, that had ſpent hir Yooth under the Ruines of Bowbies Barne.

O monſtrous Inuective, quoth I, what Reaſon have ye to bee thus bitter againſt him? Oh the Villaine, quoth he, is the Deuills Factor, ſent from Hel to torment yong Gentlemen vpon Earth: He hath fetcht me ouer in his Time, only in Pawnes, in ten Thouſand Pound in Gold. Suppoſe as Gentlemen, through their liberall Minds, may want that I need, Money; let me come to him with a Pawne worth ten Pound, he will not lend upon it aboue three Pound, and he will haue a Bill of Sale and Twelue-pence in the Pound for euery Month, ſo that it comes to Sixteen-pence, ſith the Bill muſt monthly be renewed; and, if you breake but your Day ſet downe in the Bill of Sale, your Pawn is loſte, as full bought and ſold, you turned out of your Goodes, and he an vnconſcionable Gainer. Suppoſe the beſt, you keep your Day, yet paiyng Sixteene-pence a Month for twenty Shillinges, you pay as good for the Lone as Fourſcore in the Hundred; Is not this monſtrous Exacting upon Gentlemen? Beſide the Knaue will be diligently attending and waiting at Dicing-houſes where we are at Play, and there he is ready to lend the Loaſer Money vpon Rings and Chaines, Apparell, or any other good Pawne; but the poore Gentleman paies ſo deere for the Lauender it is laid vp in, that, if it lie long at a Brokers Houſe, he ſeems to buy his Apparell twiſe. Nay, this Worme eaten Wretch hath deeper Pitfals yet to trap Yooth in, for hee, beeing acquainted with a yong Gentleman of faire Liuing, in Iſſue of good Parents, or aſſured Poſſibility, ſoothes him in his monſtrous Expenſes, and ſaies he carries the Minde of a Gentleman, promiſing, if he want, he ſhall not lacke for a Hundred Pound or two, if the Gentleman need: Then hath my Broker an Uſurer at Hand, as ill as himſelfe, and he brings the Mony, but they tie the poore Soule in ſuch *Darbies* Bands, what with receiuing ill Commodities and Forfeitures upon the Band, that they dub him Sir *John had Land*, before they leaue him, and ſhare, like Wolues, the poore Nouices Welth betwixt them as a Pray. He is (Sir) to bee breefe, a bowſie bawdy Miſer, good for none but himſelfe and his Trugge; a Carle that hath a filthy Carcaſe without a Conſcience, a Body of a Man wherein an infernal Spirit in ſtead of a Soule dooth inhabit, the Scum of the Seuen deadly Sinnes, an Enimie to all good Mindes, a Devourer of yong Gentlemen, and, to conclude, my mortal Enimye, and therefore admit of my Challenge, and let him be none of the Jury. Truly, quoth Cloth-breeches, and I am willing he ſhould be diſcarded too, for, were not bad Brokers (I will not condemn all) there would be leſſe Filching and fewer Theeues; for they receiue all is brought them, and buye that for a Crowne that is woorth Twenty Shillinges; Deſire of Gaine bindes their Conſcience, and they care not how it be come by, ſo they buy it cheape. Beſide, they extorte upon the Poore that are inforced, through extreame Want, to pawne their Cloathes and Houſehold Stuff, their Pewter and Braſſe; and, if the poore Soules, that labour hard, miſſe but a Day, the baſe minded Broker takes the Forfeit without Remorſe or Pitie. It was not ſo *in diebus illis*; but thou, proude vpſtart Veluet-breeches, haſt learnd all *Engliſhmen* their Villany, and all to mayntaine thy Brauerye; yea, I haue knowne of late, when a poore Woman laid a ſiluer Thimble, that was ſent hir from hir Frends for a Token, to pawne for ſix Pence, and the Broker made hir pay a Halfepeny a Weeke for it; which comes to two Shillings a Yeere, for ſix Pence. Since, then, his Conſcience is ſo bad, let him be ſhuffled out amongſt the Knaues, for a diſcarded Carde. Content, quoth I; and bad the Broker ſtand backe, when there were euen at my Heeles three in a Cluſter, pert Yooths all, and neatly tired. I queſtioned them what they were; and the one ſaid he was a Barber, the other a Surgion, and the third an Apoticary. How like you of theſe? quoth I; Shall they be of your Iury? Of the Iury! quoth

Cloth-breeches; neuer a one by my Conſent, for I challenge them all. Your Reaſon, quoth I, and then you ſhall haue my Verdict. Marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, *Firſt*, to the Barber: He can not be but a partiall Man on Veluet-breeches Side, ſith he gets more by one Time Dreſſing of him, than by ten Times Dreſſing of me. I come plaine to be polde, and to haue my Beard cut, and pay him two Pence: Veluet-breeches, he ſits down in the Chaire, wrapt in fine Cloathes, as though the Barber were about to make him a Footcloth for the Vickar of Saint *Fooles*; then begins hee to take his Siſſars in his Hand, and his Comb, and ſo to ſnap with them, as if he meant to geue a Warning to all the Lice in his nitty Locks for to prepare themſelues, for the Day of their Deſtruction was at Hande. Then comes he out with his fuſtian Eloquence, and, making a low Conge, ſaith, Sir, Will you haue your Worſhips Hair cut after the *Italian* Manner, ſhort and round, and then frounſt with the curling Yrons, to make it looke like to a Halfemoone in a Miſt? Or, like a *Spanyard*, long at the Eares, and curled like to the two Endes of an olde caſt Perriwig? Or will you be *Frenchefied*, with a Loue Locke downe to your Shoulders? Wherein you may weare your Miſtris Fauour: The *Engliſh* Cut is baſe, and Gentlemen ſcorne it; Nouelty is dainty; ſpeake the Word, Sir; my Siſſars are ready to execute your Worſhips Wil. His Head being once dreſt, which requires, in Combing and Rubbing, ſome two Howres, he comes to the Baſon; then, being curiouſly waſht with no woorſe then a Camphire Bal, he deſcends as low as his Beard, and aſketh, Whether he pleaſe to be ſhauen, or no? Whether he will haue his Peak cut ſhort and ſharpe, amiable like an *Inamorato*, or broad pendant like a Spade, to be terrible like a Warrior and a Soldado? Whether he will haue his Crates cut lowe like a Juniper Buſh, or his Suberches taken away with a Raſor? If it be his Pleaſure to haue his Appendices primde, or his Mouchaches foſtred, to turne about his Eares like the Branches of a Vine; or cut downe to the Lip with the *Italian* Laſhe, to make him look like a halfe faced Bauby in Bras? Theſe quaint Tearms, Barber, you greet Maiſter Veluet-breeches withal, and, at euery Word, a Snap with your Siſſars, and a Cring with your Knee; wheras, when you come to poore Cloth-breeches, you either cutte his Beard at your owne Pleaſure, or elſe, in Diſdaine, aſke him, if he will be trimd with Chriſts Cut, round like the Halfe of a *Holland* Cheeſe? mocking both Chriſt and vs. For this your Knauery, my Will is, you ſhall be none of the Iury. For you, Maiſter Surgion, the Statutes of *Englande* exempts you from being of any Queſt; and beſide, alas, I ſildome fall into your Hands, as being quiet, and making no Brawls to haue Wounds, as ſwartrutting Veluet-breeches dooth; neither doe I frequent Whore-houſes to catch the Marbles, and ſo to grow your Patient. I knowe you not, and therefore I appeale to the Statute, you ſhall haue nothing to doe with my Matter. And, for you, Maiſter Apoticarie, alas, I looke not once in ſeauen Yeare into your Shop, without it be to buy a Peniworth of Wormeſeed to giue my Child to drinke; or a little Triacle to driue out the Meaſels; or, perhaps, ſome Dregs and Powders to make my ſicke Horſſe a Drench withal; but, for my ſelfe, if I be ill at Eaſe, I take Kitchyn Phyſicke, I make my Wife my Doctor, and my Garden my Apoticaries Shop; whereas queſie Maiſter Veluet-breeches cannot haue a Fart awrye, but he muſt haue his Purgations, Pils, and Gliſters, or euacuate by Electuaries: He muſt, if the leaſt Spot of Morphew come on his Face, haue his Oyle of *Tartar*, his *Lac Virginis*, his Camphir diſſolued in Veriuice, to make the Foole as faire, for ſooth, as if he were to playe *Maidmarian* in a *May* Game, or Moris-daunce. Tuſh, he cannot diſgeſt his Meat without Conſerues, nor end his Meale without Suckats, nor (Shall I ſpeake plainely?) pleaſe the Trug his Miſtres, without he goe to the Apoticaries for Eringion, *Oleum formicarum alatarum*, & *Aqua mirabilis* of ten Pound a Pint. If Maiſter Veluet-breeches, with drinking theſe Drugs, hap to haue a ſtinking Breath, then, forſooth, the Apoticarie muſt play the Perfumer to make it ſweet: Nay, What is it about him, that he blameth not Nature for Framing, and formeth it a new by Art? And, in all this, Who, but Mounſier the Apoticarie? Therefore, good Sir, quoth he, ſeeing you haue taken vpon you to be Trior for the Challenges, let thoſe three, as partiall Companions, be packing. Why, quoth I, ſeeing you haue yielded ſuch Reaſon of Refuſall, let them ſtande by. Preſentlie, loking about for more,

comes

comes ſtalking down an aged graue Sir, in a blacke Veluet Coat, and a blacke Cloth Gowne welted and faced; and after him, as I ſuppoſe, foure Seruingmen, the moſte ilfaudured Knaues, me thought, that euer I ſaw. One of them had on a Buffe Leather Ierken, all greaſie before with the Droppinges of Beere, that fell from his Beard; and, by his Side, a Skeine like a Bruers Boung Knife; and muffled he was in a Cloke turnd ouer his Noſe, as though he had beene aſhamed to ſhew his Face. The Second had a Belly like a Buckingtub, and a thredbare black Coat vnbuttond before vpon the Breſt, whereon the Map of Drunkenneſſe was drawne, with the bawdie and bowſie Excrements that dropt from his filthy leaking Mouth. The Third was a long, leane, olde, ſlauering Slangrill, with a *Braſill* Staffe in the one Hand, and a Whipcord in the other; ſo pourblinde, that he had like to haue ſtumbled vpon the Company, before he ſawe them. The Fourth was a fat Chuffe, with a ſower Looke, in a blacke Cloke faced with Taffata, and, by his Side, a great Side Pouch like a Faulkner. For their Faces, all foure ſeemed to be Brethren; they were ſo bumbaſted with the Flocks of ſtrong Beere, and lined with the Lees of olde Sacke, that they lookt like foure blowne Bladders painted ouer with redde Oaker, or waſht ouer with the Suds of an olde ſtale Die. All theſe, as well the Maiſter, as the following Mates, woulde haue paſt away, but that I ſtept before them, and inquired firſt of the foremoſt, What he was? Marry, quoth he, a Lawyer. Then, Sir, quoth I, wee haue a Matter in Controuerſie, that requireth Counſaile, and you are the more welcome. What is it? quoth he. Marry, ſaid I, Whether Cloth-breeches, or Veluet-breeches, are of more Woorth; and which of them haue the beſt Title to bee Reſident in *Englande*? At this the Lawyer ſmild; and Veluet-breeches, ſtepping forth, tooke Acquaintance of him, and, commending his Honeſtie, ſaid, there could not be a Man of better Indifferency of the Iury: When Cloth-breeches, ſtepping in, ſwore, he maruelled he was not, as well as the Surgion, exempted by Act of Parliament, from being of any Queſt, ſith, as the Surgion was without Pitty, ſo he was without Conſcience; and therevpon inferd his Challenge, ſaiyng, the Lawyer was neuer Frend to Cloth-breeches: For, when Lowlineſſe, Neighbourhood, and Hoſpitalitie liued in *Englande*, *Weſtminſter Hal* was a Dining Chamber, not a Den of Controuerſies; when the King himſelfe was content to keepe his S. *Georges* Day in a plaine Paire of Kerſie Hoſe; when the Duke, Earle, Lord, Knight, Gentleman, and Eſquire aimed at Vertue, not Pride, and wore ſuch Breeches as was ſpun in his Houſe, then the Lawier was a ſimple Man, and, in the higheſt Degree, was but a bare Scriuener, except Iudges of the Land, which tooke in Hande ſerious Matters, as Treaſons, Murthers, Felones, and ſuch capitall Offences; but ſildome was there any Pleas put in, before that Vpſtart, Veluet-breeches, for his Maintaynance, inuented ſtrange Controuerſies; and, ſince he began to dominier in *Englande*, be hath buſd ſuch a proud, buſy, couetous, and incroching Humor into euery Mans Head, that Lawiers are growne to be one of the cheefe Lims of the Commonwealth; for they doe, nowe adaies, *de lana caprina rixare*, goe to Lawe, if a Hen doe but ſcrape in his Orchard; but, howſoeuer Right be, Might carries away the Verdict. If a poore Man ſue a Gentleman, why he ſhootes vp to the Skie, and the Arrow fals on his owne Head; howſoeuer the Cauſe goe, the Weakeſt is thruſt to the Wall. Lawiers are troubled with the Heat of the Liuer, which makes the Palms of their Hands ſo hot, that they cannot be coold, vnleſſe they be rubd with the Oile of Angels; but the poore Man, that giues but his bare Fee, or, perhaps, pleads *in forma pauperis*, he hunteth for Hares with a Taber, and gropeth in the Darke to find a Needle in a Botle of Hay. Tuſh, theſe Lawiers haue ſuch delatory and forren Pleas, ſuch Dormers, ſuch Quibs and Quiddits, that, beggering their Clients, they purchaſe to themſelues whole Lordſhips. It booteth not Men to diſcourſe their little Conſcience and great Extortion, only ſuffice they be not ſo rich, as they be bad, and yet they be but to welthy. I inueigh not againſt Law, nor honeſt Lawiers, for ther be ſome wel qualified, but againſt extorting Ambodexters, that wringe the Poore; and, bicauſe I know not whether this be ſuch a one, or no, I challenge him not to be of my Iury. Why then, quoth I, his Worſhip may depart. And then I queſtioned, What he in the Buff Ierkin was? Marry, quoth he, I am a Serieant.

He had no ſooner ſaid ſo, but Veluet-breeches leapt backe, and, drawing his Rapyer, ſwore he did not only challenge him for his Iurye, but proteſted, if he ſtird one Foote toward him, he would make him eate a Peece of his Poinard. And what is the Reaſon, quoth I, that there is ſuch mortal Hatred betwixt you and the Serieant? Oh, Sir, quoth Veluet-breeches, ſearch him, and, I warrant you, the Knaue hath Precept vppon Precept to arreſt me; hath worn his Mace ſmooth, with onely claping it vpon my Shoulder, he hath had me under *Coram* ſo often: Oh! the Reprobate is the Vſurers Executioner, to bring ſuch Gentlemen to *Limbo* as he hath ouerthrown with his baſe Brocage and bad Commodities; and, as you ſee him a fat Knaue with a foggie Face, wherein a Cup of old Sacke hath ſett a Seale, to marke the bowſie Drunkard to die of the Dropſie, ſo his Conſcience is conſumed, and his Hart robd of all Remorſe and Pitye, that for Money he will betray his owne Father; for, will a Cormorant but fee him to arreſt a yong Gentleman, the Rakehell will be ſo eager to catch him, as a Dogge to take a Beare by the Eares in *Pariſh Garden*, and, when he hath laid Hold upon him, he uſeth him as courteouſly, as a Butchers Cur would doe an Oxe Cheeke when he is hungry; if he ſee the Gentleman hath Money in his Purſſe, then ſtraight with a Cap and Knee he carries him to the Tauerne, and bids him ſend for ſome of his Frends to bale him; but firſt he couenants to haue ſome Braſe of Angels for his Paines, and, beſides, he cals in for Wine as greedily, as if the Knaues Mother had beene brocht againſt a Hogſhead when he was begotten; but, ſuppoſe the Gentleman wants Pence, he will eyther haue a Pawne, or elſe drige him to the Counter, without Reſpecte of Manhood or Honeſtye. I ſhould ſpend the whole Day with Diſplayeng his Villanies, therefore breefly let this ſuffice: He was neuer made by the Conſent of God, but his ſlouenly Carkaſe was framd by the Diuell, of the rotten Carian of a Woolfe, and his Soule of an Vſurers damned Ghoſt, turnd out of Hell into his Body, to do monſtrous Wickedneſſe again vpon the Earth, ſo that he ſhal be none of my Iurie, neither ſhal he come nearer me then the Length of my Rapyer will ſuffer him. Indeede, quoth Cloth-breeches, generally Serieants be bad, but there be amongeſt them ſome honeſt Men, that will doe their Duties with lawful Fauour; for, to ſay Truth, if Serieants were not, how ſhould Men come by their Debts? Marry, they are ſo cruel in their Office, that, if they arreſt a poore Man, they will not ſuffer him, if he hath not Money, to ſtay a Quarter of an Hour to talke with his Creditor, although, perhaps, at the Meeting, they might take Compoſition, but only to the Counter with him, unleſſe he will lay his Pewter, Braſſe, Couerlets, Sheets, or ſuch Houſholdſtuffe, to them for Pawne of Paiment of ſome Coine for their Staieng; therefore let him depart out of the Place, for his Roome is better then his Companye. Well then, quoth I, What ſay you to theſe three (and with that I queſtioned their Names) the one ſaid he was a Sumner, the other a Gaoler, and the third an Infourmer. *Ieſus* bleſſe me, quoth Cloth-breeches, what a Ging was heere gathered together; no Doubt Hell is broke looſe, and the Diuell means to keepe Holiday: I make Challenge againſt them all, as againſt worſe Men then thoſe that gaue Euidence againſt Chriſt. For the Sumner, it boots me to ſay little more againſt him, then *Chaucer* did in his *Canturbury* Tales, who ſaid, He was a Knaue, a Briber, and a Bawd: But leauing that Authoritie, although it be authenticall, yet thus much I can ſay of my ſelfe, that theſe drunken droſie Sonns go a Tooting Abroad, as they themſelves tearm it, which is to heere if any Man hath got his Maid with Child, or plaies the Goodfellow with his Neighbors Wife; if he finde a Hole in any Mans Coate that is of Welth, then he hath his peremtorie Scitation ready to ſcite him vnto the Archdeacons, or Officials Court, there to apeere, and abid the Shame and Penaltie of the Lawe: The Man, perhaps, in good Credit with his Neighbors, loath to bring his Name in Queſtion, greſeth the Sumner in the Fiſt, and then he wipes him out of the Booke, and ſuffers him to get twentie with Child, ſo he keepe him warme in the Hand; he hath a Saieng to wanton Wiues, and they are his good Dames, and, as long as they feed him with Cheeſe, Bacon, Capons, and ſuch od Reuerſions, they are honeſt; and, be they neuer ſo bad, he ſwears to the Official Complaints are made vpon Enuie, and the Women of good Behauior; tuſhe, what Bawdry is it he will not ſuffer, ſo he may haue Money and good Chere, and, if he like

the Wench, well, a Snatch himſelfe, for they knowe all the Whores in a Country, and are as lecherous Companions as may be: To be breefe, the Sumner liues upon Sins of People, and, out of Harlotry, gets he all his Commoditye. As for the Gaoler, although I haue beene little troubled in Priſon to haue Experience of his Knauery, yet have I hard the poore Priſoners complaine how cruel they be to them, extorting, with extraordinary Fees, ſelling a duble Curtall, as they cal it, with a duble Iuge of Beere for 2 Pence, which contains not aboue a Pint and a Halfe; let a poore Man be arreſted into one of the Counters, though he but ſet his Foot in them but Halfe an Hour, he ſhal be almoſt at an Angels Charge, what with Garniſh, Croſſing and Wiping out of the Booke, Turning the Key, Paieng the Chamberline, Feeing for his Iurie, and twenty ſuch Extortions inuented by themſelues, and not allowed by any Statute: God bles me, Gaoler, from your Henhouſes, as I wil keepe you from Comming in my Queſt. And to you, M. Infourmer, you that looke like a ciuille Citizen, or ſome handſome Petty-fogger of the Law: *Although your* crimſon Noſe bewrayes you can ſupe of a coole Cup of Sacke without anye Chewing, yet you haue as much ſlye Knauery in your ſide Pouch there, as would breede the Confuſion of fortye honeſt Men. It may be, Sir, you maruell whye I exclayme againſt the Infourmer, ſith he is a moſt neceſſarie Member in the Commonwealth, and is highly to the Princes Aduauntage for the Benifite of pennall Statutes and other Abuſes, whereof he giueth ſpecial Inteligence? To wipe out this Doubt, I ſpeake not againſt the Office but the Officer, againſt ſuch as abuſe Lawe when they ſhould vſe it, and ſuch a one I geſſe this Fellowe to be, by the Carnation Tincture of his ruby Noſe: Therefore let vs ſearch his Bagge, and ſee what Traſh you ſhal finde in it: With that, although the Infourmer were very loathe, yet wee pluckt out the Stuffing of his Pouch, and in it was found a Hundred and od Writes, whereat I woundered; and Cloth breeches, ſmiling, bad me read the Labels, and the Parties Names, and then examine the Infourmer how many of them he knewe, and wherein they had offended. I followed his Counſaile, and of all he knewe but three, neither could he tel what they doone amiſſe to be arreſted, and brought in Queſtion.

Cloth breeches, ſeeing me ſtand in Amaſe, began thus to reſolue me in my Doubt: Perhaps, quoth he, you maruell why the Infourmer hath all theſe Writtes, and knowes neither the Parties, nor can obiecte any Offence to them? To this I anſwere, That, it being a long Vacation, he learned in the Rowle all thoſe Mens Names, and that they were Men of indifferent Wealthe: Now means he to goe Abroad, and ſearch them out and arreſt them, and though they know not wherein, or for what Cauſe they ſhould be troubled, yet, rather then they will come vpp to *London*, and ſpend their Money, they will beſtow ſome odde Angell upon Maiſter Infourmer, and ſo ſit at Home in Quiet. But, ſuppoſe ſome be ſo ſtuborne as to ſtand to the Triall, yet can this cunning Knaue declare a *Tamquam* againſt them, ſo that, though they be cleered, yet can they haue no Recompence at all, for that he doth it in the Courtes Behalfe. I wil not vnfold all his Villanies, but he is an Abuſer of good Lawes, and a very Knaue, and ſo let him be with hes Fellowes. I both woondred and laught to heare Cloth breeches make this Diſcourſe, when I ſaw two in the Vallye together by the Eares, the one in Leather, the other as blacke as the Deuill: I ſtept to them to part the Fraie, and queſtioned what they were, and wherefore they brawled: Marry, quoth he, that lookt like *Lucifer*, though I am blacke, I am not the Deuill, but, indeed, a Collyer of *Croyden*, and one, Sir, that haue ſolde many a Man a falſe Sacke of Coales, that booth wanted Meaſure, and was Halfe full of Duſt and Droſſe. Indeed I have been Lieger in my Time in *London*, and haue played many madde Prancks, for which Cauſe, you may apparantly ſee I am made a Curtall, for the Pillory (in the Sight of a great many good and ſufficient Witneſſes) hath eaten off booth my Eares, and now, Sir, this Ropemaker hunteth me heere with his Halters: I geſſe him to be ſome euill Spirite, that, in the Likeneſſe of a Manne, would, ſince I haue paſt the Pillory, perſwade me to hange my ſelfe for my olde Offenſes, and therefore, ſith I cannot bleſſe me from him with *Nomine Patris*, I lay *Spiritus Sanctus* about his Shoulders with a good Crabe Tree Cudgell, that he may get out of my Company. The Ropemaker replied, That, honeſtly iourneying by the Way, he acquainted himſelfe with the Collyer,

Collyer, and for no other Cauſe pretended. Honeſt with the Deuill, quoth the Collyer, how can he be honeſt, whoſe Mother, I geſſe, was a Witch? For I haue harde them ſay, that Witches ſay their Praiers backward, and ſo dooth the Ropemaker yearne his Liuing by going backward, and the Knaues cheefe Liuing is by Making fatall Inſtrumentes, as Halters and Ropes, which diuers deſperate Men hang themſelues with. Well, quoth I, what ſay you to theſe, ſhall they be on the Iurie? Veluet-breeches ſaid Nothing, but Cloth-breeches ſaid, in the Ropemaker he found no great Falſehood in him, therefore he was willing he ſhould be one; but, for the Collyer, he thought it neceſſary, that, as he came, ſo he ſhould depart; ſo then I bad the Ropemaker ſtand by till more came, which was not longe, for there came three in a Cluſter. As ſoone as they drewe nye, I ſpied one, a fatt Churle, with a ſide Ruſſet Coate to his Knee, and his Handes all to tanned with ſhifting his Ouſe, yet would I not take Notice what they were, but queſtioned with them of their ſeuerall Occupations. Marry, quoth the Firſt, I am a Tanner; the Second, a Shoomaker; and the Thirde, a Currier: Then, turninge to the Plaintife and Defendant, I aſked them, if they would allowe of thoſe Parties? No, by my Faith, quoth Cloth-breeches, I make Challenge vnto them all, and I wil yeeld Reaſons of Import againſt them: And Firſt, to you, Maiſter Tanner, Are you a Man woorthy to be of a Jury, when your Conſcience cares not to wronge the whole Commonwealth; you reſpecte not publike Commodity, but priuate Gaynes; not to benefite your Neighbor, but for to make the proude Princore, your Son, an vpſtart Gentleman; and bicauſe you would marry your Daughter, at the leaſt to an Eſquire, that ſhee may, if it be poſſible, be a Gentlewoman, and how comes this to paſſe? By your Tanne-fats, forſooth; for whereas, by the aunciente Lawes and Statutes of *England*, you ſhoulde let a Hide lye in the Ouſe, at the leaſt, nine Months, you can make good Leather of it before three Months; you haue your Dooues Doong, your Marle, your Aſhen Barke, and a thouſande Thinges more, to bringe on your Leather apace; that it is ſo badly tanned, that, when it comes to the Wearinge, then it fleetes awaye like a Piece of browne Paper; and whereas your Backes, of all other, ſhould be the beſt tanned, you bring them ſo full of Horne to the Market, that, did you not greaſe the Sealers of *Leaden-hall* throughly in the Fiſte, they ſhould neuer be ſealed, but turned away, and made Forfeit by the Statute. I cannot, at leange, lay open your ſubtil Practiſes, to beguile the poore Communalty with bad Leather. But let this ſuffice, you leaue no Villanie vnfought, to bring the Blockhead, your Sonne, to go afore the Clowne his Father, trimely trickt up in a Paire of Veluet-breeches.

Now, Maiſter Currier, to your Cooſenage; you cannot be content only to burne the Leather you dreſſe for Fault of Liquor, becauſe you would make the Shoomaker pay wel, and you put in little Stuffe; and beſide, when as, in Backes, you ſhould onely put in Tallow hard and good, you put in ſofte Kitchen Stuffe mixt, and ſo make the good and wel tanned Leather, by your Villanie, to fleet and waſte away; but alſo you grow to be an extorting Knaue, and a Foreſtaller of the Market, for you will buy Leather, Sides, Backes, and Calve Skines, and ſell them to the poore Shoomakers at an vnreaſonable Rate, by your falſe Retaylinge, getting infinite Goods by that exceſſiue Price, both vndoing the poore Shoomaker, and cauſing vs, that we pay extreamly for Shooes. For, if the Currier bought not Leather by the Whole of the Tanner, the Shoomaker might haue it at a more reaſonable Price; but the Shoomaker, being poore, is not, perhaps, able to deale with a Dicker of Hides, nor, perhaps, with a Cuple of Backes, and the Tanner will not truſt him; then the extorting and cooſening Currier comes vp with this, I will lend you for a Day, and ſo pincheth him, that he is ſcarce able to finde his Children Bread. But wel hath the Prince and the honorable Lords of the Priuie Counſile prouided by Act of Parliament, That no Currier ſhall buy Leather, either Backes or Hides, of the Tanner, ſo to bridle the extorting and foreſtalling Cooſenage; but craftilyer and ſubteller hath the Knaue Currier croſbiten the Statute, in that he deales thus with the Tanner, he makes him hold his Leather vnreaſonably to the Shoomaker; and ſo, when he cannot ſel it, he laies it vp in the Curriers Houſe, vnder a Colour, whereas, indeed, he hath ſold it him. Suppoſe this Shifte be ſpied and prevented, then compoundeth he with ſome Knaue Shoomaker, ſome baſe Rakehell, without a Conſcience, that neither reſpecteth God,

God, the Commonwealth, nor his Company, and, forſooth, he is Halfe with the Currier, who letteth him haue ſome hundred Marke, to laye out for Leather, euery Month; whereas he ſpendes not in his Shop a hundred Markes Worth in a Yeare; ſo the Shoomaker buies it to abuſe the Statute, for the Currier; and the Currier, by that Means, vndooeth the other Shoomakers: Thus two crafty Knaues are met, and they neede no Broker.

Now to you gentle Craft, you maſſe Shoomakers: You can put in the inner Sole, of a thin Calves Skin, when as the Shoo is a Neates Leather Shoo, which you know is cleane contrarie both to Conſcience and the Statute. Beſide, you wil joyne a Neates Leather Vampey to a Calves Leather Heele: Is not heere good Stuff, Maiſter Shoomaker? Well, for your Knauery, you ſhall haue thoſe Curſſes which belongs unto your Craft: You ſhall be light footed to travel farre, light witted upon euery ſmall Occaſion to give your Maſters the Bagge, you ſhall bee moſt of you Unthriftes, and almoſt all perfect Goodfellowes. Beſide, I remember a mery Ieſt, how *Mercurye* brought you to a dangerous Diſeaſe, for he requeſted a Boon for you, which fell out to your great Diſaduantage; and, to recreate us heere a little, gentle Craft, what fell to your Trade by that winged God? As it happened on a Time that, *Iupiter* and *Mercurye* traviling together vpon Earth, *Mercurye* was woonderfully hungrye, and had no Money in his Purſſe to buy him anye Food, and at laſt, to his great Comforte, he ſpied where a Companye of Tailors were at Dinner with buttred Peaſe, eating their Peaſe with their Needles Points one by one: *Mercurye* came to them, and asked them his Almes; they proudly bad him ſit down and doo as hee ſaw they did, and with that deliuered him a Needle. The poore God, being paſſing hungry, could not content his Mawe with eating one by one, but turned the Eie of his Needle and eate two or three together; which the Tailors ſeeing, they ſtart uppe and ſaid, What, Fellow, a Shouell and a Spade, to buttred Peaſe, haſt thou no more Manners? Get out of our Companie; and ſo they ſent him packing with many Strokes. *Mercurye* comming backe, *Iupiter* demanded of him what Newes; and he told him how churliſhly he was vſed amongſt the Tailors: Well, wandering on further, *Mercurye* eſpied where a Company of Shoomakers were at Dinner, with powdered Beefe and Breweſſe; going to them, before he could aske them any Almes, they ſaid, Welcome good Fellow, what is thy Stomach uppe, wilt thou doe as we do, and taſt of Beefe? *Mercurye* thanked them, and ſat downe and eat his Belly full, and dranke well of double Beer, and when hee had doone went Home to his Maiſter. Aſſoone as hee came, *Iupiter* asked him what Newes; and he ſaid, I haue lighted amongſt a Crew of Shoomakers, the beſte Fellowes that euer I met withall, they haue frankely fed me without Grudging, and therefore grant mee a Boone for them. Aske what thou wilt, *Mercurye*, quoth he, and it ſhall be done: Why then, quoth he, grant that, for this good Turne they have done mee, they may euer ſpende a Groat afore they can yearne Two-pence. It ſhall be granted, quoth he. *Mercurye*, aſſoone as *Iupiter* had ſaid the Worde, he bethought himſelfe, and ſaid, Nay, but that they maye yearne a Groat afore they ſpend Two-pence, for my Tongue ſlipt at the firſt: Well, *Mercurye*, quoth he, it cannot be recald, the firſt Wiſh muſt ſtand; and heereof, by *Mercuryes* Boone it grew, that all of the Gentle Craft are ſuch Good-fellowes and Spendthriftes. But howſoeuer, none of thoſe three, neither Shoomaker, Tanner, nor Currier, ſhall bee accepted to bee of the Jury.

As they went away with Fleas in their Eares, beeing thus taunted by Cloth-breeches, we might ſee where there came a Troupe of antient Gentlemen, with their Seruing-men attending upon them. The foremoſt was a great olde Man, with a whit Beard, all in Ruſſet, and a fair black Cloake on his Backe, and attending on him he had ſome fiue Men; their Cogniſance, as I remember, was a Peacocke without a Tayle; the other two, that accompanied him, ſeemed meaner then himſelfe, but yet Gentlemen of good Worſhip: Whereupon I went towards them and ſaluted them, and was ſo bolld as to queſtion what they were, and of their Buſineſſe.

The moſt antienteſt anſwered, he was a Knight, and thoſe two his Neighbors, the one an Eſquire, the other a Gentleman, and that they haue no vrgent Affaiers, but only to walke Abroad to take the freſh Aire. Then did I ſhew them both Cloth breeches, and Veluet-breeches, and told them the Controverſie, and deſired their Aid to be upon the Iury. They ſmiling anſwered, They were content,

and ſo did Cloth-breeches ſeeme to reioyce, that ſuch honeſt, antient, *Engliſhe* Gentlemen ſhoulde be Tryers of his Tytle. But Veluet-breeches, ſtorming, ſtept in and made Challenge to them all. I demanded Reaſon why he ſhould refuſe Gentlemen of ſo good Calling? And he made this Aunſwere: Why, you may geſſe the inward Minde by the outward Apparell, and ſee how he is adicted by the homely Robes he is ſuted in. Why, this Knight is mortal Enimy to Pride and ſo to me; he regardeth Hoſpitality, and aimeth at Honor, with releeving the Poore; you may ſee, although his Lands and Reuenewes be great, and be able to maintaine himſelfe in great Brauery, yet he is content with homeſpun Cloth, and ſcorneth the Pride that is vſed nowadaies amongeſt yong Vpſtarts; he houldeth not the Worth of his Gentry to be, and conſiſt in Veluet Breeches, but valeweth true Fame by the Report of the common Sorte, who praiſe him for his Vertue, Iuſtice, Liberality, Houſekeeping and Almeſdeeds. *Vox populi vox Dei*; his Tennants and Farmers woulde, if it might be poſſible, make him immortall with their Praiers and Praiſes: He raiſeth not Rent, racketh no Landes, taketh no Incumbs, impoſeth no mercileſſe Fines, enuies not an other, buyeth no Houſe ouer his Neighbors Head; but reſpecteth his Country and the Commodity thereof, as deere as his Life: He regardeth more to haue the Needy fedd, to haue his Boorde garniſhed with full Platters, then to famous himſelfe with exceſſiue Furniture in Apparell. Since then he ſcorneth Pride, he muſt of force proclaime himſelfe mine Enimy, and therefore he ſhall be none of my Iury; and ſuch as himſelfe I geſſe the Squire and the Gentleman, and therefore I challenge them all. Why, quoth I, this is ſtrange, that a Man ſhoulde be drawne from a Queſt for his Godlines: If Men for Vertue be challenged, Whom ſhall we haue vpon the Iury? Your Obiection helpes not, Maiſter Veluet-breeches: For, if he be a Man of ſo godly a Diſpoſition, he will neither ſpeake for Feare or Fauor; he will regard neither the Riches of the one, nor the plaine Pouerty of the other; wherevpon, ſith you haue made me Tryer, I allowe them all three to be of the Iury, and ſo I requeſted them to ſit downe till our Iury was full, which they courteouſly did, although Veluet-breeches ſtound at it; when I, looking for more, ſaw where there came a Troupe of Men in Apparell, ſeeming poore honeſt Citizens, in all they were right. I demanded of them what they were, and whither they were going? One of them that ſeemed the Welthieſt, who was in a furred Iacket, made Anſwere, That they were all Frends going to the Burial of a Neighbor of theirs, that yeſter Night died, and, if it would doo mee any Pleaſure to heare their Names, they were not ſo daintie but that they would tell them; and ſo then he began to tell mee, that by his Art he was a Skinner, the Second ſayd he was a Ioyner, the Third was a Sadler, the Fourth a Waterman, the Fifte was a Cutler, the Sixt was a Bellows-mender, the Seuenth a Plaiſterer, and the Eight a Printer. In good Time, quoth I, it is commendable when Neighbors loue ſo well together; but, if your Speed bee not ouermuch, I muſt requeſt you to bee of a Iury; ſo I diſcourſt unto them the Controuerſie between Cloth-breeches and Veluet-Breeches, and to what Iſſue it muſt grow by a Verdict; they ſeemed all content; and I turned to the Plantiffe and Defendant, and aſked if they would make Challenge to any of theſe? I ſcorn, quoth Veluet-breeches, to make any great Obiection againſt them, ſith they be mecanicall Men; and I almoſt hold them indifferent, for this I know, they get as much and more by me than by him; the Skinner I uſe for Furres, whereas this baſe Cloth-breeches hath ſcarce a Gowne faced once in his Life; the Saddler for coſtly imbroidered Saddels, the Ioyner for Seeling my Houſe, the Cutler for gylt Rapyers; the Waterman I vſe continually, ten times for his once, and ſo likewiſe the Plaiſterer; for the Bellows-mender, alas, poor Snake, I know him not; for the Printer, by our Lady, I *thinke* I am ſome tenne Pounds in his Debt for Bookes; ſo, that for my Part, let *them* all paſſe. And for me, quoth Cloth-*breeches*; but yet, a little to put them in Remembrance of their Follies, let me have a Bout with them all; and firſt with you Maiſter Skinner, to whom I can ſay little but only this, that, whereas you ſhoulde only put the Backes of Skinnes into Facing, you taw the Wombs and ſo deceiue the Buier; beſide, if you have ſome fantaſtike Skin brought you not woorth Two-pence, with ſome ſtraunge Spots, though it be of a Libbet, you will ſweare 'tis a moſt pretious

Skin,

Skin, and came from *Muſco*, or the furtheſt Part of *Calabria*. The Saddler he ſtuffes his Pannels with Straw or Hay, and ouerglaſeth them with Haire, and makes the Leather of them of Morts, or tand Sheeps Skins. The Ioyner, though an honeſt Man, yet he maketh his Ioynts weake, and putteth in Sappe in the Morteſes, which ſhould be the Hart of the Tree, and all to make his Stuffe ſlender. And you Cutler, you are Patron of Ruffions and Swaſh-bucklers, and will ſell them a Blade that may be thruſt into a Buſhell; but, if a poore Man that cannot ſkil of it, you ſel him a Swoord or Rapyer new ouerglaſed, and ſweare the Blade came either from *Turkie* or *Toledo*. Now, Maiſter Waterman, you will ſay there is no Subtilty in you, for there is none ſo ſimple but that knows your Fares, and what is due betweene *Greenwiche* and *London*, and how you earn your Money painfully with the Sweat of your Browes; all this is true; but let me whiſper one thing in your Eare, you will playe the Goodfellowe too much, if you be wel greaſed in the Fiſt; for if a yong Gentleman and a prety Wench come to you and ſay, Waterman, my Frend and I meane to go by Water, and to be merry a Night or two, I care not which Way nor whether wee go, and therefore, where thou thinkeſt wee may have beſt Lodging, thither carry vs: Then off goes your Cap, and away they go to *Brainford*, or ſome other Place; and then you ſay, Hoſteſs, I pray you vſe this Gentleman and his Wyfe wel, they are come out of *London* to take the Aire, and meane to be merry here a Night or two, and to ſpend their Mony frankly; when, God wot, they are neither Man nor Wife, nor, perhaps, of any Acquaintance before their Matche made in ſome bawdy Tauern; but you know no ſuch Matter, and therefore, Waterman, I pardon you. And for you, Plaiſterer and Bellowſmender, I paſſe you ouer; and, ſo do I the Printer too, only this I muſt needes ſay to him, that ſome of his Trade will print lewd Books, and bawdy Pamphlets; but,

Auri ſacra fames, quid non? ——

And therefore I am content they ſhal be all of the Iurie. I was glad there were ſo many accepted of at once, and hoped that now quickly the Iurie would be full; looking about me, ſtraight I might ſee one alone come running as faſt as he could. I woondred what he ſhould be that he made ſuch Haſt, and the Skinner told me was an honeſt Man, and one of their Company, by his Occupation a Bricklaier. Oh quoth Veluet-breeches, a good honeſt ſimple Man, he hath bin long in my Worke, in building me a ſumptuous Houſe. But, I challenge him, quoth Veluet-breeches, for he is a Iugler. How, quoth I, can it be? See he goeth very homely in Leather, and hath his Ruler in his Hand, and his Trowel at his Side, and he ſeemeth not as one that were giuen to ſuch Qualities. Yes, quoth Cloth-breeches, he hath this Policy, when he maketh a ſtately Place all glorious to the Eye, and ful of faire Chambers and goodlye Roomes, and about the Houſe, perhaps, ſome three-ſcore Chimnies, yet he canne ſoe cunningly caſt by hys Art that three of them ſhall not ſmoke in the Tweluemonth, and ſo ſpoiles he much good Morter and Bricke. Why, quoth I, the Fault is not in the Workeman but the Houſekeeper, for now adayes Men builde for to pleaſe the Eye, not to profit the Poore; they vſe no Roſt, but for themſelues and their Houſhold, nor no Fire but a little Court Chimnie in their owne Chamber: Howe can the poore Bricklaier then be blamed, when the Niggardneſſe of the Lord or Maiſter is the Cauſe no more Chimnies doe ſmoke. For, would they vſe ancient Hoſpitality as their Forefathers did, and value as lightly of Pride as their Great Grandfathers, then ſhould you ſee euery Chimny in the Houſe ſmoke, and prooue that the poore Artificer had doone his Part. Why then, quoth Cloth-breeches, as you pleaſe, admit him on the Queſt. But what be thoſe, quoth Cloth-breeches, that come heere ſo ſoberly? I hope they be honeſt Men, for they looke very demure; I will inquire, ſaid I; and with that, ſtepping to them, I demaunded their Names, and very courtiouſly the one ſayd he was a Brewer, the other a Butcher, the third a Baker, and the fourth a Vitler. Hearing what they wer, I was glad, gheſſing, ſith they were ſo honeſt ſubſtantial Men, that they would help to make vp the Iurie, when Veluet-breeches, with a grime and ſower Countenaunce, gaue them this Challenge. I hold it not neceſſary, quoth he, that theſe haue any thing to deale in my Cauſe, ſith I am

I am at oddes with them all at leaſt in fortie Pounds a peece; for this ſeuen Yeares I haue been indebted vnto them for Bread, Beefe, Beere, and other Victuals; then, ſith they haue credited me long, and I haue had ſo little Care to pay them, I doubt now they will reuenge themſelues, and paſſe againſt me in the Verdicte. Nay, quoth I, the rather will they hold on your Part, for, if they be honeſt wiſe Men, as they ſeeme to be, they will be carefull of your Prefermente, ſeeing, the more highlye you are aduaunſt, the more like are they to come by their owne. If therefore you can obiect no other Poyntes of Diſhoneſty againſt them, I ſee no Reaſon why they ſhoulde be put by. If you do not, quoth Cloth-breeches, then here mee, and I will prooue them vnfit to haue anye Dealinges heere, and firſt for the Butcher. I praye you, Goodman Kilcalfe, what Hauocke playe you with Puffing vp of Meate, and Blowing with your Pricker, as you flea it? Haue you not your artificiall Knaueries to ſet out your Meate with Prickes, and then ſweare he hath more for Mony than euer you bought; to ſel a Peece of an olde Cow for a Chop of a yong Oxe, to waſh your old Meat, that hath hung weltring in the Shop, with new Bloud; to truſſe awaye an old Ewe inſtead of a yong Weather, and, altho' you know it is hurtful and forbidden by the Statute to flee your Hides, Skins, Backes, with Cuts and Slaſhes, to the Impouerifhing of the poore Shooemaker when he buies it, yet, I pray you, how many Slaughters do you make in a poore Calues Skin? Oh Butcher, a long *Lent* be your Puniſhment, for you make no Conſcience in deceiuing the Poore. And you, Maiſt. Brewer, that growe to be woorth forty-thouſand Pounds by ſelling of ſoden Water, what Subtilty haue you in making your Beere to ſpare the Malt, and put in the more of the Hoppe to make your Drinke, be Barly neuer ſo cheape, not a whit the ſtronger, and yet neuer ſel a whit the more Meaſure for Money? You can, when you haue taken all the Harte of the Malt away, then clape on Store of Water, tis cheape inough, and maſhe out a Tunning of ſmalle Beare, that it ſcoures a Mans Maw like *Renniſh* Wine: In your Conſcience, how many Barrels draw you out of a Quarter of Malt? Fie, fie, I conceale your Falſhood, leaſt I ſhould be too broad in ſetting downe your Faults. And for you, Goodman Baker, you that loue to be ſeene in the open Market place upon the Pyllory, the World cries out of your Wilineſſe; you craue but one deere Yeare to make your Daughter a Gentlewoman; you buy your Corne at the beſt Hand, and yet will not be content to make your Bread Weight by many Ounces; you put in Yeaſt and Salt to make it heauie, and yet all your Policie cannot make it, but you fine for the Pyllory; the Poore crie out, the Rich find Fault, and the Lord Maior and the Sheriſs, like honorable and worſhipfull Maieſtrates, euerie Daie walke abroad and weigh your Bread, and yet all will not ſerue to make you honeſt Men; but, were Extremitie vſed, and the Statute put in the higheſt Degree in Practiſe, you would haue as few Eares on your Heades as the Collyer. Laſt to you, *Tom Tapſter*, that tape your ſmall Cannes of Beere to the Poore, and yet fill them half full of Froth; that carde your Beere, if you ſee your Gueſts begin to be drunke, halfe ſmal and halfe ſtrong; you cannot be content to pinch with your ſmall Pottes and your Oſtrie Faggots, but haue your Trugges to draw Men on to Villanie, and to bring Cuſtomers to your Houſe, where you ſell a Ioint of Meat for xii. Pence that coſt you ſcarſe ſix; and, if any chance to go on the Skore, you ſkore him when he is a ſleepe, and ſet vp a Grot a Daie more then he hath, to find you Drinking Pots with your Companions; to be ſhort, thou art a Knaue, and I like not any of the reſt; the Way lies before you, and therefore you may be gon, for you ſhall be none of the Queſt.

I ſmild to ſee Cloth-breeches ſo peremptory, when I ſaw fiue fat Fellowes, all in Damaſke Cotes and Gownes, welted with Veluet verie braue, and in great Conſultation, as if they were to determine of ſome weightie Matter; drawing neare, I ſawe they were wealthie Citizens; ſo I went and reuerently ſaluted them, and told them, how we needed their Aid about the Appeaſing of a Controuerſie, ſhewinge them where the Knight, Eſquier, and other ſtaied, til we might finde Men to fill vp the Iurie. They were contented; but Veluet-breeches excepted againſt fower of them, and ſaid, they were none of his Frendes; that was the Marchant, Goldſmith, Mercer and Draper; his Allegations were theſe, that they were all fethered of one Winge, to fetch in yong Gentlemen by Commodities, under the Colour of lending of Monie: For the Marchant he deliuered

deliuered the Yron, Tin, Lead, Hops, Sugars, Spices, Oiles, browne Paper, or whatſoeuer elſe, from ſix Months to ſix Months, which, when the poor Gentleman came to ſell againe, he could not make Threeſcore and ten in the Hundred, beſide the Vſurie. The Mercer he followeth the yong vpſtart Gentleman that hath no Gouernement of himſelfe, and he feedeth his Humor to go braue; he ſhall not want Silks, Sattins, Veluets, to pranke abroade in his Pomp, but with this Prouiſion, that he muſt bind ouer his Land in a Statute Marchant or Staple, and ſo at laſt forfeit all vnto the mercileſſe Mercer, and leaue himſelf neuer a Foot of Ground in *Englande*; which is the Reaſon that, for a fewe Remnaunts of Veluets and Silks, the Mercer creepeth into whole Lordſhips. The Goldſmith is not behinde, for moſt of them deale with Vſurie, and let yong Gentlemen haue Commodities of Plate for Ten in the Hundred, but they muſt looſe the Faſhion in felling it again, which cuts them ſore; beſide, they are moſt of them ſkild in Alcumie, and can temper Mettals ſhrewdly, with no little Profit to themſelues, and Diſaduauntage to the Buier, beſide Puffe-Ringes, and quaint Conceits, which I omit. And ſo for you, Draper, hee fetcheth them off for Liuerie Cloth, and Cloth for ſix Months and ſix, and yet hath hee more Knacks in his Budget, for hee hath ſo darke a Shop that no Man can well chooſe a Peece of Cloth; it ſo ſhadowes the Die and the Threed, a Man ſhall be deceiued in the Wooll and the Nappe, they cauſe the Clothworker ſo to preſſe them; beſide, hee impoſeth this Charge to the Clothworker, that he drawe his Cloth, and pull it paſſing hard when he ſets it vpon the Tenters, that he may haue it ful Breadth and Length til Thread and all tear and rent a Peeces. What care they for that, haue they not a Drawer to ſerue their Turne, to drawe and ſeame up the Holes ſo cunningly, that it ſhal neuer be eſpied? Myſelfe haue ſeene, in one Broad Cloth, eighteene Score Holes, torne, rackt, and puld by the Clothworker, only to pleaſe the Draper, and deceiue the Commonwealth. To be ſhort, the Clothworker, what with Rowing and Setting in a fine Nap, with Powdering it, and Preſſing it, with Shering the Wooll to the Proofe of the Threed, deale ſo cuningly, that they proue themſelues the Drapers Miniſter to execute his Subtilties; therefore, if he chance to come, let him be remembred. Now, Sir, for the Vintner: He is an honeſt ſubſtantial Man, a Frend to all good Fellowes, and truly, my Frend for my Money, and woorthy to be of the Iury. Why no, quoth Cloth-breeches, I am of another Mind; for I hold him as deceitful as any of the reſt. What, the Vintner! Why, he is a Kinde of Negromancer; for, at Midnight, when all Men are in Bed, then he, forſooth, fals to his Charmes and Spels, ſo that he tumbles one Hogſhead into another, and can make a Cup of Claret, that hath loſt his Colour, look high with a Daſh of red Wine at his Pleaſure; if he hath a ſtrong *Gaſcoigne* Wine, for Feare it ſhould make his Gueſts to ſoone drunke, he can allay it with a ſmal *Rochel* Wine; he can cheriſh vp White Wine with Sacke; and, perhaps, if you bide him waſh the Pot cleane, when he goes to draw you a Quart of Wine, he wil leaue a little Water in the Bottome, and then draw it full of Wine. And what and if he do? Tis no Harm; Wine and Water is good againſt the Heat of the Liuer. It were infinit to reherſe the Iugling of Vintners, the Diſorder of their Houſes, eſpecially of the Perſons that frequent them; and therefore, ſith Veluet-breeches hath put by the Marchant, Goldſmith, Mercer, and Draper, the Vintner ſhal goe with them for Company. As theſe were going away in a Snuffe, for being thus plainely taunted, we might ſee a mad merry Crue come leping ouer the Field, as frolickly as if they ought not all the World two Pence; and, drawing nearer, we might perceiue, that either Botle-ale, or Beere, had made a Fraie with them; for the Lifting of their Feet ſhewed the Lightneſſe of their Heads: The formoſt was a plaine Country Sir *Iohn*, or Vickar, that proclaimed, by the Rednes of his Noſe, he did oftner goe into the Alehouſe than the Pulpit; and him I aſked, What they were, and whether they were going? What are you? quoth the Prieſt, that ſtand by the High Way to examine me and my Frendes; heres none in my Company, but are able to anſwere for themſelues. I, ſeeinge they were all ſet on a merrye Pinne, tould the Cauſe, and howe the Controuerſie grewe betwixt Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches, and that we needed them to be of the Queſt. Marry, quoth Sir *Iohn*, a good Motion: Know, theſe all are my Pariſhioners, and we haue beene drinking with a poore

Man, and ſpending our Money with him, a Neighbor of ours, that hath loſt a Cow. Now for our Names and our Trades: This is a Smith, the Second a Weauer, the Third a Miller, the Fourth a Cooke, the Fifth a Carpenter, the Sixt a Glouer, the Seauenth a Pedlar, the Eight a Tinker, the Ninth a Waterberer, the Tenth a Huſbandman, the Eleuenth a Diar, and the Twelfth a Sailor, and I their Vickar; How could you, Sir, haue a fitter Iury, than me and my Pariſhioners? You are a little too breefe, quoth Cloth-breeches; Are you not ſome Puritan, Maiſter Parſon? Or ſome Fellow that raiſeth vp new Sciſemes and Hereſies amongſt your People? A Plague on them all, quoth I, Sir; for the World was neuer in Quiet; Deuotion, Neighbourhood, nor Hoſpitality neuer flouriſhed in this Land, ſince ſuch vpſtart Boies and ſhittle witted Fools became of the Miniſtery. I cannot tel, they preach Faith, Faith, and ſay, that Doing of Almes is Papiſtry: but they haue taught ſo long *Fides ſolum iuſtificat*, that they haue preached good Workes quite out of our Pariſh; a poore Man ſhal as ſoone breake his Necke, as his Faſt, at a rich Mans Dore: For me, Frend, I am, indeed, none of the beſt Scholers, yet I can read an Homely euery *Sonday* and Holyday, and I keepe Companie with my Neighbors, and goe to the Alehouſe with them, and, if they be fallen out, ſpende my Money to make them Frendes; and on *Sondayes*, ſometime, if Goodfellowſhip cal me away, I ſay both Morning and Euening Prayer at once, and ſo let them haue a whole Afternoone to plaie in. This is my Life: I ſpende my Liuing with my Pariſhioners, I ſeeke to do All Good, and I offer no Man Harm. Well, quoth Cloth-breeches, I warrant thou art an honeſt Vickar, and therefore ſtand by, thou ſhalt be one of the Queſt. And, for you, Smith, I ſee no great Fault in you; you yerne your Liuing with the Sweat of your Browes, and there can be no great Knauery in you; only I would haue you mend your Life for Drinking, ſith you are neuer at Quiet, vnles the Pot be ſtil at your Noſe. But, you Weauer, the Prouerbe puts you downe for a crafty Knaue; you canne filch and ſteale almoſt as il as the Tailor; your Woofe and Warpe is ſo cunningly drawn out, that you plague the poore Country Huſwiues for their Yarne, and dawbe on ſo much Dreggs, that you make it ſeeme both wel wrought, and be neare Waight, when it is ſlenderly wouen, and you haue ſtolne a Quarter of it from the poore Wife. Away, be packing, for you ſhalbe caſhierd. What, Miller, ſhake Handes with your Brother the Weauer for Knauery; you canne take Toll twiſe, and haue falſe Hoppers to conuey away the poore Mans Meale; be gone, I loue not your duſty Lookes; and, for Companie, Goodman Cooke, go you with them; for you cooſen the poore Men and Countrie Tearmers with your filthy Meat; you will buy of the Worſt and Cheapeſt, when it is bad inough for Dogs, and yet ſo powder it and parboile it, that you wil ſel it to ſome honeſt poore Men, and that vnreaſonably to. If you leaue any Meate ouer Night, you make a Shift to heat it againe the nexte Daie; nay, if on the *Thurſday* at Night ther be any left, you make Pies of it on *Sonday* Mornings, and almoſt, with your ſlouenly Knauerie, poiſon the poore People: To be ſhort, I brooke you not, and therefore be walking. For the Carpenter, Glouer, and Waterbearer, the Huſbandman, Diar, and Sailor, ſith your Trades haue but pettie Slights, ſtand you with Maiſter Vickar, you are like to help to giue in the Verdict; but, for the Pedlar and the Tinker, they are two notable Knaues, both of a Haire, and both Coſen Germaines to the Deuill. For the Tinker, why, he is a drowſie, bawdy, drunken Companion, that walkes vppe and downe with a Trug after him, and, in ſtopping one Hole, makes three; and, if in conuenient Place he meets with one alone, perhaps rifles him or hir of all that euer they haue; a baſe Knaue, without Fear of God, or Loue to anye one, but to his Whore and to himſelfe. The Pedlar, as bad, or rather worſe, walketh the Countrey with his Dockſey at the leaſt, if he haue not two his Mortes Dels, and *Autem mortis*; he paſſeth commonly through euery Paire of Stocks, either for his Drunkenneſſe, or his Lecherie: And, beſide, it is reported, you can lift, or nip a Bounge, like a *Guire Coue*, if you want Pence, and that you carrie your Pack but for a Coulour to ſhadow your other Villanies. Well, howſoeuer, you are both Knaues, and ſo be iogging. Well, quoth I, ſuppoſe the Iurie is almoſt full, I beleeue we want not aboue three or four Perſons; looke you where they come to make vp the Number; and they ſhould be Men of good Diſpoſition, for they ſeeme to be all

of

of the Countrey. Aſſoone as they came to vs, I met them, and told them the Matter, and they were content. The one ſaid he was a Graſier, the other a Farmer, the other a Shephard to them both. What thinke you of theſe three? quoth I. Marry, ſaith Veluet-breeches, two of them are honeſt Men, but the other is a baſe Knaue; but tis no Matter, ſhuffle him in amongſt the reſt. Nay, by your Leaue, quoth Cloth-breeches, I will ſhuffle out theſe two, for they are the verie Cormorants of the Countrey, and deuoure the poore People with their monſtrous Exactions. And, *firſt*, I alledge againſt the Graſier, That he foreſtalleth Paſtures and Medow Grounds for the Feeding of his Cattell, and wringeth Leaſes of them out of poore Mens Handes; and, in his Buieng of Cattell, he committeth great Vſury; for, if it proue a wet Yeare, then he maketh Hauocke, and ſelleth deere; if it be a drie Yeare, then he buyeth cheape, and yet, hauing Paſture, keepes them til he may come to his owne Priſe: He knoweth, as well as the Butcher, by the Feed of a Bullocke, how much Tallow he will yield, what his Quarters will amount vnto, what the Tanner will giue for the Hide, nay, what the Sowſe Wiues are able to make of the Inwards; ſo that he ſels it ſo deere to the Butcher, that he can ſcearſe liue of it; and therefore what Subtiltie the Butcher vſeth cometh from the Graſier; ſo that I exempt him from the Queſt, as a bad Member, and an il Friend to Cloth-breeches. And, for you, Maiſter Farmer, you know how, through you, couetous Landelords raiſe their Rents; for, if a poore Man haue but a Plough Land, if you ſee his Paſtures bear good Graſſe, and his earable Ground good Corne, and that he proſpereth, and goeth forward on it, and prouideth and maintaineth his Wife and Seruants honeſtly, then

Inuidus alterius rebus macreſcit opimis,
Vicinumque pecus grandius vber habet.

Then ſtraight Enuie pricks the Farmer forward, and he bids the Landelord farre more, then the poore Man paies yearely for it; ſo that, if he be a Tenant at Will, he puts him out to begge in the Street; or, when his Leaſe comes out, he ouer loades him in the Fines; and thus bloodſucketh he the Poore for his owne priuate Profite. Beſides, the baſe Chuffe, if he ſees a forward Yeare, and that Corne is like to be plenty, then he murmureth againſt God, and ſwereth and proteſteth he ſhal be vndone, reſpecting more the Filling of his owne Coffers by a Dearth, than the Profite of his Countrey by a general Plenty. Beſides, Sir, may it pleaſe you, When new Corne comes into the Market, who brings in to relieue the State? Not your Maiſterſhip, but the poore Huſbandman, that wants Pence; for you keepe it till the backe Ende of the Yeare; nay, you haue your Garners, which haue Corne of two or three Yeare olde, vppon Hope ſtill of a deere Yeare, rather letting the Weaſels eate it, then the Poore ſhould haue it at any reaſonable Price: So that, I conclude, you are a Cormorant of the Commonwealth, and a Wretch that liues of the Spoile of the Needy; and ſo I leaue you to iet with the Graſier. Marry, for the Shephard, vnleſſe it be, that he killeth a Lambe now and then, and ſaies the Fox ſtole him, I know little Craft in his Budget; therefore let him be among the honeſt Men of the Iury.

Well, Cloth-breeches, quoth I, you are very peremptory in your Challenges, what ſay you, here comes three or four Citizens, will anye of theſe ſerue Turn? I cannot tell, quoth he, till I know their Names and Conditions: With that, I ſtept afore the Company, and inquired what they were: The eldeſt of them, being a graue Citizen, ſayde he was a Grocer, the reſt his good and honeſt Neighbors, a Chandler, a Haberdaſher, a Clothworker, and two Strangers, one a *Wallioon*, the other a *Dutchman*. How like you of theſe, quoth I, to Veluet-breeches? Well inough, quoth he, for I am little acquainted with them, yet I knowe they fauour me, bicauſe I haue on a *Sunday* ſeene them all in their Silkes. I marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, but they neuer get that Brauery with Honeſty; for the Clothworker his Faultes were laide open before, when we had the Draper in Queſtion, and therefore let him bee packing. For you Chandler, I like not of your Tricks, you are to conuerſant with the Kitchen Stuffe Wives; you, after your Weeke or Snaſt is ſtiffened, you dip it in filthy Droſſe, and after giue him a Coat of good Tallowe, which makes the Candles drop and waſt away, to the great Hindrance of the poore Workemen that watcheth in the Night. Beſide, you pinch in your Waights, and haue falſe Meaſures,

ſures, and many other Knaueries that I omit; but this be ſure, you ſhall not meddle in my Matter: Neither the Haberdaſher, for he trims vp olde Feltes, and makes them very fayre to the Eie, and faceth and edgeth them neatly, and then hee turnes them away to ſuch a ſimple Man as I am; and ſo abuſeth vs with his Cooſenage. Beſide, you buy gumd Taffata, wherewith you line Hats that will ſtraight aſſunder as ſoone as it comes to the Heate of a Mans Head. To be breefe, I am not well ſkild in your Knaueries, but indeed you are too ſubtle for poor Cloth-breeches, and therefore you ſhall be none of the Jurie. Marrie, the Grocer ſeemes an honeſt Man, and I am content to admit of him; only take this as a Caueat by the Way, that you buy, of the Garbellers of Spices, the Refuſe that they ſifte from the Marchant, and that you mix againe and ſel it to your Cuſtomers. Beſids, in your beaten Spices, as in Pepper, you put in Bay Berries, and ſuch Droſſe, and ſo wring the Poore; but theſe are ſleight Cauſes, and ſo I ouerpaſſe them, and vouchſafe you to be of the Queſt. But I pray you, what be thoſe two honeſt Men? Quoth the Grocer, the one a *Dutchman* and a Shoomaker, the other a *Frenchman* and a Millainer in *S. Martins*, and ſels Shirts, Bands, Bracelets, Iewells, and ſuch prety Toies for Gentlewomen: Oh they be of Veluet-breeches Acquaintance, Upſtarts as well as he, that haue brought with them Pride and Abuſes into *Englande*: And firſt to the Millainer. What Toyes deuiſeth he to feed the Humor of the vpſtart Gentleman withall, and of fond Gentlewomen? Such Fannes, ſuch Ouches, ſuch Brooches, ſuch Bracelets, ſuch Graundcies, ſuch Periwigs, ſuch Paintings, ſuch Ruffes, and Cuffes, as hath almoſt made *Englande* as full of proud Foppries as *Tyre* and *Sydon* were. There is no Seamſter can make a Bande or a Shirt ſoe well as his Wife: And why, forſooth? Bicauſe the filthy Queane wears a Craunce, and is a *Frenchwoman*, forſooth; where as our *Engliſh* Women of the *Exchange* are both better Workwomen, and will affoord a better Peniworth. And ſo for the drunken *Dutchman*, this Shoomaker, he and ſuch as he is, abuſeth the Commonwealth, and the poore Mechanicall Men and Handicrafts Men of *London*; for our new vpſtart Fooles, of Veluet-breeches Fraternity, liketh nothing but that the outlandiſh Aſſe maketh. They like no Shoo ſo well as *Dutchman* maketh, when our *Engliſhe* Men paſſe them farre. And ſo for Chandlers, and all other Occupations, they are wronged by the *Dutch* and *French*. And therefore, ſith the Commons hates them, they cannot be my Frendes, and therefore let them be launching to *Fluſhing*, for they ſhall be no Triers of my Controverſie. Well, quoth I, now I ſuppoſe the Iury is full, and we ſee no more comming, let vs call them and ſee howe manye we haue. So they appeared to their Names, as followeth:

The Names of the Iury to be empanelled.

1 Knight.
2 Eſquire.
3 Gentleman.
4 Prieſt.
5 Printer.
6 Grocer.
7 Skinner.
8 Diar.
9 Pewterer.
10 Saddler.
11 Ioyner.
12 Bricklaier.
13 Cutler.
14 Plaiſterer.
15 Saylor.
16 Ropemaker.
17 Smith.
18 Glouer.
19 Huſbandman.
20 Shephard.
21 Waterman.
22 Waterbearer.
23 Bellowſmender.

What, is it not poſſible, quoth I, to haue one more, to make vp the four-and-twenty? As I was thus ſpeaking, I eſpied, a far off, a certain Kind of an ouerworne Gentleman, attired in Veluet and Sattyn, but it was ſomewhat dropped and greaſie; and Bootes on his Legges, whoſe Soles wexed thin, ſeemed to complaine of their Maiſter, which, treadinge thrift under his Feet, had brought them vnto that Conſumption: He walked not as other Men in the common beaten Waye, but came compaſſing *Circum circa*, as if we had beene Deuills, and he would draw a Circle about vs, and at euery third Steppe he looked backe, as if he were afrayde of a Bayly or Serieant.

After him followed two pert Aprleſquires, the one had a murrey Cloth Gowne on, faced downe before with gray Conny, and laid thicke on the Sleeues with Lace, which he quaintly bare vp, to ſhew his white Taffata Hoſe and blacke Silke Stockings; a huge Ruffe about his Necke wrapt in his great Head like a wicker Cage; a little Hat with Brimes like the Wings of a Doublet, wherein he wore a Iewell of Glaſſe, as broad as the Chancery Seale: After him followed two Boies in

Cloakes like Butter Flies, carrieng one of them his cutting Sword of Choller, the other his daunſing Rapyer of Delight. His Camerard that bare him Company, was a iollie light timberd Iacke a Napes, in a Sute of watchet Taffata cut to the Skinne, with a Cloake all to be dawbed with colourd Lace: Both he and my gowned Brother ſeemed by their Paſe as if they had ſome Sutes to Mounſieur Boots. At length comming neer, I might diſcerne the firſt to be a Poet, the ſecond a Player, the third a Muſition, *alias* the Uſher of a Daunſing Scoole. Well met, Maiſter Poet, quoth I, and welcome you Frendes alſo, though not ſoe perticularly knowne. So it is, though none of you three be Commonwealthsmen, yet vpon vrgent Neceſſitye wee muſt be forced to employ you. We haue a Iury to bee empanelled immediatly, which one of you three muſt help to make vp, euen he which approues himſelfe the honeſteſt Man. They are all honeſt Men and Goodfellowes, quoth Veluet-breeches, therefore it is no great Matter whether of them we chooſe.

The Doctors doubt of that, quoth Cloth-breeches, for I am of a different Opinion. This firſt, whome by his careleſſe ſlouenlie Gate at firſt Sight I imagined to be a Poet, is a Waſt Good and an Unthrift; that he is borne to make the Tauernes richt and himſelfe a Begger: If he haue forty Pounds in his Purſe togither, he puts it not to Uſurie, neyther buies Land nor Marchandize with it, but a Monthes Commoditie of Wenches and Capons. Tenne Pound a Supper, why tis nothing, if his Plough goes and his Inkhorne be cleere: Take one of them worth twentie thouſande Pound and hang him. He is a King of his Pleaſure, and counts all other Boores and Peſants, that, though they haue Money at Command, yet know not, like him, how to domaneere with it to any Purpoſe as they ſhould. But, to ſpeake plainely, I think him an honeſt Man, if he would but liue within his Compaſſe, and, generally, no Mans Foe but his owne. Therefore I hold him a Man fit to be of my Iurie. Nay, quoth Veluet-breeches, I haue more Minde to theſe two, for this Poet is a proud Fellow, that, bicauſe he hath a little Wit in his Budget, will contemne and miſtake vs that are the common Sort of Gentlemen, and thinke we are beholding to him, if he doe but beſtow a faire Looke vpon vs. The Player, and the Uſher of the Dauncing Schoole are plaine, honeſt, humble Men, that play for a Penny or an olde caſt Suit of Apparell. Indeede, quoth Cloth-breeches, you ſaye Troth, they are but too humble, for they be ſo lowly, that they be baſe minded; I meane not in their Lookes nor Apparell, for ſo they be Peacockes and painted Aſſes, but in their Courſe of Life, for they care not how they get Crowns, I meane how baſely, ſo they haue them; and yet, of the two, I hold the Player to be the better Chriſtian, although he is, in his owne Imagination, too full of Self Liking and Self Love, and is vnfit to be of the Iurie, though I hide and concele his Faults and Fopperies, in that I haue bene merrie at his Sports; only this I muſt ſay, that ſuch a plaine Countrey Fellow as my ſelfe, they bring in as Clownes and Fooles to laugh at in their Plaie, whereas they get by vs, and of our Almes the proudeſt of them all doth liue. Well, to be breefe, let him trot to the Stage, for he ſhall be none of the Iurie. And for you, Maiſter Uſher of the Dauncing Schoole, you are a Leader into all Miſrule; you inſtruct Gentlemen to order their Feet, when you driue them to miſorder their Manners; you are a bad Fellowe, that ſtand upon your Tricks and Capers, til you make yong Gentlemen caper without their Lands; why, Sir, to be flat with you, you liue by your Legges as a Iugler by his Hands, you are given ouer to the Pumps and Vanities of the World, and, to be ſhort, you are a Keeper of Miſrule, and a lewd Fellow, and you ſhall be none of the Queſt. Why then, quoth I, you are both agreed that the Poet is he that muſt make up the xxiiij. They anſwered both, he, and none but he. Then I, calling them all together, bad them laye their Hands one the Booke, and firſt I cald the Knight, and after, the reſt as they followed in Order; then I gaue them their Charge thus:

Worſhipfull Sir, with the reſt of the Iury, whome we haue ſolicited of choice honeſt Menne, whoſe Conſciences will deale vprightlye in this Controuerſie, you and the reſt of your Company are heere upon your Oath and Oathes, to inquire whether Cloth-breeches haue done Deſſeiſon unto Veluet-breeches, yea, or no, in or about *London*, in putting him out of franke Tenement, wronging him of his Right, and imbelliſhing his Credit; if

you

you finde that Cloth-breeches hath done Veluet-breeches Wrong, then let him be ſet in his former Eſtate, and allowe him reaſonable Dammages. Vpon this they laid their Handes on the Booke and were ſworne, and departed to ſcrutine of the Matter by Inquirie amongeſt themſelves, not ſtirring out of our Sight, nor ſtaieng long; but ſtraight returned, and the Knight for them all, as the Formoſt, ſaid thus: So it is that we haue with Equity and Confidence conſidered of this Controuerſy betweene Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches, as touching the Prerogatiue of them both, which are moſt woorthy to be rightly Reſedent and have Seiſon in frank Tenement heere in *Englande*; and we do find that Cloth-breeches is by many hundred Years more antient, euer ſince *Brute*, an Inhabitant in this Iland, one that hath beene in *Diebus illis* a Companion to Kings, an Equall with the Nobility, a Frend to Gentlemen and Yeomen, and a Patron of the Poore; a true Subiect, a good Houſekeeper, and generally as honeſt as he is antient. Whereas Veluet-breeches is an Vpſtart come out of *Italy*, begot of Pride, nurſed vp by Self-loue, and brought into this Countrey by his Companion Newfangleneſſe; that he is but of late Time a Raiſer of Rents, and an Enimie in the Commonwealth, and one that is not any way to be preferd in Equitie before Cloth-breeches; therefore by general Verdict wee adiudge Cloth-breeches to have done him no Wrong, but that he hath lawfully claimed his Title of Frank Tenement, and in that we appoint him for euer to be Reſedent. At this Verdict pronounſt by the Knight, all the Standers by clapt their Hands, and gaue a mighty Shout, whereat I ſtarted and awaked, for I was in a Dreame and in my Bed, and ſo roſe vpp, and writ in a merrie Vaine what you haue hard.

The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament: Or, a Collection of the Acts, Orders, Votes, and Reſolves, that have paſſed in the Houſe. By *Samuel Butler*, Author of *Hudibras*. *London*, Printed according to Order, 1659. And reprinted this Year 1710. And ſold by *J. Baker*, at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-noſter-Row*. *Octavo*, containing ſixteen Pages.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

Reader,

THOU art deſired to take Notice of the laſt Order of Parliament in this Book mentioned, whereby I am enjoined, upon my Oath, to diſcover only Things tolerable, and agreeable to the Practice formerly of the Long Parliament; now the Lands be ſold, Offices diſpoſed of, and their own Turns ſatisfied, and they turned out; I ſhall acquaint you further: For it is a Maxim here, That, if I ſwear to be faithful to another, if that other hath the Worſe of it, I am not bound by this Oath: And this is the Opinion of all Reformed Divines, and, to my Knowledge, hath been put in Practice for theſe eighteen Years: So that, being now diſcharged of that Oath, I ſhall hereafter diſcharge a good Conſcience, and ſet forth a Hiſtory of rare Things. Theſe are not an Ace to them I have in my Budget. Farewell,

J. Canne.

N. B. This *Canne* was a noted Man amongſt the Saints in thoſe Times; therefore, the Author made Uſe of his Name, in order to conceal himſelf.

May,

May the 9th, 1659.

THIS Day their ſmall Aſſembly was reſolved into a *Grand Committee*, to debate what the Houſe ſhould be called in ordinary Proceedings.

Lenthall. It ſhall be called, *The New-Exchange.*

Vane. It ſhall be called, *The Houſe of Prayer.*

Haſilrig. It ſhall be called, *A Gaol*, for I ſee *Martin* and other Gaol-birds here.

Lowry. It ſhall be called, *Haberden.*

Skippon. It ſhall be called, *A Den of Thieves.*

Atkins. It ſhall be called, *A Houſe of Office.*

Scot. It ſhall be called, *The Free-State Croſs.*

Saloway. That is a ſuperſtitious Name Let it be called, *The Armies Ware-houſe.*

Martin. Let it be called, *A Church*, for we are all Saints.

St. John. I am of Opinion, that, by the ancient known Laws of *England*, this is the legalleſt Parliament that ever was; and that the Men, that met here by *Oliver*'s and *Richard*'s Writs, made but illegal Aſſemblies; therefore let it be called, *The Parliament-Houſe.*

Baron *Hill.* } We are of the ſame Opi-
Baron *Nichols.* } nion ſtrongly.

Withrington. I ſhall declare no Opinion as to the Point, but ſhall conſider thereof.

Prynne this Day got in, and he would have it called *Bedlam*; for here is frantick Mr. *St. John*, hair-brained *Haſilrig*, ſenſleſs *Lowry* and *Atkins*, poſſeſſed *Vane*, diſtracted *Nichols*, and a Multitude more of Mad-men, beſides Fools; therefore he thought it fit that the Chains and Fetters might be removed from *Newgate* hither, to be Keepers of the Liberties: Thereupon the Houſe ordered it to be referred to a Committee, and adjourned till the Afternoon; and that Mr. *Prynne* ſhould come no more there, for he was too wiſe and too honeſt to be in that Place.

In the Afternoon they met, and upon Debate theſe Things were reſolved on.

Firſt reſolved, That the Family of the *Cromwells* are not born Protectors.

Secondly reſolved, That it is more convenient we ſhould have the Government, we having already the Crown-Lands. So they adjourned till the next Morning.

May 10th.

This Day it was referred to a Committee, to conſider of the Self-denying Ordinance; and they are to take Notice, that there are ſeveral King's Lands yet to be ſold; therefore they are to report, whether it be convenient that that Ordinance be in Force or no.

May 11th.

This Day this Committee, whereof *St. John* was Chair-man, reported to the Houſe, That by Law that Ordinance was of no Force, for the Intent of the Makers of Laws muſt be obſerved; and it cannot be intended, that the Makers thereof would ſo far prejudice their own Intereſts, as to have that Ordinance to be in Force when Lands are to be ſold, and Places to be diſpoſed of.

May 12th.

Ordered, That this Day, uſually called *Aſcenſion-day*, be no more called ſo; but henceforth *May* 7th be called by that Name, in Commemoration of our Aſcent to the Old Shop on that Day. And this was the great Work of that Day.

From *May* 13th to *May* 20th.

The Houſe took into their Conſideration the Titles of Honour and Dignity conferred by 'Squire *Oliver* and his Son *Richard*; and, alſo other Titles to be given: And thereupon it was enacted as follows:

The Contents of the Act for Names, Titles, and Dignities, &c.

Firſt enacted, That our Fellow-member, Alderman *Atkins*, be no more called, *Alderman Tom*, *Alderman Shitbreech*, *Sir Tom*, *Sir Alderman*, *Tom Thumb*; but in all ordinary Proceedings he be called and ſtiled, *Tom Fool*; and, in Exigents, let him be named, *Tom Turd.*

Secondly, That *Harry Nevill* be no more called, *Religious Harry Nevill*, that the People may take Notice he is one of the Council of State.

Thirdly, That the eldeſt Son of *Oliver* Protector have the ſame Addition of Title and Dignity, that the Long-Parliament conferred upon

upon the eldeſt Son of the late King to all Intents and Purpoſes.

Fourthly, That all other Titles of Honour whatſoever be ſequeſtered, and the Profits ariſing thence to go to the Payment of the late Protector's Debts.

Provided that this Act, nor any thing herein, ſhall be conſtrued to take away or null thoſe apt and reaſonable Titles that are given to the ſeveral Members and Council of State, and recorded in the excellent Book of *England's Confuſion.*

From *May* 20th to *June* 1.

This Day the Regulation of the Law was taken into Conſideration: And,

Reſolved, That the ableſt Lawyers be prohibited to judge or practiſe, that the Law may flouriſh, and Juſtice be done.

Ordered, That old Colonel *Walton* grow young again before three Weeks, or the Diſſolution of this Parliament; and by that Time become as frolick as he was with the Barber's Wife, that his young Wife may no longer be forced to get a Snap abroad, at the great Charge of the Publick: And that, in the Interim, he ſit cloſe in the Houſe; and, that ſhe hath allowed to her an Univerſal Toleration during that Time, and no longer.

Yeſterday the Colt, formerly drowned at *Huntingdon*, and taken up at the great Charge and Pains of the Mayor and Recorder, was voted a Sturgeon, *nemine contradicente*: And, it was ordered, that Serjeant *Bernard* have the next Sturgeon to his own Uſe, any Grant or Preſcription to others notwithſtanding.

Reſolved, That *Paul's* Steeple is the Croſs that ſtood formerly in *Cheapſide*; and, therefore, to be pulled down forthwith.

Reported from a Committee of Safety as follows:

That the beſt Way to ſettle this Nation in Peace, is to ſell the Reſidue of the Lands, *&c.* and diſpoſe of them amongſt the Parliament-Men that were not liberally provided for before 1653. Yet we conceive that Sir *Arthur Haſilrig* remembered himſelf pretty well before that Time; however, if the Parliament adjudged 30000 *l. per Annum* not ſufficient for him, let him have more.

This Report was taken into Conſideration accordingly, being of great Import.

Thereupon the Houſe reſolved into a grand Committee, to debate the Porportioning of the ſaid Lands, to the particular Members, according to their Wants.

Lenthall. Gentlemen, Can you think that I, that I your Speaker, your everlaſting Speaker, who am reſolved to live and die with you at 5 *l. per Diem*, can live to maintain myſelf and Family at that great Rate I now live at, and ſupport the Grandeur that ſhould attend the Speaker to ſo noble Perſons with 13000 *l per Annum*, and not above 80000 *l.* in perſonal Eſtate?

Skippon. I have enough of 1000 *l. per Annum*, and deſire no more to live as well as Mr. Speaker.

Haſilrig. You ſay well, but 100000 *l. per Annum* is better; and upon my Credit I want *Daniel Collingwood's* Eſtate to make me up 30000 *l. per Annum*; I pray conſider it.

Scot. Gentlemen, My Father-in-Law, *Pluſh-Bacon*, is dead, and hath cheated me of 5000 *l.* beſides, it will take 10000 *l. per Annum* to make me honeſt.

Martin. If I have not enough to pay my Debts at preſent, and to maintain as many Whores as the Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord *Monſon* (my Fellow-Boarder in *Southwark*) or the late Earl of *Warwick*; I'll leave the Houſe, and go to Priſon again: What! do you think I'll help to cheat the People for nothing?

Vane. Come, Gentlemen, if you will be a little Religious, you may make Shift with 15000 *l. per Annum* as I do.

Darly. My eldeſt Son wiſhes me hanged that I ſerved ſo long in this Trade, and am like to leave him no better Eſtate. Pray think on it.

St. John. I have built me a little Houſe lately, and want ſome Ground to lay to it. If you'll grant me a Foreſt, I'll remove my Houſe thither, for the Law is as clear it was in the Earl of *Strafford's* Caſe: That I may remove it by *Habeas Corpus.*

Weavour. Come, Gentlemen, you are a little too buſy; take Heed the Army prevent not the Deſign; I am a good Willer to the Mathematicks myſelf; but let's make them ſure, for upon my Credit *Lambert* is no Fool: Thereupon the Houſe adjourned till *June* the Firſt.

From *June* the 1ſt to the 4th.

This Day the Houſe took into Conſideration that ſeaſonable Motion of Mr. *Weavour*, and have ordered as follows:

Ordered,

Ordered, That the Army-Officers be fooled out of their old Commiſſions, by Vertue of which they were our Maſters; and that they take new Ones from us, by Vertue of which we are their Maſters.

Ordered likewiſe, That we juggle with ſome ſome of the ſtouteſt and ſobereſt Colonels in the Army, to go Snips with us underhand, that they may curb the reſt, and keep them in Awe.

Ordered, That *Hacker* and *Okey* be two of them; and that there be but Two beſides lifted into this Confederacy, leſt it be diſcovered, or leſt we give too much from ourſelves.

Ordered laſtly, That this preſent Parliament ſit till *May* next (if *Lambert* be not too cunning for them before that Time) and that, in the Interim, Parliament-Men be valued at a Penny a-piece; and that the former Value of Twelve a Penny, ſet upon them in 1653, be made void.

June the 4th.

This Day the Houſe took into Conſideration the Buſineſs between *Harry Nevill* and *Stroud*, Sheriffs in *Berkſhire*, which is referred to a Committee to report, If it be not all the Reaſon in the World, that one of the Council of State ſhould have fifteen-hundred Pounds, whether it belongs to him, or no? And that *Stroud* ſhould pay it, for not Returning him to that Parliament, which *Nevill* had a hundred Times ſworn to be no Parliament?

Ordered by the Houſe, That Mr. *St. John* be Aſſiſtant to that Committee, to inform how the ſame ſtands; and whether *Magna Charta* doth not warrant that, as well as the dark Lanthorn.

Monday, June the 6th.

This Day came an Expreſs from *Ireland*, That the noble and valiant Deputy will, before long, learn *Fleetwood* more Wit, and *Lambert* more Honeſty; and that he will turn theſe Jugglers out of their Box, as his Father did.

Ordered thereupon, That he forthwith repair to *England*, if he be ſuch a Fool; and that we catch him in our Clutches, if we can, leſt he obſtruct our Religious Deſigns.

June the 7th.

This Day the Houſe conſidered of Mr. *Harrington*'s Propoſals concerning a Free State; and thereupon

Reſolved, That he is a Fool to buſy his Noddle about that which the Houſe never thinks on; for, when they have made all even, they will break up School.

June the 8th.

Ordered, That Mr. *Harrington* be forthwith diſpatched to *Jamaica*, that famous Iſland, and form his Commonwealth there; and that he hath all the Golden Mines for his Pains.

June the 9th.

Reſolved, That all Papiſts and Jeſuits be tolerated in *England*; and that Anabaptiſts and Quakers be inſerted into the Army; that, by that Time the Parliament have gotten into their Hands the Reſidue of what is left, the Army may make Mutinies among themſelves, and diſcharge us, and ſet the People againſt them, and we go ſcot-free.

June the 10th.

The Houſe, this Day, upon Conſideration that the High and Mighty Prince *Vane* is to marry with the Illuſtrious Infant of *Wimbleton-Houſe*, ordered, That *Richard Cromwell* depart from thence forthwith, to make Way for their Highneſſes; and that the *Banqueting-Houſe* be prepared with a Pair of Bagpipes and a North-country Jig, to entertain the Nobles, that ſhall attend the Solemniſation of thoſe Nuptials.

June the 11th, to *June* the 18th.

Ordered, That *Hacker* and *Okey* have a ſtrict Eye of *Lambert*, when he goes to *Whitehall*, leſt he ſteps into the Chair.

The Houſe called Mr. *Canne* in, and ordered him to publiſh only what was agreeable to their former Proceedings; and, if it fell out, at any Time, that they ſhould do otherwiſe than the People expect, That he ſhould conceal the ſame: Whereto *Canne*, their News-maker, agreed, and was ſworn.

A farther brief and true Narration of the late Wars riſen in *New-England*, occaſioned by the quarrelſome Diſpoſition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous and ſavage *Indian* Natives there; with an Account of the Fight, the 19th of *December* laſt, 1675. *London*, *February* 17th, $167\frac{5}{6}$. Licenſed, *Henry Oldenburgh*. *London*, Printed by *J. D.* for *M. K.* and are to be ſold by the Bookſellers, 1676. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

SIR,

THIS verily believed with us, that all generous Minds in both *Englands*, which concern themſelves to enquire after our Affairs in theſe Parts of the World, and wiſh us well, have a longing Deſire the *Indian* Wars might be ended; and we preſumed e're this, that the Powers of Perſuaſion or Force would have made a happy Change, by altering the Minds, or reſtraining the Malice of our Heathen Foes.

But ſo it is, the Rod of God's Anger is ſtill upon us; for the *Pocanaket* Sachem *Metacom*, *alias Philip*, ſtill lives! he lives to be Vexation to us in all Places where he comes: Yea, he lives, and by his Subtlety proves a more forcible and perillous Enemy to us than ever we could have imagined. He hath drawn into his Confederacy all the *Indians*, from Cape *Sables* Eaſtward to the *Mohawks*, which is about three-hundred Miles or upwards: And our Fears are (which would to God they were but Fears) that ſome Traders of *Europe*, for Love of Gain, have from Time to Time ſupplied them with Ammunition.

At the Eaſtward, the *Indians* have ruined *Falmouth* black Point, and *Saco*, and ſlain in thoſe Towns thirty Perſons: Some they took alive, and ſat them upright in the Ground, uſing this *Sarcaſm*: 'You *Engliſh*, ſince you 'came into this Country have grown exceed-'ingly above Ground, let us now ſee how 'you will grow when planted into the 'Ground.' At *Ketterey* they have ſlain fourteen Perſons, and burnt ſundry Houſes: At

Boſton, *December* 28th, 1675.

Dover they alſo have killed ſome, and fired two or three Houſes. Our Enemies proudly exult over us, and blaſpheme the Name of our Bleſſed God, ſaying, *Where is your O God?* Taunting at the poor Wretches, which, to make themſelves Sport with, they cruelly torture to Death: But our Affiance is in the God that made Heaven and Earth, who, when he ariſes, will ſcatter our Enemies.

It hath been the great Care of our Council to diſtinguiſh between Friends and Enemies; for moſt of our Miſchiefs have flowed from pretended Friends, who have demeaned themſelves exceeding fairly with us, till they have had the Opportunity ſecretly and ſuddenly to endamage us, and then they fly to our avowed Adverſaries. Many of our Commonalty would have all *Indians* (*quatenus* ſuch) declared Enemies: But our ſobereſt Sort juſtly fear to condemn the Innocent with the Guilty; knowing that *Juſtitia eſt firmitas Regni*; nor would they draw on themſelves the Guilt of blotting out the Intereſt of the Goſpel amongſt the *Indians*, remembering *New-England* was originally a Plantation more famous for Religion than Trade; and to this Day the *Maſſachuſets*, in the Impreſs of their publick Seal, have an *Indian* engraven with theſe Words, *Come over and help us*; alluding to *Acts* xvi. 9. Much inteſtine Heart-burnings and Complainings, not to ſay Mutinies, have been about theſe Matters; to quiet which, Eleven of the moſt notorious, with whom ſome *Engliſh* Plunder was found, were arraigned, Six whereof, being evidently found Guilty, were

ſoon

ſoon after executed; and, at the Deſire of the honeſteſt of them, all the profeſſing *Indians* are placed and provided for on certain Iſlands, where they are out of Harm's Way; and, by an Act of the General Court, which is our Parliament here, 'tis Death for any of them to come off thence without Licenſe from the Magiſtrate. Our People, ſince the Loſs of Captain *Lathrop* of *Beverly*, with about ſixty Men by Surprize, and the Burning of *Springfield*, are grown not leſs valorous, but more cautious: Experience is the Mother of Prudence, and little Good comes of deſpiſing an Enemy. Yet let not the World cenſure too much Captain *Lathrop*: He, in the *Pequot* Wars, had done Exploits; nor in this would have been behind-hand, if the narrow Paſſage or Cauſey, where his unexpected Enemies ſet on him, would have given him Leave to have drawn up his Men. But, however, this may be ſaid, to uſe the Words of a wiſe Man; 'There was never Cenſor that judged, Sena-'tor that ordered, General that commanded, 'Council that executed, Orator that per-'ſuaded, nor any other mortal Man, but 'ſometimes he committed Errors.' Let ſuch, as are too apt to cenſure the Conduct of ſome Affairs here, remember this.

On the 19th of *October*, *Philip* aſſaulted *Hatsfield*, a Town on *Connecticut-River*, with about eight-hundred Men: But there were two-hundred of ours then in the Town, which in two Hours Space, with the Loſs of one Man only, put the *Indians* to a total Flight, and killed about an hundred of them, Sixty of whoſe dead Bodies the *Indians* carried with them on Horſes, *&c.* (for they had ſeveral Horſes amongſt them). After which *Philip* and the *Nipnet Indians* fled to the *Narraganſits*; which cauſed the Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, to publiſh in Print this Manifeſto:

To our Brethren and Friends the Inhabitants of the Colony of the Maſſachuſets.

ALthough you cannot be ignorant, how ſtudious this Government hath been to preſerve Peace in this Colony, and have taken up and compromiſed divers Quarrels that have riſen between ourſelves, our Neighbours, and the *Indians*, and thereby at ſeveral Times prevented thoſe Calamities wherewith we are now preſſed: Yet, to ſatisfy you that the ſame Mind and the ſame Endeavours are continued in the preſent Government, we have thought it neceſſary to let you underſtand the Riſe and Progreſs of our preſent Troubles, with our Endeavours to have prevented the ſame.

In *June* laſt, we were certified by our Friends and Confederates of *Plymouth*, that *Philip*, the Sachem of *Mount-Hope*, was in Arms, and had ſollicited all the *Indians* to join with him againſt the *Engliſh*; and, withal, they deſired our Aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs him: Which we, by the Articles of Confederation, could not deny, and therefore applied ourſelves to raiſe ſome Force for their Aſſiſtance, but were ſtill deſirous to prevent a War with the *Indians*; and therefore, upon a former Experience of a good Effect wrought upon the ſaid *Philip*, we reſolved to uſe the ſame Means, *viz.* Sending Meſſengers from hence to *Philip* to treat with him, hoping of the like Iſſue, which, upon the like Caſe about four Years ſince, we, by God's good Hand, obtained. But our Meſſengers arriving at *Swanzy*, in their Way towards *Philip*, found divers *Engliſh* murthered on the Road; and were informed by the *Engliſh* there, of divers Hoſtilities of the *Indians*, which rendered our Deſign and their Negotiation hopeleſs; upon which they returned, and informed us as aboveſaid. Whereupon our Forces began their March in Aid of our Friends at *Plymouth*; and having driven *Philip* from his Country, we being informed that the *Narraganſets* harboured his Women, and aided him with Men, we ordered our Soldiers to march to *Narraganſet*, in order to keep them quiet, and prevent their Succouring or Harbouring the Enemy: Where, after ſome Delay, they were drawn to conſent to our Demands, promiſing neither to entertain nor aſſiſt our Enemies, which they ſince confirmed in a Treaty with the Commiſſioners of the Colonies; further engaging, that they would deliver all thoſe of *Philip*'s Party, that, upon his Route near *Scatoneck*, or ſince, were fled to them; but have failed in every Particular.

You may alſo take Notice, That, before any of our Soldiers marched to *Mount-Hope*, we were very careful to underſtand the State of the *Nipnet Indians*, to prevent *Philip*'s Deſign,

ſign, and ſecure thoſe *Indians*; and, therefore, diſpatched two Meſſengers well known to them, to certify them of *Philip*'s Motion, and of our Deſire to keep Amity and Friendſhip with them, according to the Covenants made with them long ſince, no Ways violated on our Part. And, by the ſaid Meſſengers, received fair Returns from the moſt of them, being in ten or twelve Plantations. Some of them pretending Fear of us; for their further Satisfaction, when our Forces were ſent out againſt *Philip*, we, to ſatisfy and ſecure them, ſent them, by *Ephraim Curtice*, a Declaration under the Publick Seal, that we had no Deſign, or Intent, to diſturb them, or any other *Indians*, that would remain in their Plantations peaceably; which Meſſage and Meſſenger was evilly treated by many of them then aſſembled, and the Meſſenger much endangered by the younger Men, and not with any Satisfaction by their Sachems, as the Event ſhewed, though at that Preſent more moderately received.

Soon after this Diſpatch, and before *Philip*'s Flying from *Pocaſſet*, and March up towards the *Nipnet* Country, ſome of the ſaid *Nipnet Indians* aſſaulted and ſlew divers of our People at *Mendam*; whereupon, Captain *Hutchinſon*, with a ſmall Guard, was ſent up to the ſaid *Nipnet Indians*, if poſſible to keep them quiet; who arriving at *Quabaog*, whereabouts was a Rendezvous of the *Indians*, and having ſent to them, they promiſed to meet him in a certain Place, whither he at the Time repairing, found not the *Indians*; and, being encouraged by the *Engliſh* of *Quabaog*, that the *Indians* were peaceable, *&c.* he advanced forward towards the Place of the *Indians* Rendezvous to treat them: But, in the Way, was, by Ambuſcade, treacherouſly way-laid, by which himſelf, with ſeveral others, were wounded and ſlain, the *Engliſh* of *Quabaog* immediately aſſaulted, and the Town, except one Houſe, totally deſtroyed; at which Time, as we underſtand, *Philip* alſo, with his broken Party, came up to the ſaid *Indians*, and upon the firſt, or immediately before the Arrival of the Forces we ſent up for the Relief of thoſe of *Quabaog*, *Philip* and his whole Crew retreated, as we then feared, and afterwards were informed, towards *Connecticut* River; from whence, recruiting himſelf with Ammunition from *Albany*, and with Men, partly from the treacherous *Indians* about *Hadly* and *Spring field*, he hath proſecuted his firſt Deſign to ruin and deſtroy the *Engliſh*. And, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition of our Forces, hath done much Miſchief and Spoil; and, ſince the Repulſe he received at *Hatsfield*, withdrew into the *Nipnet* Country, and ſince that, as we underſtand, towards the *Narraganſets*, who, we do conclude, have favoured, abetted, and aſſiſted him therein; and, by entertaining and harbouring our Enemies, have dealed falſly and perfidiouſly with us; whereby we find ourſelves neceſſarily engaged, with the Conſent, Advice, and Aſſiſtance of the reſt of the Colonies, in a War with them, as well as with *Philip*, unleſs they prevent the ſame by a timely Compliance, and Performance, and Security for the Future: For the Managing and Carrying on whereof, we hope for, and expect (as we have hitherto had) the Aſſiſtance of all his Majeſty's Subjects of this Colony in their reſpective Capacities, in the juſt Defence of the Glory of God, the Honour, Defence, and Safety of our King, Country, and ourſelves, from the Subtlety, Rage, and treacherous Attempts of our barbarous Enemies.

Dated at Boſton, *the 7th of* December, *Anno Chriſti*, 1675, *Annoque Domini* Caroli *Secundi Regis* Angl. Scot. Fran. & Hiber. *Defenſoris Fidei*, *&c. 27th.*

By the Council,

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

Providence diſplayed: Or, a very ſurpriſing Account of one Mr. *Alexander Selkirk*, Maſter of a Merchant-Man called, The *Cinque-Ports*; who dreaming that the Ship would ſoon after be loſt, he deſired to be left on a deſolate Iſland in

in the *South-Seas*, where he lived Four Years and Four Months, without ſeeing the Face of Man, the Ship being afterwards caſt away as he dreamed. As alſo, How he came afterwards to be miraculouſly preſerved and redeemed from that fatal Place, by two *Briſtol* Privateers, called, The *Duke* and *Ducheſs*; that took the rich *Aquapulco* Ship, worth one-hundred Ton of Gold, and brought it to *England*. To which is added, An Account of his Birth and Education. His Deſcription of the Iſland where he was caſt; how he ſubſiſted; the ſeveral ſtrange Things he ſaw, and how he uſed to ſpend his Time. With ſome pious Ejaculations that he uſed, compoſed during his melancholy Reſidence there. Written by his own Hand, and atteſted by moſt of the eminent Merchants upon the *Royal-Exchange*. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

IN the Voyage of the *Duke* and *Ducheſs* Privateers belonging to *Briſtol*, who took the rich *Aquapulco* Ship, they came to an Iſland called *Juan Fernandez*; where ſending their Pinnace on Shore, ſhe returned, after ſome Time, bringing with her a Man cloathed in Goat Skins, who ſeemed as wild as the Goats themſelves.

Being brought on Board the *Duke*, he ſaid, he had been on the Iſland four Years and four Months, having been left there by Captain *Stradling*, in a Ship called the *Cinque-Ports*, about the Year 1705, of which Ship he was Maſter; and Capt. *Dampier*, who was then with him, and now on Board the *Duke*, told Captain *Rogers*, he was the beſt Man then on Board the *Cinque-Ports*, who immediately agreed with him to be a Mate on Board the *Duke*. His Name was *Alexander Selkirk*, a *Scotchman*, and the Manner of his being found there, was by his making a Fire the Night before, when he ſaw the two Privateers aforeſaid, judging them to be *Engliſh*, by which, judging it to be an habitable Iſland, they had ſent their Boat to ſee; and ſo he came miraculouſly to be redeemed from that ſolitary and tedious Confinement, who otherwiſe, in all Probability, muſt have miſerably ended his Life there.

He ſaid, That, during his Stay there, he had ſeen ſeveral Ships paſs by, but only two of them came in to Anchor, which he judged to be *Spaniards*, and retired from them, upon which they fired at him; had they been *French*, he ſaid he would have ſubmitted himſelf, but choſe rather to hazard Dying on the Iſland, than to fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts, becauſe he believed they would either murder him, or make him a Slave in their Mines.

The *Spaniards* landed ſo near him, before he knew where they were, that he had much ado to eſcape; for they not only ſhot at him, but purſued him into the Woods, where he climbed up to the Top of a Tree, at the Foot of which they made Water, and killed ſeveral Goats juſt by, but went off without diſcovering him.

He told them, that he was born at *Largo*, in the County of *Fife*, in *Scotland*, and was bred a Sailor from his Youth.

The Reaſon of his being left on this melancholy Iſland, was a Difference betwixt him and his Captain, which, together with the Ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to ſtay there than go along with him at firſt, and, when he was at laſt willing to go, the Captain would not receive him.

He-

He had been, he ſaid, on the Iſland, to wood and water, when two of the Ship's Company were left upon it for ſix Months till the Ship returned, being chaced thence by two *French South-Sea* Ships.

He had with him his Cloaths and Bedding, with a Firelock, ſome Powder, Bullets, and Tobacco, a Hatchet, a Knife, a Kettle, a Bible, ſome practical Pieces, and his Mathematical Inſtruments and Books. He diverted and provided for himſelf as well as he could; but, for the firſt eight Months, he had much ado to bear up againſt Melancholy, and the Terror of being left alone in ſuch a deſolate Place.

He built two Huts with Piemento Trees, covered them with long Graſs, and lined them with the Skins of Goats, which he killed with his Gun as he wanted, ſo long as his Powder laſted, which was but a Pound; and, that being near ſpent, he got Fire by rubbing two Sticks of Piemento Wood together upon his Knee. In the leſſer Hut, at ſome Diſtance from the other, he dreſſed his Victuals, and in the larger he ſlept, and employed himſelf in Reading, Singing Pſalms, and Praying; ſo that he ſaid he was a better Chriſtian while in this Solitude, or than, he was afraid, he ſhould ever be again.

At firſt he never eat any Thing till Hunger conſtrained him, partly for Grief, and partly for Want of Bread and Salt; nor did he go to Bed till he could watch no longer; the Piemento Wood, which burnt very clear, ſerved him both for Firing and Candle, and refreſhed him with its fragrant Smell.

He might have had Fiſh enough, but could not eat them for Want of Salt, becauſe they occaſioned a Looſeneſs, except Craw-fiſh, which are there as large as our Lobſters, and very good: Theſe he ſometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his Goats Fleſh, of which he made very good Broth, for they are not ſo rank as ours; he kept an Account of Five-hundred that he killed, while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the Ear and let go.

When his Powder failed, he took them by Speed of Foot, for his Way of Living, and continual Exerciſe of Walking and Running, cleared him of all groſs Humours, ſo that he ran with wonderful Swiftneſs through the Woods, and up the Rocks and Hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch Goats for us. We had a Bull-Dog, which we ſent with ſeveral of our nimbleſt Runners, to help him in catching Goats; but he diſtanced and tired both the Dog and the Men, catched the Goats, and brought them to us on his Back.

He told us, that his Agility in purſuing a Goat had once like to have coſt him his Life; he purſued it with ſo much Eagerneſs, that he catched Hold of it on the Brink of a Precipice, of which he was not aware, the Buſhes having hid it from him; ſo that he fell with the Goat down the Precipice a great Height, and was ſo ſtunned and bruiſed with the Fall, that he narrowly eſcaped with his Life, and, when he came to his Senſes, found the Goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four Hours, and was ſcarce able to crawl to his Hut, which was about a Mile diſtant, or to ſtir Abroad again in ten Days.

He came at laſt to reliſh his Meat well enough without Salt or Bread, and, in the Seaſon, had Plenty of good Turneps, which had been ſowed there by Captain *Dampier's* Men, and have now overſpread ſome Acres of Ground. He had enough of good Cabbage from the Cabbage-Trees, and ſeaſoned his Meat with the Fruit of the Piemento Trees, which is the ſame as the *Jamaica* Pepper, and ſmells deliciouſly. He found there alſo a black Pepper, called *Malagita*, which was very good to expel Wind, and againſt Griping of the Guts.

He ſoon wore out all his Shoes and Cloaths by running thro' the Woods; and, at laſt, being forced to ſhift without them, his Feet became ſo hard, that he ran every where without Annoyance; and it was ſome Time before he could wear Shoes, after we found him; for, not being uſed to any ſo long, his Feet ſwelled, when he came firſt to wear them again.

After he had conquered his Melancholy, he diverted himſelf ſometimes by cutting his Name on the Trees, and the Time of his being left and Continuance there. He was at firſt peſtered with Cats and Rats, that had bred in great Numbers from ſome of each Species which had got a-ſhore from the Ships that put in there to wood and water. The Rats gnawed his Feet and Cloaths, while aſleep, which obliged him to cheriſh the Cats with

his

his Goats Fleſh; by which many of them became ſo tame, that they would lie about him in Hundreds, and ſoon delivered him from the Rats. He likewiſe tamed ſome Kids, and, to divert himſelf, would now and then ſing and dance with his Cats; ſo that by the Care of Providence, and Vigour of his Youth, being now but about thirty Years old, he came at laſt to conquer all the Inconveniencies of his Solitude, and to be very eaſy.

When his Cloaths wore out, he made himſelf a Coat and Cap of Goats-ſkins, which he ſtitched together with little Thongs of the ſame, that he cut with his Knife. He had no other Needle but a Nail, and, when his Knife was wore to the Back, he made others, as well as he could, of ſome Iron Hoops that were left a-ſhore, which he beat thin and ground upon Stones. Having ſome Linnen Cloth by him, he ſewed himſelf Shirts with a Nail, and ſtitched them with the Worſted of his old Stockings, which he pulled out on Purpoſe. He had his laſt Shirt on when we found him in the Iſland.

At his firſt Coming on Board us, he had ſo much forgot his Language for Want of Uſe, that we could ſcarce underſtand him, for he ſeemed to ſpeak his Words by Halves. We offered him a Dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but Water ſince his being there, and it was ſome Time before he could reliſh our Victuals.

He could give us an Account of no other Product of the Iſland than what we have mentioned, except ſmall black Plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the Trees which bear them growing on high Mountains and Rocks. Piemento Trees are plenty here, and we ſaw one ſixty Feet high, and about two Yards thick; and Cotton Trees higher, and near four Fathom round in the Stock.

The Climate is ſo good, that the Trees and Graſs are verdant all the Year. The Winter laſts no longer than *June* or *July*, and is not then ſevere, there being only a ſmall Froſt and a little Hail, but ſometimes great Rains. The Heat of the Summer is equally moderate, and there is not much Thunder or tempeſtuous Weather of any Sort. He ſaw no venomous or ſavage Creature on the Iſland, nor any other Sort of Beaſt but Goats, *&c.* as above-mentioned; the firſt of which had been put a-ſhore here on Purpoſe for a Breed by *Juan Fernando* a *Spaniard*, who ſettled there with ſome Families for a Time, till the Continent of *Chili* began to ſubmit to the *Spaniards*; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this Iſland, which is capable of maintaining a good Number of People, and of being made ſo ſtrong that they could not be eaſily diſlodged.

Ringroſe, in his Account of Capt. *Sharp*'s Voyage and other Buccaneers, mentions one, who had eſcaped a-ſhore here, out of a Ship which was caſt away with all the reſt of his Company, and ſays, he lived five Years alone, before he had the Opportunity of another Ship to carry him off. Capt. *Dampier* talks of a *Moſkito Indian*, that belonged to Capt. *Watlin*; who, being hunting in the Woods, when the Captain left the Iſland, lived there three Years alone, and ſhifted much in the ſame Manner as Mr. *Selkirk* did, till Capt. *Dampier* came hither, in 1684, and carried him off. The firſt, that went a-ſhore, was one of his Country-men, and they ſaluted one another, firſt by Proſtrating themſelves by Turns on the Ground, and then by Embracing.

But, whatever there is in theſe Stories, this of Mr. *Selkirk* I know to be true; and his Behaviour afterwards gives me Reaſon to believe the Account, he gave me, how he ſpent his Time, and bore up under ſuch an Affliction, in which nothing but the Divine Providence could have ſupported any Man. By this one may ſee, that Solitude, and Retirement from the World, is not ſuch an unſufferable State of Life, as moſt Men imagine, eſpecially when People are fairly thrown into it unavoidably, as this Man was; who, in all Probability, muſt otherwiſe have periſhed in the Seas, the Ship, which left him, being caſt away not long after, and few of the Company eſcaped.

We may perceive, by this Story, the Truth of the Maxim, That *Neceſſity is the Mother of Invention*; ſince he found Means to ſupply his Wants in a very natural Manner, ſo as to maintain his Life; though not ſo conveniently, yet as effectually, as we are able to do with the Help of all our Arts and Society. It may likewiſe inſtruct us, how much a plain and temperate Way of Living conduces to the Health of the Body, and the Vigour of the Mind; both which we are apt to deſtroy by Exceſs and Plenty, eſpecially of ſtrong Li-

quor, and the Variety, as well as the Nature, of our Meat and Drink; for this Man, when he came to our ordinary Method of Diet and Life, though he was ſober enough, loſt much of his Strength and Agility.

An Account of the Iſland of Juan Fernandez.

THE Iſland of *Juan Fernandez* is neareſt of a triangular Form, about twelve Leagues round, and has a ſmall Iſland, near a Mile long, lying near it, with ſeveral Rocks cloſe under it; near which there are very good Fiſh of ſeveral Sorts. It abounds with Cabbage-trees, which grow for three Miles together, and are extraordinary good; alſo Turneps, which grow wild here. The Soil is a looſe black Earth, and there are often great Drifts of Snow and Ice in *July*; but, in the Spring, which is in *September*, *October*, and *November*, it is very pleaſant.

Mr. *Selkirk* ſays, That, in *November*, the Seals come a-ſhore to whelp and ingender, when the Shore is ſo full of them, that it is impoſſible to paſs through them; and they are ſo ſurly, that they will not move out of the Way, but, like an angry Dog, run at a Man, though he have a good Stick to beat them; ſo that at this, and their Whelping-ſeaſons, it is dangerous to come near them, but, at other Times, they will make Way for a Man; and, if they did not, it would be impoſſible to get from the Water-ſide; they lined the Shore very thick, for above half a Mile of Ground, all round the Bay. When we came in, they kept a continual Noiſe Day and Night, ſome bleating like Lambs, ſome howling like Dogs or Wolves, others making hideous Noiſes of various Sorts; ſo that we heard them a-board, though a Mile from the Shore: Their Fur is the fineſt that ever I ſaw of the Kind, and exceeds that of our Otters.

Another ſtrange Creature here is the Sea-lion; the Governor tells me, he has ſeen of them above twenty Feet long, and more in Compaſs, which could not weigh leſs than two Tons Weight. I ſaw ſeveral of theſe vaſt Creatures, but none of the abovementioned Size; ſeveral of them were upwards of ſixteen Feet long, and more in Bulk, ſo that they could not weigh leſs than a Ton Weight. The Shape of their Body differs little from the Sea-dogs, or Seals, but they have another Sort of Skin, a Head much bigger in Proportion, and very large Mouths, monſtrous big Eyes, and a Face like that of a Lion, with very large Whiſkers, the Hair of which is ſtiff enough to make Tooth-pickers. Theſe Creatures come a-ſhore to ingender, the latter End of *June*, and ſtay till the End of *September*; during which Time they lie on the Land, and are never obſerved to go to the Water, but lie in the ſame Place above a Muſquet-ſhot from the Water-ſide, and have no Manner of Suſtenance all that Time, that he could obſerve.

I took Notice of ſome, that lay a Week without once Offering to move out of the Place, whilſt I was there, till they were diſturbed by us; but we ſaw few, in Compariſon of what, he informed us, he did, and that the Shore was all crouded full of them, a Muſquet-ſhot into the Land. I admire how theſe Monſters come to yield ſuch a Quantity of Oil; their Hair is ſhort and coarſe, and their Skin thicker, than the thickeſt Ox-hide I ever ſaw. We found no Land-bird on the Iſland, but a Sort of Black-bird with a red Breaſt, not unlike our *Engliſh* Black-bird, and the Humming-bird of various Colours, and no bigger than a large Humble-bee. Here is a ſmall Tide, which flows uncertain, and the Spring-tide flows about ſeven Feet.

This is the Account given by himſelf to the Captain of the Ship, as will be atteſted by ſeveral Merchants and Captains upon the *Exchange*, who have converſed with him: In which Relation, the Divine Providence of God may be viſibly ſeen, *firſt*, in throwing him upon the deſolate Iſland, and, *next*, in ſupporting him under ſuch an Affliction, whilſt the Ship, which he left, ſoon after periſhed in the Sea, aud few of the Company eſcaped: All which ſingular Acts of Providence, that conſpired in his Preſervation, he wholly and piouſly aſcribes to the infinite Goodneſs and Mercy of God; to whom all Honour and Glory be given, now and evermore.

Sir

Sir *Robert Sherley*, ſent Ambaſſadour, in the Name of the King of *Perſia*, to *Sigiſmond the Third*, King of *Poland* and *Swecia*, and to other Princes of *Europe*. His Royall Entertainement into *Cracovia*, the chiefe Citie of *Poland*, with his pretended Comming into *England*. Alſo, the honorable Praiſes of the ſame Sir *Robert Sherley*, giuen vnto him in that Kingdom, are here likewiſe inſerted. *London*: Printed by *I. Windet*, for *Iohn Budge*, and are to be Sold at his Shop, at the great South Doore of *Pauls*, 1609. (In *Black Letter*.) *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

To the Worthie and Noble affected Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Sherley*, Father to that Illuſtrious Sparke of Honor and Vertue, Sir *Robert Sherley*.

SIR,

NOT *long ſince it was my Happineſſe to meete with a little Poem in* Latine, *as full fraighted with the Prayſes of your worthie renowned Sonne, as is his Breſt with Vertues; which no ſooner mine Eie had viſited, but the generall Fame of his Noble-neſſe inuited me to make his Prayſes as generall, and, becauſe it had beene a great Iniurie to his Worthineſſe, that but one Tongue ſhould ſound forth his Encomiums, who in ſo many Tongues hath purchaſed Glory, thought it a Part of Humanitie, and the Office of a Native Countriman, ſince his Honors were ſo ſpatious and generall, to make his Prayſes ſpeake more Tongues then one; and, amongſt all, eſpecially, I choſe the Voice of his owne Countrey, as the fitteſt Trumpet of his Fame, for whoſe Honor he hath chiefly aduentured his Life and Fortunes: To you therefore, the happie Father of ſo worthy a Son, I dedicate both my Loue and Labour, knowing the vniverſall Taſte of his Nobleneſſe cannot come to the deere Thirſt of his Countrey more pleaſing, then to your Soule ioyfull.*

To the Reader.

Reader,

THIS *Perſian* Robe, ſo richly wouen with the Prayſes onely of Sir *Robert Sherley*, thy Countriman, comes to thee at a lowe Price, though it coſt him deere that weares it, to purchaſe ſo much Fame, as hath made it ſo excellent. It is now his for euer; thine ſo long as it is his; for every good Man, as I hope thou art, doth participate in the Renowne of thoſe that are good and vertuous.

He hath beene a Traueller a long Time, giue him now a Welcome Home; the Armes of his owne Country embracing him, will bee more ioyfull to him, then all thoſe of ſo many forraine Kingdomes, with which he hath ſo often beene honored.

If a Man, that hath ventured through the World, may deſerue thy Loue, thou canſt not choſe, but beſtow as much of it vpon him, as vpon any. Looke vpon him truely, and thou ſhalt find a large generall Chronicle of Time writ in a little Volume.

He comes laden with the Trophyes of Warre, and the Honors of Peace. The *Turke* hath felt the Sharpneſſe of his Sword, and againſt the *Turke* is he now whetting the Swords of Chriſtian Princes. Much more could I ſpeake of him, but that I ſhould doe Wrong to the common Lawes of Ciuilitie, by taking away that Reuerence from Strangers, whome, from Countryes afarre of, you ſhall preſently heare giuing ample Teſtimonies of his Nobleneſſe.

Vale.

ALBEIT that Man can receiue his Birth but from one Place, yet is he borne a Freeman of all the Cities of the World. The whole Earth is his Country, and he that dwelleth fardeſt off is, by the Lawes of Nature, as neer to him in Loue, as his Kindred and Acquaintance. This general Charter being giuen by the King of this uniuerſall Crowne, to all Nations, hath cauſed Men, from Time to Time, by the Vertue of that Priuiledge, to forſake the Places of their firſt Being, and to trauell into other Countries. The Benefits, that Kingdomes haue gotten by this Meanes, cannot, in ſo ſmall a Volume, as this in Hand, be comprehended. Trauell is the golden Mine that inricheth the pooreſt Country, and filleth the Barreneſt with abundant Plenty. It is the Chaine that at firſt tyed Kingdomes together, and the muſicall String that ſtill maintaines them in Concord, in Leagues, and in Unity. The *Portugalls* haue hereby crowned themſelues, and there Poſterity, with Garlands of neuer dying Honor. The *Spaniards* haue their Names, for this, ſo deepely ingrauen in the Chronicles of Fame, that they can neuer be forgotten. The *French* likewiſe, and the *Dutch*, haue raiſed their Glories to a nobler Height, onely by theſe Aduentures. In Imitation of all whoſe Labors, or rather, in Emulation of all their Fames, our *Engliſhmen* haue not onley ſtept as farre as any of them all, but gone beyond the moſt, and the beſt of them. And not to reckon thoſe Men of Worth, in this Kinde, of our owne Nation, whoſe Voyages and Trauells, by Sea and Land, to ſet down, were able to fil whole Volumes: I will onely, at this Time (not with a loud and ſhrill Trumpet, as they deſerue, but, as it were, vppon an Inſtrument, tuned and directed by another) give onely a ſoft Touch at the Praiſes of this worthy Gentleman, Sir *Robert Sherley*, of whoſe Aduentures, Dangers, and various Fortunes, both good and bad, to draw a true Picture in the right and liuely Colors, would as eaſily feed Mens Eies with gazing Admiration, as the large pictured Tables of others haue filled them with Wonder.

Being therefore contented, at this Time, to ſwim but in a ſhallow Streame, of his Fame, ſithence greater Sayles art likely heereafter, and that very ſhortly, to ſwell with the true Report of his Actions: You ſhall vnderſtand, that Sir *Robert Sherley*, after a long, a chargeable, and a dangerous Progreſſe through moſt, if not all, the Kingdomes in *Europe*, receiuing Entertainment from the Princes of thoſe Dominions, fitting to ſuch a Ghueſt, Deſire of Glorie ſtill more and more burning within him; at the length, he left *Europe*, and trauelled into *Aſia*, receiuing noble Entertainment at the Hands of the King of *Perſia*, in whoſe Court he ſo well and ſo wiſely bore himſelfe in all his Actions, that the *Perſian*, with much of his Loue, of which he taſted moſt plenteouſly, heaped on his Head many honorable Fauours.

That common Enemy of Chriſt and Chriſtians, the *Turke*, lifting vp his Sword continually, for the moſt Part, not onely againſt the *Polack*, the *Hungarian*, *Bohemian*, and other Princes of *Chriſtendome*, but alſo thirſting after the rich Empire of *Perſia*, and, ſhewing a mortall Hatred to that Kingdome by being euer vp in Armes againſt it; it was thought fit,

fit, that (the *Perſian* himſelfe confeſſing and worſhipping Chriſt) Ayde ſhould be required at the Hands of Chriſtian Princes in the *Perſians* Behalfe, againſt ſo barbarous, ſo ambitious, and ſo generall an Enemy. Heerupon the Honor of ſuch an Ambaſſy was conferred, by the King of *Perſia*, vpon Sir *Robert Sherley*, as a Man worthy and apt to treat with Chriſtian Princes, in ſo weighty a Buſineſſe; he himſelfe being a Chriſtian born, and a Gentleman that had trauelled, and, by Experience, knew the Conditions, State, and Pollicies of moſt of their Kingdomes.

Firſt therefore was he imployed into *Poland*, where, by *Sigiſmond*, the King of *Poland* and of *Suecia*, he was receiued with great Magnificence and Applauſe, both of the *Polack* himſelfe, and of his People.

And becauſe it is not fit, that euery common and popular Eare ſhould ſtand liſtning to the priuate Buſineſſe of Princes, in a Deſeignement that concerns the uniuerſall State of *Chriſtendome*, we will not therefore, at this Time, be Interpreters of the *Perſians* Ambaſſy, but rather waite his expected Comming, who hath in Charge to deliuer it vp by Word of Mouth himſelfe.

In the meane Time, notwithſtanding, forbearing to reckon vp the rich Preſents giuen by the *Poland* King to Sir *Robert*, the Honors done to him by the *Poliſh* Lords, and the Fauors throwne vpon him by the common People, you ſhall be Witneſſes onely to thoſe, not vnworthy, Praiſes of him, by which his Fame, amongſt Schollers by thoſe of the better Sort, was lifted vp, at the Time of his Staying in *Poland*.

A Fourefold Anagram vpon Sir Robert Sherleys *Name.*

ROBERTVS SHERLÆIVS.

1 HEus *Labor, Tueris Res.*
2 *Seruus, aſt Hero Liber.*
3 *Libertas, ero Seruus.*
4 *Virtus, Labores fere.*

Encomions, or Praiſes, as well vpon the Name, as the Negotiation of Sir Robert Sherley, *an* Engliſh *Knight, ſent Ambaſſadour from the King of the* Perſians, *to the Princes of* Europe.

MErcurius, ſeeing the Ambaſſadour ready to take his Iourney, reſigneth vnto him his Office, as beeing Meſſenger or Herald to the Gods, according to the Fiction of Poets, and with that Office beſtoweth the Gift of Eloquence vpon him, becauſe he may haue Power to perſwade the Princes to whom he is ſent; and, withal, addes a Wiſh, that thoſe Chriſtian Kings, whom he is to ſollicite, may not be cold in ioyning their Forces together, but that they may enter into an honorable, a pious, and inuiolable League againſt that common Enemy, the *Turke*.

Mercuries *Speech.*

THOU, O *Sherley*, beeing borne an *Engliſhman*, art ſent from the *Perſian* Empire, to the Kingdomes that lye in *Europe*; thy Place is full of Honor, thy Meſſage of Waight; diſcharge thou therefore boldly thoſe Thinges, which the greate Lord of *Perſia* commands thee to doe. It is not Chance that throwes this high Office vpon thee, but a full Synod or Parliament, of all the Gods, doe appoint thee to be their Meſſenger to the great Kinges of the Earth. For this Cauſe, I that am Heauens winged Meſſenger, ſeeing thee ready to depart, preſent my ſelfe thus before thee, and vttering only ſo much, as in the Letters of thy Name lyes myſtically hidden, and that is this,

Heus Labor,——tu Res hoc ore tueris
Perſarum.——

O exceeding Labor! yet thou art the Man, that muſt defend the State of the *Perſians*, euen by the Force of my Eloquence. Go on therefore, be thou *Mercurius* in the Courts of Kinges: I giue thee my Place; I giue it to thee,

thee, that art more worthy of it then my ſelfe. O that the Princes of *Europe* would knit an indiſſoluble League together, with thy Maſter, the *Perſian* Monarch, and tye all their Sinewes to one Arme, that a noble Warre may be begotten. Let *Bellona*, the Goddeſs of Battailes, breath Courage into the Breaſts of Souldiers; and let no Countrey be diſhonored by bearing Men, that haue no Hearts to come into the Fielde. O let not that couetous Dragon, which once watched the golden Firmament, ſleepe in the Boſomes of Kings, and, with his Poiſon, infect them with that couetous Diſeaſe of hoording vp Gold. Caſt off, O you Princes, your ſenſuall Pleaſures, and let it be your Ambition to weare Garlands of Oake, which are the Crownes of Conquerors, Prefer immortall Fame before all thoſe Dangers, over which you muſt of Neceſſity paſſe, be they neuer ſo inuincible in the Shew of vndertaking; and aſpire onley to that Life which ſhall remaine, when your Bodyes lye dead. Heauen, in your doing ſo, ſhall ſmile vpon your Enterpriſes. Hell ſhall be conquered, and that Hell-hownde Broode of *Mahomet* be vtterly confounded. Vniuerſall Peace ſhall crown the World, and the barbarous *Turks*, feele the Sinewes and puiſſant Arms of *Europe*.

To the Nations (vnto whome the Ambaſſadour is ſent, on great and ſerious Affaires, as rightly may be coniectured) a Deſire and Wiſh is made, that all Kinges in Chriſtendome *may entertaine this holy Warre, with the ſame Courage, Conſtancie, and Zeale, that the* Perſian *doeth.*

HEarken, O you *Polanders*, *Italians*, *French*, and you *Germaines*; enrich your Chronicles, with an Act of a Wonder neuer heard of in the World before: For, beholde, a *Brittaine* is ſent on a royall Meſſage, from the King of the *Perſians*. A *Brittaine* is ſent, but who is it? Such a one he is, as by his Name, being before anagramatizde, he may apparantly be deciphered,

Aſt Liber, Seruus Hero.

Free-borne, and a Seruant onely vnto his Soueraigne.

He, even he, is ſent to you, O you Nations of *Europe*, from the Confines of the *Perſians*, bringing along with him the Name of his Lord, and, with that Name, the Sound of an approaching Warre.

The Deſtinies begin to promiſe ſome great Matter: The God of Battailes, heereupon, ſpeakes cheerefully. God himſelfe prepares the Armour; muſter yourſelues together therefore, O you Kinges, and, with a religious Defence, draw your Swordes againſt the *Turkes*.

A congratulatorie compendious Speech, to Sir Robert Sherley, *commending both his Vertue, and preſent Fortune.*

O *Sherley!* thou that art an Honor to the *Perſians*, aſwell as to the *Brittaines*, within whoſe Head dwelleth Experience and Wiſdome, and vpon whoſe Tongue Eloquence writeth her Charmes: Whatſoeuer he was, that at firſt durſt ſay, That Fortune was blind, and that ſhe beſtowed extraordinary Benefits vpon vndeſeruing Men, let him know, that all this While he hath bin in an Error; for Fortune had more Eyes then *Argus*, when ſhe crowned this *Engliſhman* with ſo many *Perſian* Honors and Offices. That Monarch, O thou renowned *Brittaine*, whoſe Sword is dreadfull to the *Thracian* Tyrant, makes thee a Partner in the Cares and Burdens of his Empyre; for he hath ſeene, yea, he hath euer ſeene, and found thee conſtant in Execution of all his iuſt and royall Commandes.

The Empire of the Perſian *is here commended: The Kinges and Princes of* Europe *being called to giue Witneſſe, how much Glory the Dexteritie of Sir* Robert Sherley *hath added to the* Perſian *Monarchie: Vpon which, he appeares to the* Perſians *a Gentleman of ſuch Merit, as that* England *may very iuſtly accuſe* Perſia *of Wrong, for Detaining him from her.*

THE

THE Fame of the *Perſian* Empyre doth not grow vp onely in a meane Souldier; for their Cities are full of renowned and worthy Captains: From the ancient Diſcipline and Stratagems of Warre, are the Glories of the *Perſians* ſprung vp and continue famous. But, O thou honoured *Engliſhman*, ſhe derived her firſt Principles from thy Practiſe and Knowledge. Farre be my Words from the baſe Seruitude of Flattery; for, within a ſhort Time, Kings ſhall riſe vp as Witneſſes of what I ſpeake. Let thine owne Countrey enuy the Kingdome of *Perſia* for enioying this Honor, which by thee is giuen her; yet, let her challenge thee to be deliuered backe againe as her owne, yet let her Clayme bē made in ſuch Manner, that *England* and *Perſia* may not grow into Quarrell about thee, but rather thus let them both ſhare thee. Let rich *Perſia* enioy thy Preſence, and reckon thee in the Number of her Citizens, and be proud in the Poſſeſſion of a Man, ſo worthy. Let *England* glorie, that ſhe alone is happy in thy Birth, and that ſhe beares the Honor of giuing thee thy Name. But howſoeuer, O thou, the Dignitie and Luſter of two renowned Kingdomes, goe thou on, in thine intended Ambaſſage, and performe theſe Heaſts, which the great *Perſian*, thy Lord, hath impoſed vpon thy Integrity.

A ſhort Speech, vttered, as it were, by the whole Body of the Poliſh *Court, to* Robert Sherley, *Ambaſſadour from the inuincible King of the* Perſians.

IT is not thy rich Garments embroydered ſo thicke with Gold, and wouen by *Grecian* Workemen, that drawes our Eyes into Admiration by Beholding thee. It is not thy ſparkling Iewels, nor thoſe coſtly pretious Stones that adorne thy Robe, which dazle our Sight. It is not thy comely Ryding, nor ſkilfull Managing of that *Thracian* Courſer, vpon whoſe Back thou ſitteſt, whilſt the proud Beaſt it ſelfe champs on the Gliſtering Bit, in Diſdaine to be ſo curbed, that makes vs to looke after thee. It is not that victorious Semyter of thine, wherewith thou haſt made the Earth drunke ſo often with ſo much Bloud of thoſe, that are Enemies to the *Perſians*, that cauſeth vs to ſtand gazing at thy Preſence: No, it is the Beauty of thy Minde wherewith our Eyes are inchanted. It is the excellent Muſicke of thy Tongue, that ſo ties our Eares to thy Charmes, thou being able to ſpeake and to anſwere ſo many ſeuerall Nations, in theire owne proper Languages.

Englands Complaint to Perſia *for her* Sherley.

O *Perſia!* thou glorious Kingdome, thou chiefe of Empires; the Palace ſometimes where Wiſedome onely kept her Court, the Land that was gouerned by none but by Wiſemen: Yet muſt I tell thee, and with Griefe doſt thou inforce me to tell thee, that, againſt all Law of Nations, thou robbeſt me of my Subiect. Why ſhould the Right of another bee thine? It is Iuſtice for euery one to keepe their owne; but thou makeſt vp thy Gaine by my Loſſe. Is this Equitie? Is this tollerable? Ceaſe to doe it; and ſend Home, O *Perſia*, that Sonne of mine to me that am his Mother, for to me onely is he due. But, aye me, the Honors of his owne Countrey, and the Palaces of my Kingdome, are by him, belike, neglected, and ſeeme not worth the Looking on: And though, to the Eye of the World, I may, perhaps, appeare beautifull and great; yet, in his Eye, I ſhew no bigger then a ſmall Corner of the Worlde. I doe enuy thee therefore, O *Perſia*, onely for him: Yet, ſithence I cannot enioy him, fare thou well, O thou my Darling, and, with that Farewell, beare along with thee the Praiſes which I giue thee. I rob *Perſia*, *Perſia* robs not me: My Loſſe is to me more Honour; for the *Perſian* Empire borrowes her Brightnes from the Beames of one of the Sonnes of *England*.

Sherley *to his natiue Countrey.*

O Thou, my Countrey, if I ſhould pay backe into thy Hands ſo much as by Bond is due vnto thee from me, I ſhould then lay downe my Life at thy Feete. But my

Thoughts ayme at greater Matters; it is not Breath I would pay thee, but Fame: Take thou from me ſo much Honor, as may make me liue for euer. Liberty is the Gole to which I run, but ſuch a Liberty it is, as may free me from the common Baſeneſſe of the Multitude, and make me worthy to be reſpected by the Eye of a King.

Seruus hero, I am a Seruant to that greate Maiſter, to whoſe Feete all the *Perſians* bow and doe Reuerence: I am his Seruant, that I may bee his Meſſenger, and beare the Treatyes of ſuch a King, to other Kings in *Chriſtendome*. I am deſtin'de out, to deliuer his Minde in their owne Languages, to Forraine Princes, and to the Monarches of the Earth. Let them therefore come together, and quicklie ſhall the *Turkiſh* Fury be calmed; and, being weakened in her owne Strengths, ſhall be glad to kneele to the Power and Mercy of others. And thou, O my natiue Country, if thou wouldeſt be pleaſed to knit thy Forces in this iuſt and vniverſall Warre, To what Dignities mayſt thou aduance thy ſelfe? Whatſoeuer is diſhonorable, hath a baſe Deſcention, and ſincks beneath Hell: But whatſoeuer is good and honeſt, lifts vp an vnblemiſhed Brow on high, and makes it leuell with the Front of Heauen.

The Authors Wiſh and Requeſt to Vertue, that ſhe would give vnto Sherley *ſuch a fruitfull Harueſt of his Labours, that, hauing conquered the Hardneſſe of them, his Name may aſpire to the full Height of his Deſert.*

O Vertue! the nobleſt and boldeſt Guide, thou that giueſt to Men the due Crowne of Praiſes, proſper thou the honored Enterpriſes of *Sherley*: But, touching thoſe Paths which muſt leade him to Titles of Fame and Honour, make them euen and certaine before him: He hath no Deſire to haue his Name eaten out by the Ruſt of Idleneſſe; no, he will neuer vnworthily ſinck beneath his owne propoſed Fortune.

Another of the ſame Author, touching Sir Robert Sherley *being called, as it were, by Fate, to manage the Affaires of Forraine Princes.*

WHAT is the Cauſe that *Sherley* hath not all this While liued in the ſame Country, that firſt lent him Breath? This is the Reaſon, a Spirit ſo greate was not to be contained within ſo ſmall a Circle, as his Country. Beſides,

He is the Child of Fate, and highly ſings
Of kingly Ambaſſies to none but Kings.

Crownde with theſe Prayſes, as you heare in *Poland*, and leauing the Fame of his memorable Actions behind him, bending his Courſe to other Princes of *Chriſtendome* with the ſame Royall Ambaſſage of honorable, and Chriſtian Confederacie againſt *Mahomet*, and his Adherents, it ſhal not bee amiſſe here to ſpeake of the Kingdome of *Perſia*, where Sir *Robert* receiued ſuch honorable Entertainment, ſutable to his noble Actions, and the Vertues of his Minde, as alſo the Maners, Faſhions, Rites, and Cuſtomes, that are and haue beene obſerued by the *Perſians*; and firſt, for their Religion which they haue obſerued of old, doing Worſhip and Reuerence in their vpright Zeale to the Sunne, Moone, *Venus*, Fire, Earth, Water, and Winds, erecting neyther Altars nor Statues, but in open Fields offring their Sacrifices, which Sacrifices were ſuperſtitious, and full of idle Ceremonies, too tedious to be here reherſed: For their Kinges, the golden Line of them is drawn out of one Family, that Cuſtome amongſt the *Perſians* neuer as yet ſuffred Change or Alteration, and ſo ſeuere their Lawes are in Effect, to the Puniſhing of all rebellious, treaſonable and diſobedient People, that, whoſoeuer hee be that is found repugnant in the leaſt Demeanor to the Will and Affection of the King, hee is ceazde vpon by the Tormentors, his Head and Armes chopt off, and, with his deteſted Body, throwne into ſome common Field, without eyther Grave or Couering: And for their Palaces and Royall Manſions, this hath euer beene the continued Cuſtome amongſt them, that euery King hath had his Seate Royall ſeated on

ſome high Hill or Mountaine, the Bowels of which hee makes his ſafe Treaſure-houſe, where all his Riches, Jewels, and Tribute Moneyes are, with exceeding Carefulneſſe, kepte hid and ſecret: And ſo much they do deteſt Sterility and Barrenneſſe, that from the higheſt to the loweſt they take many Wiues in Mariage, counting the fruitfull Propagation of the Empire, the onely Happineſſe they can rayſe to it; and ſo much they thirſt after humane Fruitfulneſſe, that the Kings themſelues propound great Gifts and Rewards, to thoſe that in one Yeare bring forth the greateſt Harueſt of Mankinde: From fiue Yeare olde to foure-and-twenty, the Male Children practiſe to ride great Horſes, to throw the uulnerable and ineuitable Darte, to ſhoote in Arbaliſts or long Steele Bowes, and all ſuch manly Exerciſes; which ſhames many other Chriſtian Countries, and may iuſtly vpbraide them of Effeminacie and Lazyneſſe.

Their Victuals for the moſt Part, by which the common Sort of People are fed and do liue by, are Acorns and Hedge-peares; their Breade courſe and hard, their Drinke the running Springs: For their Apparrell, the Princes, and thoſe that liue in greateſt Reſpect amongſt them, adorne their Bodies with a riple Robe, and another Garment in the Faſhion of a Cloake hanging downe to their Knees, the inward Linings all of white Silks, and the outward facing like poudred Ermins; in Somer, for the moſt Part, they walke in Purple; the Winter refuſes no Color; about their Temples they weare a great Tyara, being a ſtately Ornament high and round, with a Cone at the Top, from which deſcends a rich faire Pendant of ſome coſtly embrodered Stuffe, as Tiſſue, *&c.*

Attird in ſome of which ordinary *Perſian* Habits, his Agent, Maſter *Moore* is lately arriued in *England*, bringing happy Tidings of this famous *Engliſh Perſian*, as alſo of his Comming to *England*, to the exceeding great Joy of his Natiue Country, laden with Honours through every Kingdome, as the deſerving Ornaments of his Vertue and Labour. And thus, ingenuous Reader, haue I ſet down by true and moſt credible Information, a briefe Epitome of Sir *Robert Sherleyes* Entertainement into *Cracouia*, the chiefe Cittye of *Poland*, together with all thoſe ſeuerall Speeches deliuered to him by the Schollers of that Countrye, which, although they may ſeeme to the nice Ear of our Times, not altogether ſo pure and poliſhed as the refined Labours of many *Engliſh* Wits, yet therein they ſtriued to expreſs both their Faſhion and Affection to the worthy Vertues of Sir *Robert*; for a Taſt of their Stile and Manner of Writing, it ſhall not be amiſs, if you caſt your Eye vpon theſe Verſes following, compoſed by a Scholler worthily reputed in that Country, one *Andræas Locæchius*, and thoſe are they which of his I borrow to ſhut vp the honorable Praiſes of our famous *Engliſh* Traueller.

Ad illuſtriſſimum & maximi tum ingenij tum animi virum, Dom. Robertum Sherlæum, *equitem Anglum, Regis Perſarum nomine ad* Europæ PP. legatum.

A Emule Honos Animo Proauis, Lux alta, Britannæ
Qui gentis peſſum non ſinis ire Decus;
Non vni dat Cuncta Polis, ſed Carmina Apollo,
Mars Vires, Arcas Nuncius Ingenium.
Hæc cuncta vnus habes, eſt vis, ſunt ora diſerta,
Numina auara aliis, prodiga facta tibi;
Perſia ſe iactat gemino in te munere, Martis
Pectore belligeri; Palladis Ingenio,
Tantus honore licet, te Scoti haud ſubtrahe Vena,
At Venam excedit pondere vatis Amor.
Immo cenſendum ſatis eſt ceciniſſe Poetam
Quod tibi ſe faſſus carmine & ore rudem;
Parua lcquor, ne te venturis ſubtrahe fæclis:
At Fidei, ut Famæ, ſueſce parare modum.

The Speech of the Lord *Digby*, in the High Court of Parliament, concerning Grievances. Printed for *Thomas Walkely*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

Mr. Speaker,

YOU have received now a ſolemn Account from moſt of the Shires of *England*, of the ſeveral Grievances and Oppreſſions they ſuſtain, and nothing as yet from *Dorſetſhire*. Sir, I would not have you think that I ſerve for a Land of *Goſhen*, that we live there in Sun-ſhine, whilſt Darkneſs and Plagues overſpread the reſt of the Land: As little would I have you think, that, being under the ſame ſharp Meaſure that the reſt, we are either inſenſible and benumbed, or that that Shire wanteth a Servant to repreſent its Sufferings boldly.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, the County of *Dorſet* hath not digeſted its Complaints into that formal Way of Petition, which others, I ſee, have done; but have intruſted them to my Partners and my Delivery of them, by Word of Mouth, unto this honourable Houſe. And there was given unto us, in the County Court, the Day of our Election, a ſhort Memorial of the Heads of them, which was read in the Hearing of the Freeholders there preſent, who all unanimouſly with one Voice ſignified upon each Particular, that it was their Deſire that we ſhould repreſent them to the Parliament, which, with your Leave, I ſhall do. And theſe they are:

1. The great and intolerable Burthen of Ship-money, touching the Legality whereof they are unſatisfied.
2. The many great Abuſes in preſſing of Soldiers, and raiſing Monies concerning the ſame.
3. The Multitude of Monopolies.
4. The new Canon, and the Oath to be taken by Lawyers, Divines, *&c.*
5. The Oath required to be taken by Church Officers to preſent, according to Articles new and unuſual.

Beſides this, there was likewiſe preſented to us, by a very conſiderable Part of the Clergy of that County, a Note of Remembrance, containing theſe two Particulars:

Firſt, The Impoſition of a new Oath required to be taken by all Miniſters, and others, which they conceive to be illegal, and ſuch as they cannot take with a good Conſcience.

Secondly, The Requiring of a pretended Benevolence, but, in Effect, a Subſidy, under the Penalty of Suſpenſion, Excommunication, and Deprivation, all Benefit of Appeal excluded.

This is all we had particularly in Charge: But, that I may not appear a remiſs Servant of my Country, and of this Houſe, give me Leave to add ſomewhat of my own Senſe.

Truly, Mr. Speaker, the injurious Sufferings of ſome worthy Members of this Houſe, ſince the Diſſolution of the two laſt Parliaments, are ſo freſh in my Memory, that I was reſolved not to open my Mouth in any Buſineſs wherein Freedom and plain Dealing were requiſite, until ſuch Time as the Breach of our Privileges were vindicated, and the Safety of Speech ſettled.

But ſince ſuch excellent Members of our Houſe thought fit the other Day to lay aſide that Caution, and to diſcharge their Souls ſo freely in the Way of Zeal to his Majeſty's Service, and their Country's Good: I ſhall interpret that Confidence of theirs for a lucky Omen to this Parliament, and, with your Permiſſion, licenſe my Thoughts too, a little.

Mr. Speaker, Under thoſe Heads which I propoſed to you, as the Grievances of *Dorſetſhire*, I ſuppoſe are compriſed the greateſt Part of the Miſchiefs which have, of late Years, laid Battery either to our Eſtates or Conſciences.

Sir, I do not conceive this the fit Seaſon to ſearch and ventilate Particulars, yet I profeſſe, I cannot forbear to add ſomewhat to what

what was ſaid the laſt Day by a learned Gentleman of the Long Robe, concerning the Acts of that Reverend new Synod, made of an old Convocation. Doth not every Parliament-Man's Heart riſe to ſee the Prelates thus uſurp to themſelves the Grand Pre-eminence of Parliament? The Granting of Subſidies, and that under ſo prepoſterous a Name as of a Benevolence, for that which is a Malevolence indeed; a Malevolence, I am confident, in thoſe that granted it, againſt Parliaments; and a Malevolence ſurely in thoſe that refuſe it, againſt thoſe that granted it; for how can it incite leſs? When they ſee wreſted from them what they are not willing to part with, under no leſs a Penalty than the Loſs both of Heaven and Earth; of Heaven, by Excommunication; and of the Earth, by Deprivation; and this without Redemption by Appeal. What good Chriſtian can think with Patience on ſuch an inſnaring Oath, as that which is, by the new Canons, enjoined to be taken by all Miniſters, Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Graduates in the Univerſities? Where, beſides the Swearing ſuch an Impertinence, as that Things neceſſary to Salvation are contained in Diſcipline; beſides the Swearing thoſe to be of Divine Right, which, amongſt the Learned, never pretended to it, as the arch Things in our Hierarchy. Beſides, the Swearing not to conſent to the Change of that, which the State may, upon great Reaſon, think fit to alter; beſides the bottomleſs Perjury of an *&c.* Beſides all this, Mr. Speaker, Men *muſt* ſwear that they ſwear freely and voluntarily what they are compelled unto; and, laſtly, that they ſwear that Oath in the literal Senſe, whereof no two of the Makers themſelves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the Underſtanding.

In a Word, Mr. Speaker, to tell you my Opinion of this Oath, it is a Covenant againſt the King, for Biſhops and the Hierarchy, as the *Scotiſh* Covenant is againſt them; only ſo much worſe than the *Scotiſh*, as they admit not of the Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and we are ſworn unto it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, for thoſe particular Heads of Grievances whereby our Eſtates and Properties are ſo radically invaded; I ſuppoſe, as I ſaid before, that it is no Seaſon now to enter into a ſtrict Diſcuſſion of them; only thus much I ſhall ſay of them, with Application to the Country for which I ſerve, that none can more juſtly complain, ſince none can more juſtly challenge Exemption from ſuch Burthens than *Dorſetſhire*; whether you conſider it is a Country ſubſiſting much by Trade, or as none of the moſt populous; or as expoſed as much as any to foreign Invaſion.

But, alas! Mr. Speaker, particular Lamentations are hardly diſtinguiſhable in univerſal Groans.

Mr. Speaker, it hath been a Metaphor frequent in Parliament, and, if my Memory fail me not, was made Uſe of in the Lord Keeper's Speech at the Opening of the laſt, that what Money Kings raiſed from their Subjects, they were but as Vapours drawn up from the Earth by the Sun, to be diſtilled upon it again in fructifying Showers: The Compariſon, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late Years in this Kingdom too unluckily: What hath been raiſed from the Subject by thoſe violent Attractions hath been formed, it is true, into Clouds, but how? To darken the Sun's own Luſtre, and hath fallen again upon the Land only in Hailſtones and Milldews, to batter and proſtrate ſtill more and more our Liberties, to blaſt and wither our Affections; had not the latter of theſe been ſtill kept alive by our King's own perſonal Virtues, which will ever preſerve him, in ſpight of ill Counſellors, a ſacred Object both of our Admiration and Loves.

Mr. Speaker, It hath been often ſaid in this Houſe, and, I think, can never be too often repeated, *That the Kings of* England *can do no Wrong*: But, though they could, Mr. Speaker, yet Princes have no Part in the Ill of thoſe Actions which their Judges aſſure them to be juſt, their Counſellors that they are prudent, and their Divines that they are conſcientious.

This Conſideration, Mr. Speaker, leadeth me to that which is more neceſſary far, at this Seaſon, than any farther Laying open of our Miſeries, that is, the Way to the Remedy, by ſeeking to remove from our Sovereign ſuch unjuſt Judges, ſuch pernicious Counſellors, and ſuch diſconcient Divines, as have of late Years, by their wicked Practices, provoked Aſperſions upon the Government of the graciouſeſt and beſt of Kings.

Mr. Speaker, Let me not be miſunderſtood; I leuel at no Man with a forelaid Deſign;

let the Faults, and thoſe well proved, lead us to the Men: It is the only true Parliamentary Method, and the only fit one to incline our Sovereign. For it can no more conſiſt with a gracious and righteous Prince to expoſe his Servants upon irregular Prejudices, than with a wiſe Prince to with-hold Malefactors, how great ſoever, from the Courſe of orderly Juſtice.

Let me acquaint you, Mr. Speaker, with an Aphoriſm in *Hippocrates*, no leſs authentick, I think, in the Body Politick, than in the Natural. This is it, Mr. Speaker, Bodies, to be thoroughly and effectually purged, muſt have their Humours firſt made fluid and moveable.

The Humours, that I underſtand to have cauſed all the deſperate Maladies of this Nation, are the ill Miniſters. To purge them away clearly, they muſt be firſt looſened, unſettled, and extenuated, which can no Way be effected with a gracious Maſter, but by truly repreſenting them unworthy of his Protection. And this leadeth me to my Motion, which is, that a ſelect Committee may be appointed to draw out all that hath been here repreſented; ſuch a Remonſtrance as may be a faithful and lively Repreſentation unto his Majeſty of the deplorable Eſtate of this his Kingdom, and ſuch as may happily point out unto his clear and excellent Judgment the pernicious Authors of it. And that, this Remonſtrance being drawn, we may, with all Speed, repair to the Lords, and deſire them to join with us in it. And this is my humble Motion.

The Levellers: A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony, propoſing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing ſingle Perſons. With the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. *London*, Printed and Sold by *J. How*, at the *Seven Stars* in *Talbot-Court*, in *Grace-church-ſtreet*, 1703. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages.

An Epiſtle to a Member of Parliament.

Honoured Sir,

OUR Fore-fathers, if not now in Being, have paſſed an Act, prohibiting the Importation of Foreign, and for the Encouragement of the Breed of Engliſh *Cattle, which, I am told, has much raiſed the Price of Land in* England. *With Submiſſion to your better Judgment, I think, An Act, for Increaſing the Breed of* Engliſhmen, *would be far more advantageous to the Realm. Some ſay, That our Ships are the Walls of our Iſland; but I ſay, Our Men are the Walls, the Bulwarks, and Fortreſſes of our Country. You can have no Navies, nor Armies, without Men; and, like prudent Farmers, we ought always to keep our Land well ſtocked.* England *never proſpered by the Importation of Foreigners, nor have we any Need of them, when we can raiſe a Breed*

What you have here preſented, is a Diſcourſe of two young Ladies, who, [illegible] very willing to comply with ſuch an Act, and are ready to go to Work [illegible] of their Country, as ſoon as they ſhall have a legal Authority; of which, if you are the happy Inſtrument, you will have the Bleſſing of ten-thouſand Damſels, and the Thanks of

Your humble Servant.

POLITICA.

POLITICA and *Sophia*, two young Ladies of great Beauty and Wit, having taken Lodgings together, this Summer, in the Country, diverted themſelves in the Evenings by walking to a certain Shadow, which they might juſtly call their own, being frequented by none but themſelves and the harmonious Society of the Wood. Here they conſumed the happy Minutes, not in idle Chat peculiar to the Ladies of the Court and City; they did not diſpute the Manner of Dreſſing, the Beauties and Foil of the Commode and Top-knot, nor the Laws and Adminiſtration of the Attiring-room. They talked of nobler Subjects, of the Beauty and wonderful Creation of Almighty God, and of the Nature of Man, the Lord of the Univerſe, and of the whole Dominions of Nature. Pity it is we cannot procure all that theſe Ladies have ſo privately, as they thought, diſcourſed; but we are very happy in having what follows, which came to our Knowledge by a mere Accident. A Gentleman, lodging in the Neighbourhood, one Evening, taking a Walk for his Recreation, haply laid himſelf down behind a Hedge, near the very Shadow frequented by theſe Ladies; he had not lain long, before theſe Angels appeared at a Diſtance, and he, peeping through the Boughs (which, ſerved as a Teleſcope to bring the divine Objects nearer his View) was extremely raviſhed with their Beauty; but, alas! What was the Beauty of their Faces to that of their Minds, diſcovered to this happy Man by the ſoft and charming Eloquence of their Tongues? And no Man in the World was better qualified to give an Account of this noble Dialogue, than this Perſon, he being an accurate Short-hand Writer, and had been Pupil to Mr. *Blainey* in that Science, and very happily had, at that Time, Pen, Ink, and Paper about him; he heard with Amazement their Diſcourſe on common Affairs, but, when the charming *Sophia* had fixed on a Subject, he began to write as follows:

My dear Siſter, How happy are we [illegible]eſſed Retirement, free from the Hurry [illegible]oiſy Town! Here we can contemplate on the Wonders of Nature, and on the Wiſdom of the great Founder of the Univerſe. Do you ſee how the Leaves of this Thicket are grown, ſince we firſt retired to its Shadow? It now affords us a ſufficient Shelter from the Heat of the Sun, from Storms, and Rain; ſee yonder Shrub, what Abundance of Cyons ſprout from its Root? See yonder Ewes, with their pretty Lambs ſkipping and dancing by their Sides. How careful is Nature to propagate every Part of the Handy-work of the Almighty! But you and I, my *Politica*, are uſeleſs Creatures, not anſwering the End of our Creation in the Propagation of our Species, for which, next the Service of our Creator, we came into the World. This is our Sin, and we ought to be Tranſgreſſors no longer.

Politica. Every Creature deſires to propagate its Species, and Nature dictates to every Part of the Creation the Manner of doing it. The brute Beaſts are ſubſervient to this Law, and wholly anſwer the End of their Creation: Now there is the ſame Deſire in Mankind; but we, who are endowed with noble Faculties, and who have Countenances erected to behold the Wonders of God in the Firmament of Heaven, look ſo far into the Earth, that we ſink beneath the Dignity of Beaſts. In being averſe to Generation, we offer Violence to the Laws of God and Nature imprinted on our Minds. What *ſhe* can ſay, that Nature does not prompt her to the Propagation of her Species? Which, indeed, is one Argument of the Immortality of the Soul; for the rational Faculties concur with the Dictates of Nature in this Point. We are, as it were, immortal upon Earth, in our ſurviving Children. It is a Sort of Hyperbole, but it is as near Truth as poſſibly can be. We are all of us deſirous of Life; and, ſince, being mortal, we cannot for ever inhabit this glorious World, we are willing to leave our Children in Poſſeſſion.

I cannot agree with you, Madam, that it is our Fault we do not propagate our Species, at leaſt, I am ſure, it is none of mine; I am young, and healthy, and beautiful enough, and Nature daily tells me what Work I ought to do; the Laws of God circumſcribe the Doing of it; and yet, notwithſtanding my Conformity to both, you know, my Circumſtances will not admit of Marriage.

Sophia. The Impulſe of Nature in me, in that Reſpect, is as great as it can be in you, but ſtill under the Regulations of the ſtricteſt Rules of Virtue. The End of our Creation

might be better anſwered, were not the matrimonial Knot to be tied only by the Purſe-ſtring. I can ſay, I am young and beautiful, and that without any Vanity. This Mr. *H*——— knows well enough; he loves me intirely, and, I am ſure, had rather live all his Life-time with me in a Garret, on the Scrag-end of a Neck of Mutton, than with the Lady his Father propoſes; but the old Curmudgeon will not let his Son have the leaſt Thoughts of me, becauſe the Muck, my Father has left me, will not fill ſo many Dung-carts, as he can fill for his Son: It is even true, what the Parſon ſaid, 'Matrimony is 'become a Matter of Money.' This is the Reaſon, that you and I ſtick on Hand ſo long, as the Tradeſmen at *London* ſay, when they cannot put off their Daughters.

Politica. Matrimony is, indeed, become a mere Trade; they carry their Daughters to *Smithfield*, as they do Horſes, and ſell to the higheſt Bidder. Formerly, I have heard, nothing went current in the Matrimonial Territories, but Birth and Blood; but, alas! this was in the antiquated Times, when Virtue and Honour was a Commodity in *England*, and when the Nobility and Gentry were in Poſſeſſion of large Eſtates, and were content to live upon them, and keep Courts of their own in the Country; but, ſince they abandoned the State and Grandeur of their Fore-fathers, and became Courtiers, and extravagantly waſted their Subſtance in polluted Amours in the City, they have no Way to repair the Cracks in the Eſtates, but by Marrying of Fortunes; and, if the Woman be a Fortune, it is no Matter how ſhe is deſcended; Gold is the Quarry they fly at. I remember ſome old Verſes to this Purpoſe:

'Gold Marriages makes, 'tis the Center
'of Love;
'It ſets up the Man, and it helps up the
'Woman:
'By the Golden Rule all Mortals do move,
'For Gold makes Lords bow to the Brat of
'a Broom-man.

Theſe Verſes are older than either you, or I, and yet they are true in our Time.

Sophia. Aye, Madam, too true, I find it ſo; but, methinks, it is a mere Way of ſelling Children for Money, when, poor Creatures, they often purchaſe what will be a Plague to them all their Life-time, a curſed ill-natured Shrew, or a beaſtly, ill-conditioned Huſband. Let me live a Maid to the laſt Minute of my Life, rather than thus to loſe my Content, my Peace of Mind, and domeſtick Quiet, and all this for the inconſiderable Trifle of a large Bag of Money for my Portion. Let the old Curmudgeons keep the Golden Coxcombs, their Sons, for the beſt Market. Heaven ſend me a Spouſe, that has Senſe enough to deſpiſe a Bargain in Petticoats with Abundance of Money and no Brains! Methinks, a *Smithfield* Match is ſo very ridiculous, that it might nauſeate a half-witted Courtier. How ridiculous is it for an old Miſer to ſhew the Portion firſt, and his Daughter afterwards! And, when both Parties are agreed upon the Price, then Miſs goes off, coarſe or handſome, good or ill-natured, it is no Matter. I fancy, an old Miſer, expoſing his Daughter to Sale, looks like a Country Farmer ſelling his white-faced Calf in the Market, or like a Graſier enhancing the Price of a ragged, ſcrubby Ox, from the Conſideration of Abundance of Tallow he will turn out. Even juſt ſuch a Thing is a *Smithfield* Match; and, as ſoon as the Miſer has ſtruck the Bargain for his Daughter, away he goes to the Parſon's Toll-book, and there is an End of the Matter.

Politica. It is even ſo; but it is a curſed wicked Way of Wedding; it is perfect Kidnapping Children into the Marriage Plantations. This Practice is contrary to the Laws of Nature and God. Thoſe pretty Birds, you now hear ſinging over our Heads, laſt *Valentine*'s Day, choſe every one his Mate, without the Direction, or Approbation of their Parents. The Scripture ſays (I think it is in the Sixth of *Geneſis*, and the ſecond Verſe) That *the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men, that they were fair; and they took them Wives of all which they choſe.* Do but mind this Text of Scripture, it is very much to our Purpoſe; it is not there ſaid, That the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men, that they had Abundance of *Money*, but they were *fair*, *i. e.* they were ſuch as were beautiful and lovely. This was the Attractive of Courtſhip. It is not here ſaid, that the old Miſers, as now, carried their Sons and Daughters to *Marriage-Fair*, and ſwopped one for the other, with ſo much Money and the Vantage; but here the Sons are left to chuſe themſelves

Wives,

Wives, and they choſe ſuch as were fair, even juſt ſuch as my beautiful *Sophia*. And let me make this farther Remark, That, for Chuſing ſuch Wives, they are called *the Sons of God*: Hence it naturally follows, That whoſoever do chuſe Wives after any other Manner are the Sons of the Devil; and thus the young ſold Couple are the Son and Daughter of the Devil, and the old Miſer, that ſold them, is the Devil's Brother-in-law, and ſo they are matched into a very fine Family.

Sophia. Truly, Siſter, I am apt to think, God Almighty has nothing to do with ſuch Matches, though we have a common Proverb in *England*, 'That Matches are made in 'Heaven;' I can truly ſay, as the Country Wench did, 'They are a long Time in 'coming down.' I have waited for one a great While to no Purpoſe; my Money will not grow to the Height of a Huſband, though I water it with Tears, and air it with Sighs; but, prithee, Siſter, let us contrive ſome Way or other how to remove this great Evil, this Grievance of Celibacy, under which the Nation groaneth. I can take it to be nothing leſs than a National Judgment, when our Men, the Strength of our Kingdom, are daily conſumed and waſted away by the Wars, and there is no Care taken of a Supply. Our Ships and Armies, in a ſhort Time, will want Soldiers; but this is none of our Faul; you and I would endeavour at a Race of Heroes for the Service of our Country, if we could come honeſtly at the Inſtruments which make them.

Politica. It is very true; but the Remedy: In the firſt Place, Siſter, let us conſider the Cauſes of the Evil, and then the Remedy. Begin, Madam, let me hear your Opinion of the Cauſe of this Evil.

Sophia. None fitter than your judicious Self to lead the Way in this Argument: But, however, Madam, I will obey your Command; and I think it is Want of Virtue both in young Men and Women, that is the chief Cauſe of this deſtructive Evil.

Out of Civility to the Man, I will begin firſt with our own Sex. I am aſhamed, and bluſh to ſpeak it, how many lewd Creatures there are of our Sex both in the Town and Country; were there not ſo many Whores, there would be more Wives. The vicious Sort of Men are by them kept from marrying; for it is mere Virtue muſt confine a Man to a married State, where he has an uninterrupted Converſe with Womankind as ſeldom and as often as he pleaſes, without Confinement to any particular Perſon or Temper. This made a Nobleman ſay, that *Two Things could never be wanted in* London, *a Wife and a Watch; becauſe one may have a Whore, and ſee what it is a Clock, at the End of every Street.*

The numerous Company of Strumpets and Harlots, in *London*, makes the lewd Sort of Men out of Love with Matrimony. Nay, I have heard them ſay, *There is no Woman honeſt after the Age of Fifteen.* I know they are Lyars; but, I am ſorry to ſay it, they have too much Reaſon to be out of Love with our Sex. Sometimes I myſelf am almoſt of their Opinion, eſpecially when I conſider how ſhamefully ſome lewd Women proſtitute themſelves to every raſcally Porter and Boy: And I think it more abominable in the Women than the Men, for Nature has given us more Modeſty; and, did not the Whores ply in the Streets, the Leacher could never ſtumble over them.

The Men, they are grown full as effeminate as the Women; we are rivalled by them even in the Fooleries peculiar to our Sex: They dreſs like Anticks and Stage-Players, and are as ridiculous as Monkies: They ſit in monſtrous long Perukies, like ſo many Owls in Ivy-Buſhes; and eſteem themſelves more upon the Reputation of being a Beau, than on the ſubſtantial Qualifications of Honour, Courage, Learning, and Judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourſelf at a Goſſipping at *Dover*, or that you heard the learned Confabulation of the Boys in the Piazza's of *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*. Did you ever ſee a Creature more ridiculous than that Stake of Humane Nature which dined the other Day at our Houſe, with his great long Wig to cover his Head and Face, which was no bigger than an *Hackney-Turnep*, and much of the ſame Form and Shape? Bleſs me how it looked! juſt like a great Platter of *French* Soup with a little Bit of Fleſh in the Middle. Did you mark the beau Tiff of his Wig, what a deal of Pains he took to toſs it back, when the very Weight thereof was like to draw him from his Seat? Did you not take Notice how he repleniſhed his Snout with Snuff, and what Pains he took to let us know that it was *Vigo?* Did you not wonder at his learned Diſcourſe of the Womens Accoutrements, from the

the Top-knot to the Laced Shoe; and what Lectures he read on the Fan, Maſque, and Gloves? He underſtood Ribbons and Silk as well as a Milliner and Mercer, and was a perfect Chymiſt in Beauty Waſhes and Eſſences: In ſhort, Madam, did you ever ſee a more accompliſhed Coxcomb in all your Life?

Now, my Dear, though I muſt acknowledge our Sex to be extraordinary vicious, we will not knock under-board to the Men; we have yet more Virtue left among us than they can match: For though, to our great Shame, we are degenerated in one Reſpect, to our Commendation we are improved in another: We never had, in any Age, Women of better Parts, of greater Virtue, and more Knowledge. Learning and Wit ſeem to have forſaken the Maſculine Dominions, and to have taken up their Abode in the Feminine Territories: And, indeed, the Men are ſo wickedly degenerated, that Learning, Virtue, Courage, and Conduct ſeem to be unneceſſary Accompliſhments; for they ſignify nothing as to their Preferment, but they make their Fortunes as they make their Wives, by Money. And truly, Madam, we have no great Occaſion to boaſt that we have ſupplanted the Men of their Virtue, for we have got that from them which did them no Service, and which we muſt conceal, or elſe be laughed at for Shewing it. However, Madam, let us admire Virtue, which gives that inward Contentment, which all the Riches of the World cannot purchaſe.

Politica. I think, my dear *Sophia*, the Parents are as much the Cauſe of Celibacy as the Children, by breeding them above their Quality and Eſtates. I give myſelf for an Example. You know my Father was a Tradeſman, and lived very well by his Traffick; and, I being beautiful, he thought Nature had already given me Part of my Portion, and therefore he would add a liberal Education, that I might be a compleat Gentlewoman; away he ſent me to the Boarding-School, there I learned to dance and ſing, to play on the Baſs-Viol, Virginals, Spinnet and Guitair. I learned to make Wax-work, japan, paint upon Glaſs, to raiſe Paſte, make Sweet-meets, Sauces, and every thing that was genteel and faſhionable. My Father died, and left me accompliſhed, as you find me, with three-hundred Pounds Portion; and, with all this, I am not able to buy an Huſband. A Man, that has an Eſtate anſwerable to my Breeding, wants a Portion anſwerable to his Eſtate; an honeſt Tradeſman, that wants a Portion of three-hundred Pounds, has more Occaſion of a Wife that underſtands Cookery and Houſewifery, than one that underſtands Dancing, and Singing, and Making of Sweet-meats. The Portion, which Nature gave me, proves now my Detriment; my Beauty is an Obſtacle to my Marriage; an honeſt Shop-keeper cannot keep a Wife to look upon. 'Beauty, ſay they, is like a 'Tavern Buſh, it is hung out in the Face to 'ſhew what Commodity is to be ſold;' it is but like an Honey-pot, which will fill a Houſe with Bees and Waſps; and the poor Tradeſman, that has ſuch a Wife, will dream of nothing but Horns, as long as he has her; ſo that, Madam, I conclude, our Parents are great Cauſes of this Evil, in educating their Children beyond their Eſtates.

Sophia. But how would you order the Matter with one in my Circumſtances? My Father, when I was born, was a Gentleman of a plentiful Eſtate, and gave me Education according to the Portion he deſigned me; but he, being a true *Engliſhman*, joined with the Duke of *Monmouth* in the Recovery of our Rights, which, he then thought, were in Danger; and, in that Enterpriſe, he loſt his Life and Eſtate, and ſo I loſt my Portion, and have nothing to ſubſiſt on, but the Charity of my good Aunt. I can marry nothing but a Gentleman, and very few, if any of them, are inclined to marry the poor Remains of an honourable and virtuous Family: What can I do?

Politica. Truly, my Dear, our Caſes are both deſperate; we cannot *come up* to good Eſtates, and Gentlemen of good Eſtates will not *come down* to us. I have often wondered, that there are no compulſive Laws inforcing Matrimony, but that, inſtead thereof, there are Laws diſcouraging of Marriage, as is the Act for Births and Burials, eſpecially to the poorer Sort of People, who are generally the greateſt Breeders; for, by this Act, when there is a certain Charge to a Family, there is a certain Duty to the Queen. Now, if there was a Law inforcing of Matrimony, it would more effectually anſwer the End of her Majeſty's pious Proclamations for the Encouragement of Virtue, and for the Suppreſſing of all Manner of Immorality and Profaneneſs. For ſuch a Law would put a Stop to Abundance of Whoring;

Whoring; it would make the Women virtuous, on Purpoſe to get good Huſbands, and the Men thrifty and diligent in their Callings, in order to maintain their Families. The Ruin both of Body, Soul, and Eſtate proceeds from this Omiſſion in our Laws. I am ſure, a Law of this Nature would not only be acceptable in the Sight of God, but it would be very advantageous to the Kingdom.

Sophia. I am very well ſatisfied in the Truth of what you ſay, but, at the ſame Time, I do not think a Law compulſive of Marriage reaſonable in all Reſpects; there are a Sort of Monſters of Men, called *Women-haters*; theſe Brutes would be deſtroyed by this Act. Nature alſo has excluded, by its Deficiencies, ſome Men from the State of Matrimony; others are of ſuch monſtrous ill Humours, that they can match no where, but in the Nunnery of *Billingſgate*; therefore, Madam, if you get this Act paſſed, it muſt contain many Proviſo's and Exceptions.

Politica. Not in the leaſt; I would have it a general compulſive Act, after this Manner: Every Batchelor, at the Age of twenty-four Years, ſhould pay ſuch a Tax to the Queen; ſuppoſe it twenty Shillings *per Annum* for the meaneſt Rank of Men, and what the Parliament thinks fit for thoſe of higher Degree. Every Widower, which has been ſo upwards of one Year, and is under the Age of fifty Years, *to pay the ſame Sum*: Now, according to Computation, we have ſeven Millions of Men in *England*, and, ſuppoſe two Millions of the ſeven be Batchelors and Widowers, qualified as before, according to their ſeveral Ranks and Qualities taxed by Act of Parliament, they will pay into the Queen's *Exchequer*, yearly, the Sum of two Millions five-hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, which will be almoſt enough to defray the Charge of the War by Land and Sea.

The Reaſonableſs of the Act is plain, for that unmarried People are, as it were, uſeleſs to the State; they are, like Drones in a Hive, reaping the Advantage of other People's Labours; they have their Liberties and Freedoms ſecured by the Loſs of other Men's Lives, and do not, from their own Loins, repair the native Strength of the Kingdom; they are not ſo good as the Spider, which hangs in the Loom drawn from her own Bowels: On the other Hand, it is reaſonable to eaſe ſuch in Taxes, as have numerous Families to the Advantage of the Commonwealth; for theſe are at daily Charge in Breeding up their Iſſue for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom.

Sophia. Your Notions are very good and proper; but how will you be able to put them into Practice? I hope you will not ſollicit this Bill yourſelf at the Houſe of Commons; you ought to have ſome Way or other to communicate it to ſome particular Member, that he may bring it in, as his own, and get a good Reward for his Pains from the Court. Do not you remember, Mrs. *Murray* told us, the other Day, how her Huſband was ſerved about his Project of *Exchequer* Bills? They got it to themſelves, and did not give the honeſt Gentleman one Groat for his Invention. Now, Madam, if you could make yourſelf a Portion by their Making an Act, you would do very well, you would ſerve yourſelf and your Country; but, if this Act paſſeth, I do not find, that you and I ſhall be the better for it, for the Men are ſtill left to the Liberty of Chuſing, and they will chuſe for the beſt Portions; we are no nearer the Marriage-bed, than before. Pray think of ſome compulſive Act, that may inforce them to marry me and you.

Politica. It will be very difficult to get a particular Clauſe in our Favour, it will coſt us, at leaſt, our Maidenheads; and then, you know, we need not much trouble our Heads about Matrimony, we need not ſhut the Stable-door when the Steed is ſtolen. Pray, Madam, let me hear how you would have it for your own Advantage? It is now your Turn to propoſe.

Sophia. Nature has made all Things on a Level: Our firſt Father made no Jointure in Marriage, nor had our firſt Mother any Portion. *Adam* was Lord, and *Eve* was Miſtreſs of the Univerſe; and we ought to tread in the Steps of our Lady Mother, and bring our Huſband no more than what Nature hath given us. Settlements and Portions never came into Cuſtom, till ſuch Time as Murder and Rapine had entered the World, and Dowries were firſt brought into Faſhion by the Poſterity of *Cain*. The helliſh Miſer, which the other Day made ſo many Scruples about my Portion, Did you not obſerve the Mark of *Cain* in his Forehead? The Match-brokers look juſt like the wandering *Jews* in *England*, followed by the Curſe of God into all Countries where they come.

Now, it is an eaſy Matter for the Parliament of *England* to bring Marriages on the ſame Level, as was deſigned at firſt by Nature. I will propoſe how: Suppoſe every Gentleman of one thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, was obliged to marry Gentlewomen of ſuch Quality and Portion with ourſelves, and, if he would not marry at all, his Eſtate ſhould become forfeited to the Uſe of the Publick.

Politica. That would be hard, to take away all a Man has in the World, becauſe he will not marry.

Sophia. We will then find a Medium: Suppoſe we build and endow them an Alms-houſe with their own Money, where every one of them ſhall have a convenient Apartment, with a Bed, and two Pair of Sheets, one Chair, one Candleſtick, a Chamber-pot, and Fire-Place, and ſome other cheap Neceſſaries. We will allow them one Coat a Year, with a yellow Badge on the Arm, as the Mark of a Batchelor; and every Ten of them ſhall have one old Woman to wait upon them: They ſhall be chiefly fed with Water-gruel, and Barley-broth; and, inſtead of Meat, they ſhall eat Potatoes, *Jeruſalem* Artichokes, Turneps, Carrots, and Parſnips; for you know they come into that Hoſpital, becauſe they do not love Fleſh.

Politica. Oh! fye Madam, fye upon you! that would uſe briſk young Gentlemen at ſuch a cruel Rate: This is downright Tyranny.

Sophia. I am ſorry to ſee you ſo tender of thoſe, who are ſo cruel to our Sex: But here is no Cruelty at all in the Caſe; conſider the Thing rightly, Madam, and you will find it otherwiſe: We eſteem it the higheſt Charity to provide Alms-houſes for the antient ſuper-annuated Poor, who are paſt their Labour; now a Man that is not come to his Labour of Generation, at twenty-five Years of Age, is certainly paſt it, and we ought to reckon him as ſuperannuated, and grown an old Boy, and not fit to be truſted with what he has, as not knowing the Uſe and Benefit of Riches.

What I ſay, in this Reſpect, is the common Practice of Mankind in Things of another Nature: The Huſbandman, if he has got a Tree in his Orchard, that has grown a long Time, and has bore no Fruit, he cuts him down for Fuel, and plants another in his Room: Why may we not do the ſame by the human Batchelor Trees; eſpecially, ſince they are grafted on ſo good Stocks, and are ſo well watered and pruned? That is a very ill Sort of Seed that will fructify in no Soil. It is the ſame Thing in Government; a Batchelor is a uſeleſs Thing in the State, does but cumber the Ground, and takes up the Room of a generous Plant, which would be of great Advantage to the Commonwealth. I tell you, Madam, according to the Laws of Nature and Reaſon, a Batchelor is a Minor, and ought to be under the Government of the Pariſh in which he lives; for, though he be a Houſe-keeper and for himſelf, as they call it, yet, having no Family, he cannot be reckoned a good Commonwealth's-Man; and, if he is not a good one, he is a bad one, which ought not to be ſuffered; nay, he is not a perfect Man till ſuch Time as he is married, for it is the Woman is the Perfection of the Man.

Politica. Madam, I know you are endowed with true *Engliſh* Principles, pray conſider, whether the Law you mention be not deſtructive of *Magna Charta*, ſince, without Cauſe or Offence, it deprives a Man of his Property, and takes from him the Eſtate which legally deſcended to him from his Anceſtors.

Sophia. Madam, I find you hold me to hard Meat, I muſt give Reaſons for the Paſſing of my Bill: I argue thus, A Perſon who has broken, and forfeited his Right to the *Magna Charta* of Nature, ought to have no Protection by the *Magna Charta* of *Engliſhmen:* I prove my Propoſition thus, A Batchelor of Age, as ſuch, has broken the Laws of Nature: Increaſe and Multiply is the Command of Nature, and of the God thereof; now, having broken the Laws of Nature, he ought not to have any Protection from the Laws of *England*, becauſe ſuch, as have Protection by thoſe Laws, do contribute to the Support of thoſe Laws, which an adult Batchelor does not do according to the Conſtitution of *Magna Charta:* Our Forefathers purchaſed the Liberties of *Magna Charta*, with the Hazard of Life and Limb; they ſealed that Writing with the Blood of themſelves and their Children, and, after the ſame Manner thoſe Privileges were procured, muſt they be ſupported and maintained; now a Batchelor contributes little or nothing to the Support of our Freedoms; the Money he pays in Taxes is inconſiderable to the Supplies given by others in Children, which are an Addition to the native Strength of the Kingdom: Money is like the ſoft and eaſy Showers, which only cool and moiſten the

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Surface of the Earth; Children are like the ſoaking Rain which goes to the Root, and makes Trees and Vegetables fructify for the Uſe of Man: Indeed, my Dear, a Batchelor can, in no Senſe, be eſteemed a good *Engliſhman.*

From the Reaſons aforeſaid, I cannot think the Batchelors are injured by my Bill. Acts of Parliament ought not to reſpect private Intereſts; they are made for the Good of the Community, for the Advantage of the whole People of *England*, and you ſhall ſeldom find any Act paſſed, but what is to the Detriment of ſome particular Perſons: We thought it no Injuſtice to prohibit the Importation of *Eaſt-India* Silks, notwithſtanding the Detriment thereby accrued to that Company; and perhaps put all the Ladies in Court and City into the Murligrubs. Theſe Things the good Parliament never conſidered, but paſſed the Bill in Favour of the Multitude of Weavers in this Kingdom, who get Abundance of Children for the Support of the Nation, and which muſt have ſtarved, if foreign Commodities had been imported to the *Deſtruction of the Weaving* Trade. The Batchelors, that would come under this Statute, are but an inconſiderable Number, compared with the aggregate Sum of the whole Kingdom.

Politica. Suppoſe, Madam, your Reaſons ſhould weigh with the Houſe of Commons: There is another Sort of Batchelors, that anſwer the End of their Creation, and yet are not married; I mean ſuch as multiply their Species on Miſſes and Concubines, which, in plain *Engliſh*, are Whores: Nay, they can content themſelves to do it with their female Servants, who ſerve under them for that Purpoſe; theſe will find a Way to creep out, if you do not bind your Act very cloſe.

Sophia. That is well thought on, upon my Virginity! It is true, theſe are a dangerous Sort of Creatures; Concubinage and Whoring are grievous Sins, both in the Sight of God and Man; and the Divine Laws, as alſo the Laws of *England*, are very ſtrict againſt ſuch Offenders, and yet you ſee they do find Holes to creep through and eſcape Puniſhment; but the Law I propoſe will tie them faſt: For, do but obſerve it, Madam, thoſe Laws are beſt executed, that bring Money into the *Exchequer*; every one would be a Fiſherman, if the Fiſhes came like St. *Peter*'s, with Money in their Mouths: I dare engage, I will ſooner get a Warrant to ſearch for prohibited uncuſtomed Goods, or to ſeize a Brewer's Copper for Non-payment of Exciſe, than I can prepare a Warrant to ſearch a Bawdy-houſe: Do but once make it appear, that Godlineſs is Gain, and I will warrant you a thorough Reformation of Manners. Now my Act does this Thing to a T; I make Men honeſt and virtuous, and, by doing ſo, I make the Government rich, and eaſe the Subjects in the Burden of Taxes. And I dare engage, if ever you ſee my Bill paſſed the Royal Aſſent, you will find it well executed.

Politica. That is according to the Honeſty and Virtue of the Commiſſioners and Aſſeſſors, appointed for that Purpoſe; if they are not virtuous and honeſt, they may leſſen your Tax, and cauſe a Deficiency. This has been the Effect of letting Landed-men aſſeſs Landed-men, and Tradeſmen aſſeſs Stock; when, if a Tradeſman had aſſeſſed Land, and a Landed-man had aſſeſſed Trade, being ſo very different in *Intereſt*, they would have raiſed the Fund to the Height. Therefore, my dear Siſter, be cautious in this Point, take my Advice, I am your *Senior*; let no old Fornicator be an Aſſeſſor, Commiſſioner, or Collector of your Duty; he, that has in his Time loved a Bit of old Hat, will be tender in Puniſhing the Sin of his Youth; with him exclude all ſuch as were Batchelors before the Paſſing of the Act; they will ſuffer, nay, contrive a Deficiency, that the Act may be repealed. In ſhort, let none be concerned in the Aſſeſſing or Collecting of this Duty, but ſuch as have many Years lived with their Wives in conjugal Chaſtity, and by them have a very numerous Iſſue; theſe, I will warrant you, will take Care to bring the utmoſt Penny into the *Exchequer*.—But, pray, how do you deſign to puniſh ſuch of this Sort of Batchelors, that will not comply with your Act? I hope you will allow them a ſeparate Maintenance; you will build them an Alms-houſe alſo, will you not?

Sophia. As the others are uſed like Fools and ſuperannuated Perſons, ſo we will uſe theſe like Madmen. We will build them a convenient Bedlam, wherein every one of them ſhall be chained about the Middle to a Poſt, like a Monkey; we will feed them with low Diet, as the others, and once a Month they ſhall be blooded and ſhaved. To aggravate their

Crime, we will make every one of them a *Tantalus*, by bringing every Day handſome Ladies before them, who ſhall laugh and jeer at them, and then turn their Backs upon them.

Politica. I proteſt, Madam, you are very cruel: Would you be willing to be ſerved ſo yourſelf?

Sophia. Yes, Siſter, when I refuſe Matrimony upon good and equal Terms: Pray, do they not do the ſame by us? Are not we daily preſented with the Sight of Batchelors of good Eſtates, who come to us under Pretence of lawful Courtſhip, to proſecute an unlawful Amour? They come to us like Butterflies to Flowers, to ſpit Maggots on us, and then leave us to be devoured by Infamy and Scandal: There is no Puniſhment bad enough for theſe Monſters of Men; I would fain have my Will upon them one Way or other; either by Marrying them all out of Hand, or by Puniſhing them for Living ſingle.

Politica. I do indeed think a Levelling of Marriages is the moſt reaſonable Thing in the World; Mankind is on a Level in all Things but this; one Man has Wit and wants Money; another has Money and wants Wit; a third has Strength, and wants both Money and Wit; one is poor and contented with his Condition; another has no Peace of Mind, nor Satisfaction, amidſt all his Riches, but is, amongſt his Bags of Money, as a Perſon in *Little Eaſe* or *Bridewell*; ſo that Nature ſeems to have deſigned a Level, only we raiſe Mountains and Hills on Purpoſe to deface the Works of Nature. But, Siſter, here's one Thing yet to be conſidered, that there are ſeveral young Gentlemen born to good Fortunes, who would marry me or you; but they are kept from it by the Advice of their Parents. Now, though I would have ſuch puniſhed as are unmarried with good Eſtates in their own Poſſeſſion, yet would I have ſome Reſpect to thoſe who would and cannot: There is Mr. ——, he often gives me Viſits, he loves my Company, his Eyes talk of Love, which is more than his Tongue durſt ſo much as mention; for he tells me, the Beldam his Mother, and the old Curmudgeon his Father, have made a Reſolution, that he ſhall never marry but with a Woman of five-thouſand Pounds Fortune: But, ſays he, if they die, I'll marry where I pleaſe: They may live a long Time, and, if I ſhould ſtay for him, by that Time, Beauty may have loſt its Charms; and ſome younger *Phillis*, or other, may interpoſe and get the Prize from me. For Love, Madam, is the moſt fickle and changeable Thing in the World: My Wit will laſt as long as my Virtue, and both theſe are not leſſened but improved by Age. But did you ever know a Man that loved a Woman for Virtue and Wit? No, there are other Attractives which make ſo great a Sound in the World, that they drown the low Voice of Virtue and Wit.

Sophia. I would have theſe old Folks, that hinder their Children from Matrimony, as ſeverely puniſhed as the old Batchelors: The fabulous Puniſhment of leading Apes in Hell is not enough: I would have them puniſhed even in this Life. I pray God ſend them ſome ſuch Diſtemper as the Pox; which, in this Life, is the Puniſhment of Adulterers and Whoremongers: Nay, ſometimes they are caught and pay dear enough for their Trifling with the Years of Youth, and not entering the Bounds of Matrimony, till the Time of their Doatage. I will tell you a very pretty and true Story:

A certain *Doctor of Divinity of the Univerſity*, aged about ſixty Years, from the Profits of a good Benefice, and other comfortable Church Emoluments, together with a thrifty Life, had acquired an Eſtate of five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; but the pious Churchman, being ſtill deſirous of a larger Share of the good Things of this Life, thought of Ways and Means of aggrandiſing his Fortune. No better Way could he think on than Marriage; for, he having lived a Batchelor, and, by his Induſtry, procured ſuch an Eſtate, he thought his Spiritual and Temporal Endowments deſerved a conſiderable Fortune. After he had made many Enquiries among his Friends and Acquaintance for a ſuitable Help-mate, called a Wife, with a ſufficient Quantity of Money, he pitched upon a *Juſtice* of the Peace's Daughter, about ten Miles diſtant from his own Habitation. The young Gentlewoman was about ſixteen Years of Age, and had ten-thouſand Pounds Portion. Her Money made an Atonement for her Want of Years, for the Bags and the Girl were juſt old enough for the Doctor.

As ſoon as the Doctor had Intelligence of this young Lady, he purſues the Motion with all the Vehemence imaginable; and hereupon

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one Day at Dinner he breaks Bulk to his Man *John*, and tells him of his Deſign of Wedding, and orders him to get his Horſe ready the next Morning early, and likewiſe another for himſelf, to accompany him Part of the Way, which he accordingly did; and, after *John* had travelled with him about half Way, he was diſmiſſed by the Doctor, who travelled on by himſelf till within a Mile of the Juſtice's Houſe, where ſeeing an old Hedger in the Way, he aſked him, If he knew Eſquire —— He told him, Yes, he had Reaſon ſo to do, for he had been his Servant above thirty Years; and that he had married his Wife out of the Family, who was alſo an old Servant of the 'Squire's. Well then, ſays the Doctor, you muſt needs know his Daughter, Mrs. *Anne*. Yes, I think I do, ſays the Hedger, ſhe's a fine young Gentlewoman, and my Maſter can give her a Power of Money: I will tell you what, Doctor, I underſtand Trap; I fancy you have a Mind to Mrs. *Anne*. Why, replies the Doctor, What if I have; what then? Why then, ſays the Hedger, my Maſter being a hugy rich Man, and my Miſtreſs a young Woman, he may think you both too old, and not rich enough: And therefore, Doctor, if I might adviſe you, I would firſt have you ſee how you like the Girl; it is good to look before you leap. Which Way can I do that, quoth the Doctor? Oh, quoth the old Man, let me alone, I can contrive that well enough. Hereupon the Doctor gives him a Broad-piece, telling him, he found he could do him a Kindneſs; and that, if he did it, he ſhould never want, for he had five-hundred Pounds a Year, beſides Spiritual Preferments. Aye, ſays the old Man, I have often heard of you. I do not queſtion but we ſhall bring the Matter about: My Maſter has a great Reſpect for the Church. Pray, Sir, go a little farther to my Houſe, and I will give you a Cup of the beſt, and ſome good Bread and Cheeſe, and there we will conſider farther of the Matter: I will warrant we will contrive the Buſineſs well enough.

With all my Heart, ſays the Doctor. Away goes the Doctor more freely than to Church, and the Hedger as if he were going to the Wedding. When they were come to the Houſe, and eating the beſt it afforded; ſays the Countryman, Maſter Doctor, if I could get Miſtreſs *Anne* to my Houſe, Would not that do well? Rarely well, quoth the Doctor, if you can but compaſs it: But does ſhe ever come hither? Very often, ſays the old Man, to ſee her old Servants. But how will you contrive it? ſays the Doctor. Leave that to me, quoth the Hedger. Away goes the old Fellow, and enters into Diſcourſe with his Wife; ſays he to her, I am minded to put a Trick upon the Doctor: The good Wife in a Paſſion replies, You S——, you old Fool, you put a Trick on a great Man of the Church: Hold your Tongue, Goody *Simpleton*, ſays the old Man; I find the great Doctors bred at the Verſity have no more Wit than we Country Folk: Get you gone immediately to the 'Squire's, and take my Daughter *Joan* along with you, and pray Mrs. *Anne* to dreſs her in her beſt Cloaths, for there is a Gentleman at our Houſe deſires to ſee her in ſuch a Habit. Now you muſt underſtand their Daughter *Joan* was about the ſame Age and Stature with Mrs. *Anne*, and had a great deal of Beauty, obſcured by homely Country Weeds, and ſhe had by Nature a pretty Stock of the Mother Wit of the Knave her Father; away trudges the old Woman with *Joan* her Daughter: Her Requeſt was no ſooner aſked but granted, and *Joan* was preſently turned into a little Angel, by the Help of Mrs. *Anne*'s Accoutrements. The Doctor, you may be ſure, waited with much Impatience all this While; ſometimes in Hopes, and other times in Deſpair. But the Hedger, ſtanding with his Face towards the Way, at length eſpies his Wife and Mrs. *Anne* (for that muſt be the Name of *Joan* at preſent) coming towards the Houſe; the old Man begs Leave of the Doctor to go and meet Mrs. *Anne*, and conduct her to the Houſe, which he did preſently, by running croſs a Field; he made abundance of Scrapes and Cringes to Madam *Anne*, with his Hat in his Hand, and then, ſtepping behind her like a Footman, he followed her Home all the Way, inſtructing her how to manage herſelf in this weighty Concern.

When they came to the Houſe the Doctor receives her with abundance of Ceremony; the Countryman alſo made ſome ruſtick Bows and Compliments, and tells her, it was a great Favour in her Ladiſhip to come in a Viſit to her poor old Servants, and humbly intreats the Favour of her to ſit down; for, though the Gentleman preſent was a Stranger to her Ladiſhip,

ſhip, he was a Perſon of Quality, a learned and rich Doctor of the Church, who, in Humility, peculiar to the Clergy, had vouchſafed to give ſo poor a Man as he a Viſit. With much Coyneſs Madam *Anne* ſits down, and, having made a Bow from her Seat to the Doctor, ſhe aſked her old Servants, how they did. The Doctor being ſmitten with the viſible Part of Mrs. *Anne*'s Portion, and ruminating on the inviſible; the old Man thought it was Time to retire, which he did, by leaving a Scrape or two on the earthen Floor with his Foot.

The Doctor had now what he came for, and to Work he goes; he had forgot *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dunce Scotus*, and other unintelligible cramp Authors. Philoſophy ſignifies nothing in an Amour, and Logick of itſelf is enough to curdle a Virgin's Milk; therefore the Doctor accoſted her with all the ſoft Expreſſions he could remember in *Ovid de Arte Amandi*, which, the Learned ſay, is the only Way to know how to reſolve the difficult Queſtions in *Ariſtotle*'s Problems; and, the Girl having Heat of Beauty enough at that Age to warm a *Stoick*, by the vehement Attraction thereof the Doctor joined Countenances; but never did a poor young Lady receive Kiſſes after a more modeſt and coy Manner; and well might ſhe bluſh at ſuch an Exerciſe; for the poor Creature never ſmelt Man before, and it was the firſt Time that ever ſhe ſaw the Doctor.

After the Doctor and Mrs. *Anne* had been above an Hour together, in ſteps the old Man; the Girl ſhe modeſtly retires, as well for Inſtruction as to give an Account how Things went; in the mean Time, the old Man aſks the Doctor how he liked the Lady, and what Encouragement ſhe gave him? The Doctor, being raviſhed with the viſible and inviſible Qualifications of Mrs. *Anne*, expreſſed abundance of Satisfaction, and how happy a Man he ſhould be if he could obtain his Prize. Says the old Man, At her again, Mr. Doctor, ſhe is a brave good-humoured Lady, and I told her ſufficiently what you are: Says the Doctor, Prithee canſt not thou get us ſomething good to eat and drink; here's Money, if thou canſt. Away goes the old Man, but firſt got Mrs. *Anne* into the Room with the Doctor, which was done with many Intreaties, and performed with a wonderful Modeſty.

We will leave the Doctor and Mrs. *Anne* hard at Work on the Anvil of Courtſhip, whilſt the old Woman and her Huſband are getting Supper ready, which they were ſo long about, that it grew late, and Mrs. *Anne* was juſt going: The Doctor, you may be ſure, intreated her to ſtay, and the old Man and Woman ſollicited very hard on the ſame Account, telling the Lady, that they had nothing worthy of her Acceptance, but the Honour ſhe would do them, now they had a great Doctor of the Church at their Houſe, would be very great. In ſhort, they argued ſo much, that Mrs. *Anne* was at length prevailed upon to ſtay; the old Man whiſpers the Doctor, that he had kept Supper back on Purpoſe that he might have the more of the young Lady's Company, and therefore adviſed him to make the beſt Uſe of his Time. Certainly, never any young Lady made her Lover ſo happy at the firſt Interview; to Work goes the Doctor, he courts like a Dragon; with an irreſiſtible Fury he lets fly whole Vollies of bombaſte Rhetorick at her Head, enough to beat a poor Country Girl's Brains out; no Stone did he leave unturned, but perfiſts in his Courtſhip, till interrupted by the old Man's Bringing in the Supper, which, we may imagine, could not be leſs than a couple of Cocks with Bacon, and it is well, if the Fowls did not come out of the Squire's Coop, as well as the Cloaths out of his Daughter's Wardrobe.

Down ſits the Doctor, having firſt placed Mrs. *Anne* at the upper End of the Table, and, having ſaid a ſhort Grace, he deſired the old Couple to ſit down, as did alſo Mrs. *Anne*; but they refuſed it, ſaying, They ſhould not be ſo impudent as to ſet at Table Chick by Chowle with a great Doctor of the Church, and their Mrs. *Anne*, who agreed with the Doctor to make them both ſit down, which at laſt they did, in Conformity to the Church and their Miſtreſs; and ſo they all fell heartily to Pecking till they had conſumed the whole Proviſion.

Supper being over, the old Man aſks his Wife in the next Room, what Time of Night it was; the old Woman replied, it was paſt Eight of the Clock; at which, the old Man fell into a violent Paſſion, and ſcolded horribly at his Wife, for not taking Notice how the Time went away. The Doctor, hearing this Combuſtion, comes to know the Meaning of it: The old Man tells him, he is undone for ever;

ever; he has kept Mrs. *Anne* here ſo late that ſhe is locked out of Doors, her Family being always in Bed by Eight of the Clock, and that, on this Account, the 'Squire will turn him out of his Service, by which he got his Livelihood. The Doctor pacifies him, by telling him, that, ſince this Thing muſt happen on his Account, he nor his Wife ſhould never want as long as he lived. Well, ſays the old Man, Mr. Doctor, ſince you are ſuch a charitable Man, I will put you in a Way to do your Buſineſs at once; if you ſhould apply yourſelf to the 'Squire, he will hardly be brought to Terms; for, though you have a good Eſtate, yet I know the 'Squire will marry my Miſtreſs to a young Man; and ſeeing you have now a fair Opportunity, having the Night before you, try to get her Conſent, and take her away with you by Three or Four in the Morning to ſome Parſon of your Acquaintance, and marry her: My Maſter will be ſoon reconciled, for he has no other Child to inherit his Eſtate. A good Thought, ſays the Doctor, and I will try what can be done in the Caſe.

You may be ſure, Madam, now the Doctor attacks the Lady with all the Fury imaginable; the Silence of the Night and Want of Sleep, as I have heard thoſe ſkilled in Love Affairs ſay, are great Advantages to an invading Lover; theſe are the beſt Times in which to ſtorm a Lady's Fortreſs: This, I ſuppoſe, the Doctor well enough knew, and therefore carried on the Siege with Vigour, and, before Three in the Morning, the young Lady had capitulated, and ſurrendered upon Articles; which the Doctor tells the old Man of with abundance of Pleaſure, who, you may be ſure, bids the Doctor Joy: The Doctor deſires the old Man to get him a Pillion, which, indeed, the old Man had before provided; and away goes the Doctor and his Lady, and were that Day married.

The Doctor did not ſtay long at the Place of Marriage, but privately returns to his own Houſe, where he acquainted ſome of his Friends of his Enterpriſe, who highly applauded his Ingenuity; but he enjoined them all to Secrecy for ſome Time. The Doctor daily expected a Hue and Cry after Mrs. *Anne*; but, hearing nothing of it, he concluded the Servants had ſome how or other concealed the Story from her Father; but his Friends adviſed him by all Means to go to the Juſtice, and acquaint him with what he had done with his Daughter, and beg his Pardon for ſo doing, as a Means of Reconciliation.

The Doctor underſtanding the Juſtices of the Peace were to meet that Day about ſome particular Buſineſs in the Town; he went to enquire for the Juſtice, whom he only knew by Sight, and the Juſtice had no other Knowledge of the Doctor. The Doctor, in his beſt *Pontificalibus's*, comes to the Place of Meeting, which was an Inn, and aſks the Drawer, whether Eſquire ——— was there; who anſwered, he was: He bids him ſhew him a Room, and go tell the Eſquire, that Doctor ——— deſired to ſpeak with him; the Eſquire deſires the Doctor to come to him and the reſt of the Gentlemen, they having at that Juncture no Buſineſs before them; but the Doctor ſends Word again that his Buſineſs was private, and he heartily intreated the Eſquire to come to him, upon which the Eſquire comes: The Doctor he falls on his Knees, and begs his Pardon; the Eſquire was ſurpriſed, as knowing nothing of the Matter, and, being unwilling to be homaged by the Church, he deſires the Doctor to riſe, or otherwiſe he would talk no farther with him; the Doctor refuſed to do it till ſuch Time as he had his Pardon: The Eſquire, knowing of no Offence, freely gave him a Pardon; which done, the Doctor ariſes, telling him, he was ſorry that one in his Coat ſhould be guilty of ſuch a Crime: The Eſquire, being ſtill in the Dark, replied, he knew no Crime he was guilty of: Sir, ſays the Doctor, I have married your Daughter: Married my Daughter, ſays the Eſquire, you are certainly miſtaken, Doctor. It is certainly true, ſays the Doctor. Says the Eſquire in a great Paſſion, How long have you been married to my Daughter? I have lain with her theſe three Nights, ſays the Doctor: Says the Eſquire, you are ſtrangely miſtaken, Doctor, for I left my Daughter at Home this Morning. Says the Doctor, you are ſtrangely impoſed upon by your Servants, therefore be ſo kind as to go to my Houſe and ſee your Daughter, who is there at this preſent. The Eſquire, in an odd Sort of Confuſion, goes along with him to the Houſe, and, being conducted into the Parlour where Madam ſat in State on her Couch, the Eſquire burſt out into a Fit of Laughter, and, going to the Lady, ſalutes her, and wiſhes her much Joy, and then told the

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Doctor the Miſtake; for, ſays he, this Lady is my Servant ——— the Hedger's Daughter *Joan*, dreſſed in my Daughter's Cloaths. The Doctor, being aſtoniſhed for ſome Time, recovers himſelf, comes up to her, takes her in his Arms, and, kiſſing her, ſays, If thou art *Joan*, I will love thee as well as if thou hadſt been Mrs. *Anne*. And, for aught I know, ſhe made him as good a Wife; for, though ſhe perfectly kidnapped the old Child, yet they lived very comfortably together.

Politica. I can nick your Story with one of a Clergyman, that was as indifferent about a Portion as yours was curious. Mr. *G*———, a Miniſter in *Suffolk*, and of a conſiderable Eſtate, lived without Thoughts of Marriage, till the Age of fifty Years; at which Time one of his Pariſhioners put him in Thoughts of Matrimony. He ſaid he had been ſo intent on his Studies, that he never thought of a Wife; but that now, if he could find out a good one, he would marry. The Gentleman told him, ſuch a Perſon about twelve Miles off had three Daughters, either of which would make him a good Wife, but their Fortunes were but ſmall; the Parſon ſaid, he knew the Gentleman very well, but did not know he had any Daughters; and, as for Money, that was a Thing he did not value. The Parſon in a ſhort Time gives the Gentleman a Viſit, who made him very welcome, not knowing the Deſign of his Coming; but the Parſon told him, that he heard he had three Daughters, and one of them would make him a good Wife. The Gentleman replied, he had three Daughters, and that he hoped they would prove to the Satisfaction of any Perſon who ſhould marry them, and told him either of them was at his Service: The Parſon ſaid, they were all alike to him; but, ſince it was uſual to marry the Eldeſt firſt, he would take her; the Gentleman replied with all his Heart. Upon which the eldeſt Daughter was called in. The Parſon, ſitting in his Chair, and ſmoaking his Pipe, told her, he had heard ſhe would make him a good Wife: The young Lady, ſurpriſed, told him, ſhe did not know that, but did believe ſhe ſhould be a good Wife to any one that ſhould marry her. The Parſon put the grand Queſtion, Whether ſhe would have him? She told him, Matrimony was a Thing of that Moment, as required a great deal of Conſideration, and not to be ſo ſpeedily determined. He told her; his Studies would not allow him a long Courtſhip; and, pulling out his Watch, laid it on the Table, and told her, he would give her an Hour's Time to conſider of it. Away goes the Girl, but, believing it to be a Banter, ſhe thought very little on that Subject; the Parſon having looked on his Watch, and finding the Hour was gone, he deſired the young Lady might be again called in: When ſhe came, the Parſon ſhewed her the Watch, telling her the Hour was paſt, and that he hoped ſhe had conſidered of what he had ſpoke to her about; ſhe told him, that, it being a Matter of ſuch great Conſequence, it required a much longer Time than he had ſet for that Purpoſe: The Parſon hereupon began to fret, and told her further, He found ſhe would not have him, and therefore he deſired his Horſe to be brought out; for he would be going Homewards. The Gentleman preſſed him to continue longer; withall, telling him, though the Eldeſt required ſo much Time for Conſideration, perhaps the Second might not.

The Parſon was hereby prevailed upon to ſmoak another Pipe, and the Second Daughter was brought in, to whom he carried himſelf as to the former, and alſo allowed her an Hour's Time to conſider of it. You may be ſure, during this Time, the Father and Mother worked the Girl to ſay, Yes, as plain as if ſhe had been in the Church: The Time being elapſed, the Parſon was impatient to go Home, Wife or no Wife, he was ſo indifferent. The Girl was now called in, and the Parſon asked her, Whether ſhe had conſidered of the Matter? She anſwered, Yes. Then will you have me? She anſwers, Yes. Very well then, ſays the Parſon to the Father, all is done but Matrimony; and when ſhall that be? When you pleaſe, ſays the Father. Then, ſays the Parſon, let it be on *Tueſday* next. But, ſays the Father, who ſhall get the Licence? I will take Care of that, ſays the Parſon; and ſo, taking Leave of the Father, away he goes. When he had gone about three or four Miles, and thinking of the Licence, he remembered he had not taken his Wife's Chriſtian Name, and ſo he rode back again as hard as he could drive, and, riding up to the Houſe, he found the eldeſt Daughter ſtanding at the Door, ſo he asked her what was her Chriſtian Name? She told him; he bid her a Good-Night, and away he goes.

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The Day being come, and the Licence being got ready, the Parſon comes to fetch his Wife; away goes the Father with him, and his three Daughters, and two or three other Relations, to the Church, where the Parſon and Clerk were ready to make Matrimonial Execution: The Parſon asked the Father and Parſon *G*———, which of the Daughters was to be married; they anſwered the ſecond Daughter; but the Parſon told them the firſt Daughter's Name was in the Licence, and therefore he could not marry them till they had got another Licence. Parſon *G*——— told them, he could not defer it any longer, and therefore he would be diſpatched ſomehow or other, and told them it was all one to him which of them he had, and ſo he goes to the Eldeſt, and asks her whether ſhe would have him? And ſhe, having better conſidered of the Point, anſwered Yes, and ſo they were married.

From Church they went Home to her Father's Houſe, where, having dined, he tells his Wife ſhe muſt put up ſuch Things as ſhe deſigned to carry Home with her, for he would quickly be going Homewards: The Relations begged of him to ſtay all Night, and bed his Wife at her Father's Houſe, it being the uſual Cuſtom ſo to do; he told them, he would lie no where but at his own Houſe, and that he would be going preſently. The Relations finding no Arguments would prevail upon him to tarry, they got Mrs. *Bride* ready; and the Parſon, coming to the Door, eſpied ſeveral Horſes ready ſaddled and bridled; he aſked, what the Meaning of thoſe Horſes was? They told him, for ſome of his Wife's Relations, to accompany him Home; he ſaid, no Body ſhould go along with him but his Wife; and ſo they were forced to ſtable their Horſes, and let the married Couple go Home by themſelves.

When they came Home, he conducted her into the Houſe, and ſaluted her, which was the firſt Time; and, after he had bid her Welcome, and they had ſat about Half an Hour, the Parſon calls the old Maid, and bids her bring the Spinning wheel, and told his Wife, he did not doubt but ſhe was a good Houſewife, and knew how to make Uſe of that Inſtrument? She told him, Yes; then he tells her, he did expect ſhe would work while he was at Work, and no longer; ſo away goes he to his Study, and *Mrs. Bride* to Working with the Whirling-engine; about an Hour after he comes down, and tells her, now ſhe muſt leave Work, and bids the old Maid get Supper ready. After they had ſupped, he goes into his Study, and ſhe to her Spinning-wheel; when he returns again from his Study, he tells her, now ſhe muſt leave Work; after a ſhort Diſcourſe, he went to Prayers with the Family, and then orders the old Maid to light her Miſtreſs up Stairs, and put her to Bed.

Away goes Madam *Bride* to Bed, without any Ceremony of eating Sack-poſſet, or throwing the Stocking; and, as ſoon as ſhe was in Bed, in comes the Parſon, and to Bed goes he; but, ſitting up in it, he bids the Maid bring him the little Table, a great Candle, and ſuch a Book from the Study, which ſhe did, and the Parſon went to his Reading; upon which, the Bride calls to the Maid: The Parſon aſked her, what ſhe wanted? She told him, Something: The Maid coming, he bid her ſpeak to her Miſtreſs, who bids her bring up the Spinning-wheel, and a great Candle in the long Candleſtick, which the Maid having done, Mrs. *Bride* went to Whirling it about as hard as ever ſhe could drive; at which the Parſon could hardly forbear Burſting out into Laughter, and, finding that Spinning and Reading did not agree well together, he put out his Candle, and laid him down in Bed like a good Husband.

The next Morning he told her, that he found her a Wife of a ſuitable Temper to himſelf, and that, for the Future, ſhe might work or play when ſhe pleaſed; that he left all his temporal Concerns to her Management, and they lived a very happy Couple together, till Death parted them.

This, Madam, is indeed a very comical Story; however, the young Woman got a good Huſband by the Bargain: Humours are indeed very uneaſy Companions, but the whole Courſe of human Life is attended with Mixtures of Pleaſure and Pain, and it is but common Prudence for us to overlook a few Impertinences, rather than loſe the moſt neceſſary Comforts of Life. We have all of us our Whims and Humours in Relation to Matrimony; ſometimes they abound in the Parents, and ſometimes in the Children, ſometimes in the Huſband, ſometimes in the Wife; for my Part I do not know who is clear of them.

We are now fallen into the Humour of telling Stories under this green Bower, as if we were in a Chimney-corner at *Chriſtmas*, which is a Sort of Impertinence, pardonable in thoſe who have Nothing to do but paſs away their Time in Tattle, and Reading of Books; however, it is more commendable than to goſſip, as the *London* Ladies do, over Sack and Walnuts, cool Tankards, and cold Tea, and all the Time rail at their Huſbands for being at the Tavern; I will propagate the Humour we are fallen into, by telling you a true Story of a miſerly old Humouriſt.

A certain Country Gentleman of about one-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, having buried his Wife and all his Children, took a Brother's Son into the Houſe, as his Heir, and gave him the beſt Education that Country would afford; the Boy being a Youth of clean Parts, and good Ingenuity, he improved to an extraordinary Degree in ſo barren a Soil, and ſo very dutiful withal, that the old Man perfectly doated on him, and was uneaſy when he was out of his Company. When he came to Years of Maturity, was grown ripe, and ready to be ſhaken into the Matrimonial Bed, the old Gentleman aſked him, Whether he was inclined to marry? The young Man, with an unwilling Modeſty, told him, what he pleaſed; he wholly referred that, and every Thing elſe relating to himſelf, to his Care, thinking himſelf always happy and ſafe under his Conduct. Says the old Cuff, Thou haſt been a very dutiful Child to me, and therefore, ſays he, I am willing to pleaſe thee: Shall I look thee out a Wife? The young Man (who without Doubt would have been better pleaſed to have looked out a Wife for himſelf) anſwered, With all his Heart.

The old Gentleman looks out accordingly, and, being well known in the Country, was not long in Purſuit of a Wife for his Nephew, which happened to be a Gentleman's Daughter about ten Miles diſtant from his own Habitation: The two old People diſcourſed the Matter, and came to this Reſolution, That the two young ones ſhould have an Interview, and ſee how they liked one another. Home comes the old Man, and acquainted his Nephew that he had pitched upon a Wife for him, one of Mr. ———'s Daughters, who were all of them virtuous young Women, and every Way ſuitable to his Quality and Circumſtances; although their Portions were but ſmall, their Father having met with many Misfortunes, yet the Virtues inherent in them rendered them equal to himſelf. The young Man returned him Abundance of Thanks, and did not, in the leaſt, queſtion the Prudence of his Choice.

Now was the young Man to have an Interview with Mrs. *Bride* elect, and his Uncle retired into Conſultation with himſelf, how to equip his Nephew for that Enterpriſe; at firſt, he determined to ſend to *London* to have him a a new Suit of Cloaths made, that he might appear like a Courtier; but, upon ſecond Thoughts, and to ſave his Money, he told him, he could better provide for him at Home; for, ſays he, you are juſt of my Size, and I have above Stairs, in the Preſs, all my Wedding-cloaths, which were the beſt I could lay my Hands on, both for the Fineneſs of the Cloth, and the Silk Lining: I am ſure they are ſo good, that I never wore them above four or five Times in all my Life, and they are never the worſe for Wearing: I will aſſure thee, if I had not a great Reſpect for thee, thou ſhouldeſt never have them: What ſayeſt thou, Child, wilt thou try them on? With all my Heart, replied the young Spark; up goes the old Man and brings them down, he puts them on, and they fitted exactly. The Coat-ſleeves were glorioufly cut and ſlaſhed, ſmall Buttons on the Coat, a little bigger than Peaſe; the Pockets about a Handful below the Knees, the Breeches were open-kneed, a great Deal wider than a *Flanderkin's* Trouſers, hung all around with Abundance of little Ribbons; the old Gentleman aſked him how he liked them? Very well, Sir, replies the Spark. Now, ſays the old Man, for a Hat; I have a ſpecial Beaver I bought along with theſe Cloaths, which he alſo produced; it had a Crown as high, and in Form of a Sugar-loaf, with Brims as broad as a Tea-table; the young Gentleman thanked him heartily for it alſo. Now, ſays the old Cuff, there is Nothing wanting but a Pair of Boots, which I have by me, and which being brought, the young Spark tried them on, and they fitted exactly; they were of a Ruſſet Colour with white Tops: Pray, ſays the old Man, take great Care of theſe Boots, it is wet Weather and may ſpoil them, therefore I would adviſe thee to twiſt ſome Hay-bands about them for their Security, and, when you come near the Houſe, pull them off,

off, and then they will be neat and clean as they were at my Wedding: But one Thing I had almoſt forgot, Haſt thou got any Money? Not one Penny, replied the Spark; Well thought on, ſays his Uncle, Courtſhip is chargeable, here is Half a Crown, pray make good Uſe of it. The young Gentleman, thus equipped, looked like one of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Courtiers come from the Dead, or, like Snow on the Graſs and Trees about *Midſummer*; but what would one not undergo for a good Wife or Huſband?

The young Man gets up early the next Morning, and having reſumed his former Accoutrements, and mounting on the Outſide of his Uncle's beſt Palfrey, away he trots in Purſuit of his Lady; you may be ſure the People gazed, and the Dogs barked ſufficiently on the Road at this human Scarecrow on Horſeback; but the Worſt of it was, as he came within Bow-ſhot of his Miſtreſs's Tabernacle, the young Lady was looking out at the Window, and eſpying ſuch a Figure, ſhe called her other two Siſters, and told them that Merry *Andrew* was coming, which put them into a great Fit of Laughter, till, approaching nearer, one of them cries out, It is Mr. ———'s Nephew, and, knowing his Buſineſs, they ſent a Man to take his Horſe, and their Father and Mother received him very genteelly at the Door, and uſhered him into the Houſe.

But, as if Fate had ordained that the poor Spark ſhould be expoſed in his antiquated Habiliments, it ſo happened that Day there was an Invitation of Gentlemen and Ladies to Dinner at the Houſe; when Dinner was ready and ſet on the Table, the young Spark was conducted from another Room to the reſt of the Gueſts; no ſooner had he ſet his Foot on the Threſhold, but the Eyes of the whole Company were upon him; one ſneared, another tittered, a third laughed outright, no Body knowing the Meaning of this odd Dreſs; ſo that indeed he was the Scaramouch of the Company, but by that Time they had feaſted their Eyes on him, and filled their Stomachs with the Victuals, they found the Spark was very modeſt and ingenious, and that his good Humour and Eloquence was more agreeable to their Ears and Minds, than his Habit to their Eyes; and, by his Ogling one of the Ladies more than the reſt, they gueſſed at his Deſign; and being unwilling to cramp Love in its Embryo, after Dinner they all withdrew, and left that Lady and the Spark together.

The Spark immediately takes the Opportunity to apologiſe for his Garb, and told her how neceſſary it was for him to pleaſe his Uncle's Humour in the Thing, which, though it made him ridiculous to the Company, he hoped would not leſſen her Eſteem of his Perſon: The young Lady (who knew ſhe was to marry the Man, and not the Cloaths) told him, it was not the Garb ſhe looked at, but ſhe had more Reſpect to his other Accompliſhments; and at this Rate they went on in Diſcourſe of Love and Matrimony for about two Hours.

The Lady then thinking it uncivil any longer to withdraw herſelf, or detain the Gentleman from the reſt of the Company, ſhe deſired him to go into the next Apartment, and take a Game at Cards with the young Ladies; the Spark, knowing the Weakneſs of his Pocket, deſired heartily to be excuſed, but, being preſſed by one he could in no wiſe refuſe, he was at laſt forced to give her the grand Argument, by making known to her his *Job*'s Condition; ſhe, underſtanding the Humour of his Uncle, gueſſed the Money might as well be wanting as new Cloaths, and ſhe deſired his Patience for a Minute or two, whilſt ſhe ſtepped out about a little Buſineſs, which ſhe did, and returns preſently with a Purſe of five Pounds, deſiring him to make Uſe of it. Upon which he waits upon her into the next Room, where he played at Cards with the reſt of the Company, ſometimes won, ſometimes loſt, but always pleaſed the Company to Admiration, ſo that they all thought his Miſtreſs extremely happy in having ſo ingenious and good-humoured a Lover, though in an antiquated Dreſs.

To make ſhort of my Story, he tarried with his Lady a full Fortnight, and in that Time got her Conſent, and the Conſent of her Parents, and returns Home to his Uncle with this joyful News, which extremely pleaſed the old Gentleman; but he took Care to tell the old Man, that, according to his own Words, he had found indeed that Courtſhip was chargeable, for that he had ſpent Eighteen-pence of the Half-crown he gave him, and, putting his Hand in his Pocket, he gave his Uncle the remaining Shilling. Well, Child, ſays the Uncle, I commend thy Prudence and Frugality, I find thou art to be truſted with Money and any Thing elſe, and therefore I will ſettle

Five hundred a Year upon thee in Marriage; and giving him a good Sum of Money to buy him ſuch Wedding-cloaths as he ſhould beſt like, the Marriage was ſoon after ſolemniſed to the Satisfaction both of Old and Young; they were a happy Pair, and the old Man, dying ſome Years after, left them the Remainder of his Eſtate, which made an Addition to their Happineſs.

Politica. Truly, Madam, the young Gentleman was enough ingenious; had he been croſs, and not pleaſed his Uncle's Humours, he would have been diſinherited, though I muſt confeſs, it is hard to render ourſelves ridiculous to a Degree of Folly, to pleaſe an old Humouriſt. But what is not ſinful can never be ſhameful, and how unpleaſant ſoever our Actions are in the Sight of Men, if they are otherwiſe in the Sight of God, it is no Matter: A good Eſtate and Virtue make a Man beautiful in any Garb. I believe I could conform myſelf to the Humours of the greateſt Caprichio, were I afterwards to be as happy as the young Lady you have mentioned; we muſt all of us ſuffer ſome Way or other in our Pupillage: The Apprentice ſerves out his Time with Chearfulneſs, in Expectation of being his own Man at the ſeven Years End. Future Eaſe is a great Encouragement to preſent Labour. But I know many young Men and Women are ruined by the unaccountable Humours of their Parents and Governors, and take ſuch wicked Courſes, that they are ſeldom or never reclaimed, eſpecially Women, who have once broken through the Bounds of Chaſtity. It is a common Proverb amongſt the Men, that, *Once a Whore and always a Whore.* Though I have known this Proverb croſſed; and, to level and make our Stories even as we would do Marriages, I ſhall give you an Account after what Manner:

A Country Gentleman, who was a Juſtice of the Peace in the County of *R*———, not having been in *London* in his Life, or at leaſt, not for a long Time, being in Converſation with ſome of his Friends, heard them ſpeak of the Practice of lewd Women, in picking Men up in the Streets. The Gentleman, being a Stranger to this abominable Practice, could not believe any Women could be ſo impudent, as they reported them to be; but they told him, he might experience the Contrary any Evening when he pleaſed. The Gentleman was reſolved to make the Experiment, and one Evening in *Fleetſtreet* he takes Notice of a very pretty Gentlewoman, which eyed him very narrowly, whereupon he aſked her to drink a Glaſs of Wine; ſhe agreed at the firſt Word, and went with him to the next Tavern.

When the Gentleman and his Doxy were ſeated in a Room, and had ſome Wine brought them, they drank very civilly one to the other; but Miſs expected to be attacked, after another Sort of Manner than ſhe found by the Gentleman: For he aſked her, how long ſhe had continued that Trade; ſhe told him, as they all do, but a very ſhort Time; then he continues, how can you dare to live in Rebellion both againſt the Laws of God and Man, and impudently purſue Methods to deſtroy both your Body, and your immortal Soul? In ſhort, he read her ſuch a Lecture, that ſhe, not being hardened in Sin as are the Generality of thoſe Miſcreants, burſt out into a Flood of Tears, and told him, that it was not without a wonderful Remorſe of Conſcience ſhe followed that wicked Courſe of Life, and proteſted to him, that it was pure Neceſſity obliged her to it, for otherwiſe ſhe could not get a Subſiſtence. The Gentleman aſked her further, How ſhe came firſt to be debauched? She told him her Father was a Country Gentleman, who had extravagantly ſpent a plentiful Eſtate, and then dying, left her to the wide World unprovided for: She thought *London* was the beſt Place to get her a Livelihood in, and thither ſhe came, but very unfortunately fell into the Hands of a lewd Woman, who betrayed her to the Luſt of a Gentleman, who was no more than once concerned with her, and then adviſed her to ply the Streets; and, that he himſelf was the firſt Perſon that ever had picked her up.

The Gentleman told her, it was hard to believe Perſons who had been guilty of ſuch heinous Crimes, and very heartily admoniſhed her to forſake her evil Practices, to repent of what ſhe had already done, and to amend her Life for the Future; ſhe gave him many Thanks for his good Advice, and told him, ſhe ſhould think herſelf a very happy Perſon, if either he, or any one elſe, would put her in a Way to live otherwiſe; he told her, if ſhe would reſolve to amend for the Future, he would take Care to provide for her; ſhe promiſed him, with all the Aſſeverations imaginable, that ſhe would: Whereupon he told her,

that

that ſhe ſhould meet him the next Day at a certain Time and Place; ſhe coming according to Appointment, he put her into a Lodging he had provided, and being well aſſured of her Repentance and Sincerity, and finding her an accompliſhed Gentlewoman, ſoon after married her; and ſhe made him a chaſte and happy Wife, and he lived as happily with her, as if ſhe had been poſſeſſed of a Portion of Thouſands of Pounds.

Sophia. If I had here a Bottle of Wine, I would drink that Gentleman's Health; he, under God, ſaved the Body and Soul of that poor Creature, and made a Saint, by taking a Sinner to his Bed. I cannot chuſe but reflect on our Diſcourſe, how naturally we have fallen from the Diſcourſe of Matrimony, to Love Stories; we have talked away the Time, as Children cry themſelves aſleep. But we muſt be gone, the Sun is juſt down, and we ſhall be wanted at Supper.

A Continuation * of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*. With a Declaration of all his Time employed ſince the Battle in *Africk* againſt the Infidels, 1578, until this preſent Year 1603. *London*: Printed for *James Shaw*, and are to be Sold at his Shop near *Ludgate*, 1603. *Quarto*, containing ſixty-eight Pages.

The Epiſtle to the Reader.

Gentle Reader,

IN the Entrance of this Diſcourſe which follows, you ſhall find three Letters, written by an ancient Man called Doctor Texere, *a* Portugueſe, *directed to a Biſhop, this Father's very Friend, which I have here compiled and expreſſed, among other Proofs, to verify the unfortunate Accidents this diſaſterous King hath ſuſtained, ſince he was taken Priſoner by the Great Duke of* Tuſcany, *until the laſt Day of the Year paſt* 1601. *You may alſo find within this Pamphlet two Letters tranſlated; one written by Don* Raimond Marqueti, *a Knight of the Order of St.* John, *born in* Meſſina *in* Sicily, *to Don* Sebaſtian; *the other ſent from the ſaid King to Don* Proſpero Biracco, *dwelling in* Padua. *By the two laſt Letters, it will evidently appear unto you, that the Priſoner, detained now in* Naples, *is not that* Marco Tullio Catizzone, *whom the* Spaniards *in their Libels have ſo falſly proclaimed, but the very true King of* Portugal, *Don* Sebaſtian. *Immediately after theſe Letters followeth a Diſcourſe, in the Beginning whereof there is a Preface written by Father* Texere, *manifeſting the natural Diſpoſition of the* Portugueſe, *and witneſſing how conſtantly they addreſs themſelves in Loyalty towards their Governors that reign over them, according to the ſincere Word of God, and the infallible Rules of Honour.*

You may alſo behold a moſt ample Declaration, about the End of this Diſcourſe, miniſtring four ſeveral Points, worthy the Reading and Obſerving; to prove unto you aſſuredly, that the Priſoner, for whom we travel ſo induſtriouſly with Perſeverance, is the true and lawful King of Portugal, *Don* Sebaſtian, *whom God of his Divine Mercy will, I truſt, reſtore to his former Crown and Dignity, for the Good and Propagation of the Peace and Welfare of all* Chriſtendom; *which the eternal God effect, if it be his bleſſed Will. Amen. The 26th of* February, *An.* 1602.

POST

* This is the 80th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

POST *acceptam Benedictionem.* I wrote to your reverend Lordſhip from *Paris*, to ſignify unto you the Cauſe of my Return from *Lyons*; where I received a Letter from your Lordſhip, dated the Twentieth of *March*; in the which you gave me in Charge, that, if I had Occaſion to travel into *Italy*, I ſhould give you ſpecial Intelligence of all the Occurrents, that ſhould be preſented to my Underſtanding in my Journey. The Sixteenth of *April*, in the ſame Year, I departed from *Paris* towards theſe Parts, paſſing through *Campaigne*; the very firſt Day, the Gout began to aſſail me, and ceaſed not, but accompanied me to *Chalons*, which was *Wedneſday*, being a holy Day; where I remained in my Convent until the *Wedneſday* after *Eaſter*.

The ſame Day, after Dinner, having urgent Occaſion, I was compelled, by Means of my Sickneſs, to uſe the Benefit of a Coach, and came the *Friday* following to *Nantz*. On *Saturday* following, I undertook to walk fair and ſoftly, with much Pain, to viſit his Highneſs, and the Lady Siſter to the King, and her Huſband, the Cardinal, the Count of *Vaudemont*, and the Princeſs his Siſter. Believe me, I cannot expreſs in Words the Conſolation, I conceived in beholding the inſeparable Bond of Love and Amity, wherein theſe noble Princes ſeemed to be united and conformed; from whom, like one loaden and charged with honourable Benefits, Gifts, Graces, and Favours, I departed to *Baſil* on *Monday*, being the Seventh of *May*. Notwithſtanding the great Comfort my Entertainment gave me Occaſion of, yet a bitter Spell of Diſcontentment wounded me inwardly; for that, the *Friday* before, I had particular Intelligence by the Poſt, that the *Calabrian*, the falſe and counterfeit Don *Sebaſtian*, as they termed him, the pretended King of *Portugal*, was rendered into the Cuſtody of the Governor of *Orbitello*, a Town in *Tuſcany*, bordering upon the *Mediterranean* Sea, being a Part of the King of *Spain*'s Territories, from thence to be conveyed to the Viceroy of *Naples*: So ſwift were thoſe bloody *Spaniards* in their cruel Expeditions. The poor Prince departed from that Town the Thirteenth of *April*, at Eleven of the Clock at Night, paſſing by *Sienne* the Twenty-fourth, and was delivered the Twenty-ſixth. The Manner of divulging theſe News was by *Intelligence*, that came to *Nantz* by *Milan*, in leſs than eight Days. The Eleventh of *May* I came to *Baſil*; the Thirteenth I entered *Soleure*; where, becauſe I was ill at Eaſe, Monſieur *De Vic*, your Lordſhip's dear Friend, and worthy Ambaſſador of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in Affairs to the *Switzers* and *Griſons*, forced me to ſtay and repoſe myſelf with him until the ſixteenth Day; from whence, after the Fruition of infinite Courteſies, I departed; paſſing by the *Switzers*, *Griſons*, *Valtoline*, and *Valcamonica*, I entered into *Italy*; the firſt Town I lodged in was *Breſſe*, the next *Verona*, *Vicence*, and *Padua*. The Second of *June* I came to *Venice*; where, without Delay, I haſted to viſit Monſieur *Villiers*, Ambaſſador of his excellent Majeſty. This noble Gentleman I found, in all Reſpects, as your Lordſhip had commended him to me, moſt reverend for Honour, Virtue, and Wiſdom, as the World can juſtly teſtify. From thence I retired myſelf, in his Gondola, to a Friend of mine, an honourable Gentleman, by whom, with divers others of my Friends, that came to ſee me, I was confirmed in my former Knowledge concerning the Miſhaps before rehearſed; underſtanding in like Manner, how grievouſly the Nobles and Citizens of *Venice* took the Troubles of the worthy diſtreſſed King, aſcribing the Blame to the Negligence of the *Portugueſe*, that undertook the Managing of his Liberty, into whoſe Hands they had committed him ſafe and ſound; foraſmuch as, in thoſe Lords Preſence, they ſeemed to acknowledge him; under which Pretence they preſſed before the Senate to ſignify unto them a Truth, beſeeching them to allow him ſome other Solemnity in Proceeding, than they uſe to a common or private Perſon, and to reſpect him as a King. The fourth Day, I returned to *Padua*; the ſeventh I was at Breakfaſt in *Mantua*, where I was well entertained by the reverend and virtuous Prelate, the rare and honourable Lord, Father *Francis Gonzaga*, Biſhop of the ſaid City. And, ſoon after I had been in my Convent, and received the chief Prelate's Benediction, I went to ſalute the Duke and the Ducheſs, to whom I carried certain Letters; who received me with no leſs Shew of

Account,

Account, than they could have made to an Ambaſſador, that had been employed in the moſt Chriſtian King's Affairs.

The ſelf-ſame Day, to accompany this my glorious Entertainment, the deſpiteful Gout made a Return into my feeble Limbs, and there ſojourned with me ſeventeen or eighteen Days, in the ſame City. In which Space I drew a Tree with Branches, expreſſing the Genealogy of the Houſe of *Gonzaga*; wherewith the Duke ſeemed ſo well pleaſed, that he gave me a great Preſent in Gratification. I proteſt I ſhould never have dreamed, that *Mantua* had been honoured with a Prince ſo noble for Virtue, ſo rare for honourable Courteſy, ſo peerleſs for Bounty, ſo familiar in Hiſtories, ſo converſant in Languages, ſo great a Lover of rare Properties, ſo intire a *Chriſtian*. I ſifted divers of his Court as narrowly as I might poſſibly, and I diſcovered them to be true and faithful Well-willers to our Country of *France*.

On the Feaſt-day of St. *John Baptiſt*, ſomewhat late, I ſet forward in my Journey towards *Ferrara* through *Bologne*: On the eight-and-twentieth Day of the laſt Month I came to *Ferrara*, being St. *Peter's* Eve: The next Day, being the Feaſt-day, after my Morning Repaſt, I went to the honourable Duke, delivering him certain Letters, which he received with a ſmiling Countenance, and made very fair Weather to me by his honourable and courteous Entertainment; ſo did likewiſe his Ducheſs. All this While making no Mention to me of the King, nor of the *Calabrian*, nor I to any Man: The Duke and Ducheſs ſeverally demanded of me what News I heard of *France* or *Lorrain*? And ſo fleighted me off with Licence to depart, ſaying, we will take another Day fitter to handle theſe Cauſes more at large: So I departed for that Time. The next Day following, the Duke came into our Convent of *St. Mark*, where I remained; and our Prior intreated me to bear the Provincial Company to entertain his Highneſs at the Church-porch, where the Duke took Notice of me, and talked with me all the Way paſſing through the Entry; and, at his Departure, ſaid, I will chooſe a more convenient Time to talk with you more at large. After Breakfaſt, I went to the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, and delivered him a Letter from a very Friend of his, in regard whereof he did me many kind Offices. And I telling him, I had undertaken this Journey for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs that concerned my Order, and myſelf particularly (for ſo was the Tenor of my Paſport) and to acquaint myſelf in the Families of the Princes of *Italy*: After long Deliberation, and Pauſing for the Space of an Hour, he demanded of me, if I had not heard any Speech of a *Calabrian*, that named himſelf Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*? To whom I anſwered, that, being in the Court of *Lorrain*, I underſtood by Letters ſent from *Milan*, that there was ſuch a Counterfeit, and Abuſer, and that therefore I would not meddle neither with him nor his Affairs. And he replied unto me, that he thought it not amiſs for me to know what paſſed, and was done in that Buſineſs. When I found his Purpoſe, I prepared myſelf to hear him as patiently as I could, and he very pleaſantly began this Invective which followeth:

This Man, that would be called Don *Sebaſtian*, *&c.* is a *Calabrian*, a Merchant, whoſe Name is *Marco Tullio Catizzone*, that hath both Wife and Children alive, which have been compelled to come from *Meſſina* to to go to *Naples*, to juſtify the Truth. And the ſame *Calabrian* hath had Acceſs to *Portugal* for Matters of Traffick, where ſome Religious Profeſſors of our Order have perſuaded him to call and proclaim himſelf Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*: And the Monk hath burned and branded him with hot Irons, in the ſame Places, with the like Marks that Don *Sebaſtian* had; and the Scar, which he carrieth in his Arm, was forced by a Gaſh given of Purpoſe with his own Hand, and the Monk that on his Head. Beſides, when he was firſt taken, he had only two Crowns about him: And, as ſoon as the *Venetians* diſcharged him, the *Portugueſe* conſulted how they might embark him at *Livorne*, and ſend him preſently into *France*: Whereof the Great Duke being ſpeedily advertiſed cauſed all the Paſſages to be laid betwixt *Florence* and the Sea-coaſt, that he could eſcape no Way. And, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf prevented and caught, he ſtraightway diſcovered his Leger-demain, ſaying, That he was no longer able to endure thoſe Torments and grievous Impriſonments to maintain ſuch fooliſh Deluſions and Coſenage: Preſuppoſed that, before he made this Confeſſion, he indented to have his Life aſſured him; which they aſcertained him of, comforting him, that he ſhould not die. And, after that he was detected in *Naples* by

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the Preſence of his Wife, Donna *Paula Catizzone*, he was inſtantly ſent into *Spain*, without any Violence done unto him, and was there openly and generally ſhewed to all the World, to the End that the *Portugueſe* ſhould no longer abuſe him, and that it might be publiſhed to the World, that he was a very Impoſtor, a Counterfeit, and a Deluder. After I heard ſo many fooliſh and groſs Abſurdities uttered ſo confidently, my very Soul was ſo deeply plunged into extreme Grief and Vexation, that I was forced to crave Pardon of that reverend Lord for not Anſwering, being ſore perplexed, knowing aſſuredly, that that *Marco Tullio Catizzone* died in *Portugal*, while he endeavoured the Diſpatch of ſome Buſineſs, the King ſent him thither about; which is evident by a Letter ſent from one Don *Raimond Marqueti*, a Knight, dwelling in *Meſſina*, by whoſe Means and Perſuaſion the King ſent this *Marco* into *Portugal*: Which Letter was ſent by *Marqueti* to *Venice*, to have been delivered to Don *Sebaſtian*, which came to the *Venetians* Hands, whereof the Lords of *Venice* cauſed a Copy to be taken; and the Original remains in the Cuſtody of one *Conſtantine Nicoline*, Citizen and Inhabitant of the ſame City, from whence a Tranſcript was made, which I have about me to ſhew. This *Conſtantine*, ſeeing the Agents of *Spain* to juſtify an Untruth ſo impudently, without Bluſhing, ſaying, That the Priſoner was called *Marco Catizzone*, ſhewed this Letter openly in St. *Mark's* Church, to ſtop and confound their Malice: Which Letter when they had ſeen and peruſed, they were never afterwards ſo bold as to proſecute the Matter any further, but kept Silence. Moreover, it appeared, that this Priſoner could not be *Marco Tullio*, by another Letter, written by the Priſoner to Don *Proſpero Baracco*, which he ſhewed me in *Padua*, which I craved earneſtly to have delivered me to bring with me; but I could only obtain a Copy thereof, which I have alſo in my Cuſtody. The ſame is likewiſe teſtified by an *Italian* Gentleman attending the moſt Chriſtian King. Whoſoever is deſirous to ſee the ſaid Letter, ſhall find it in the Beginning of the Book, called, *Admirable Adventures*, &c. which was printed in *France*, before I came from thence towards theſe Parts. I have ſet down theſe Proceedings in Writing to your Lordſhip, to acquaint you with the Forgery and Devices of thoſe Detractors, called *Caſtilians*. Now to return to the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, whom I cannot but charge with great Abuſe, to report that thoſe natural Marks were inſeared with an hot Iron, and to lay it upon a Religious Monk of my own Order. But, to ſet aſide many Reaſons and Proofs, that might eaſily confute his Allegations, this one ſhall ſerve to ſatisfy all Men, that have any Spark of Diſcretion or Judgment: It is impoſſible, that any Man ſhould, by Art, Force, or Skill, make a Man's right Arm and Leg bigger in all Proportions, than the left; that is only reſerved to God that made him.

And further, this reverend Lord would have perſuaded me, that the Religious Man, that ſo marked him, was Don *Sempayo*; which was impoſſible to be true; for the ſaid Father never once ſaw the King, ſince he departed from *Liſbon* to go into *Africa*, until the Eleventh of *December* laſt paſt, when he was ſet at Liberty by the *Venetians*. Beſides, this Don *Sampayo* never knew any privy Marks of the King's Body, until the Year of our Lord 1599, when he went into *Portugal* to inquire of them. Hearing ſo many Reports ſo much differing, and knowing how hardly this Archbiſhop could hide his own Error, and conſidering, that to anſwer him peremptorily might rather hurt than further my Purpoſe, and to ſave myſelf from Peril, being within his Juriſdiction, I was fain to ſuppreſs my inward Paſſion, but ſaid unto him: My Lord, Seeing you underſtand, that the Impriſonment of this Man was the chief Cauſe of my Arrival in theſe Parts, and as I underſtand the honourable Knight came from thence, being four Times ſent for by Letters from *Paris*, to the Great Duke, ſince I was in *Lorrain*, whatſoever is, or ſhall become of his Perſon or Affairs, I reſolve hereafter to take little Care, but mean to follow the other Employment, I recounted to your Lordſhip. Notwithſtanding, as one that hath ſome Intereſt in the Cauſe, I will render your Lordſhip my Cenſure and Reſolution in a Word, and make you Partaker of my inward and ſecret Contemplations. Foraſmuch as your Lordſhip hath been acquainted with this Impoſtor and Deluder's Confeſſion, Diſſimulation, and Trumperies, I can do no leſs, than grieve thereat very much; and the rather, that he eſcaped without Puniſhment, being, as your Lordſhip aſſures me he is, ſo vile and ſo notorious an Offender;

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marvelling you would ſuffer ſo peſtilent and damnable a Wretch to live, that hath been the Cauſe of ſo many Men's Diſaſters, Confiſcation of Goods, Ruins, and Extinguiſhments, by undertaking Miſadventures by Sea and Land, and what not Indemnities for his Sake; abandoning Country, Father, Mother, Wife, Children, Houſe and Home, Reſt and Safety. And I wonder it pleaſed God to ſuffer ſuch an one to be born; that his Mother, in his Conception, before her Deliverance, had not been transformed into a Stone, or preſently been diſſolved into Smoke, or Air.

What unhappy Man could have cauſed me to forſake my Place in *Paris*, where I was well and quietly ſeated, to thruſt my Life into Peril, but only he? That wicked and ungodly Man. I have twice in this unlucky Journey been afflicted with the Gout; divers Times almoſt overwhelmed with Snow, drenched in Waters, tormented with clambering Rocks and Hills, ſuſtaining all Hazards that Sea and Land might preſent me, with Thunder and Lightning from Clouds: And is it Juſtice think you, my good Lord, that a Man, occaſioning ſo many Troubles, ſhould live unpuniſhed? This Man hath troubled me much, and grieved my very Soul. This noble Duke might, by the Approvement of many, have cauſed him to have been indited, arraigned, and condemned, and have miniſtered to him ſome extraordinary Death, to the terrible Example of all others, and have manifeſted the ſame to all the World. In my Conceit, my noble Lord, this Execution had been moſt expedient and convenient, to the Commendation of Equity and Juſtice. The Archbiſhop, hearing theſe Words pronounced with ſuch vehement Paſſion, as though my Soul had given frank Conſent to my paſſionate Utterance, in Lamentation of my hard Succeſs, ſaid: I am much grieved for your Vexation; notwithſtanding I cannot ſo heinouſly accuſe nor condemn the Man, but only for his Folly to call himſelf Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*; for, ſurely, he was a reverend Man for Virtue and Sincerity of Life. I could rather agree to accuſe that religious Traitor, by whom he was firſt perſuaded and ſuborned to take the Name of King upon him. Theſe, and many ſuch like Words he uſed, as well to juſtify himſelf, as to recover me out of that Affliction, which he perceived his Speeches had thruſt me into; but, in the End, I took my Leave of his Lordſhip, and returned to my Cloiſter of St. *Mark*, where the religious Fathers received me with many Courteſies and kind Welcomes. The like Entertainment I found in all other Convents as I went, eſpecially at *Mantua*, where I was importuned to remain many Days. God give me Ability and Grace to requite them, that I may not be found unthankful; for I aſſure your Lordſhip, I cannot expreſs the Merits and Favours I found at their Hands, much leſs ſee which Way I may yield them due Recompence. From *Mantua* I thought beſt to go to *Rome*; in Hope, by the Friendſhip of the Cardinals, and other noble Lords and Gentlemen, to find ſome Furtherance in my Affairs, to the Bettering of my unhappy Prince's Fortunes. That he ſhould be my very King and Lord, I am greatly fortified in Hope, and find many good Signs and apparent Arguments amongſt the moſt ſerious and religious Men of Eſtimation, Princes, Lords, and others; finding it not expedient to nominate all the Favourers of this Enterpriſe, deſiring your Lordſhip to pardon me for not ſatisfying you in every Particular, concerning my Succeſs at this Time, according to your Requeſt; which Defects I will repair in my Intelligence from *Rome*, from whence I hope to ſend your Lordſhip more exact Advertiſements, concerning the Life and Succeſs of this Prince ſince the Battle in *Africk*, from whence he hardly eſcaped by Flight; with all that paſt here in the Time of his Impriſonment; how, in what Manner, what Day and Hour he departed from hence. Father *Seraphin Banchi* hath hitherto much aſſiſted me in the Buſineſs, and was very joyful of the honourable Greetings from your Lordſhip, deſiring his Continuance in your honourable Favours. By his Means I am ſo much furthered, as I truſt To-morrow Morning to be diſpatched hence. The Almighty bleſs your honourable Perſon in all you deſire. *Florence*, the Third of *July*, 1601.

Your noble humble Servant,

Fr. Joſeph Texere, Portugueſe, *&c.*

A Letter written by the ſaid Father Texere *to the Biſhop before ſaluted.*

IN my laſt Letter, written to your excellent Lordſhip from *Florence*, I promiſed to perform as much, or rather more at my Arrival at *Rome*; wherein I fear I ſhall fail, for many Cauſes checking my Will and Endeavour, to keep Touch with your Lordſhip. Firſt, Becauſe I came not hither ſo ſoon as I intended, being hindered by reaſon of my Sickneſs, which lengthened my Journey; for, being in *Viterbo*, I ſojourned ſeven or eight Days in the Houſe of our Lady *De la Quercia*, a Monaſtery of our Order, diſtant ſome half League from the Town, where God, by the Interceſſion of the Virgin, doth many Miracles, to the Benefit of the Well-believers. So ſoon as I was entered into *Rome*, which was *Sunday* the fourteenth of *July*, I ſought out my very Friend, of whom I gathered, that his Holineſs, and all the Lords of the Court of *Rome*, conceived, and were perſuaded verily, that the Priſoner which the Duke of *Florence* cauſed to be ſent from thence the Three and twentieth of *April*, at Eleven of the Clock at Night, and delivered into the Hands of the Governor of *Orbitello*, was Don *Sebaſtian*, the true infallible King of *Portugal*. Of him I learned, how he was conducted from *Orbitello* to *Hercules*'s Port, and from that Port in a Galley to *Naples*, and laſt to *Caſtlenovo*. This Galley the Enemies made the Subject, to give Notice to the whole World, that the ſaid Don *Sebaſtian* was condemned to the Gallies, and after to the Caſtle *Del Ovo*. Further, I was ſhewed the Copy of a Letter, which the Count of *Lemos*, Viceroy of *Naples*, wrote to the Duke of *Seſſa*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Caſtile* unto his Holineſs, giving him to underſtand, that the ſame Priſoner was Don *Sebaſtian*, the true King of *Portugal*. I have alſo found out which of the Cardinals and Prelates favour the Cauſe of that virtuous and holy Prince. A Friend of mine lent me his Coach, wherein I went directly to the moſt excellent Prince, the Cardinal of *Florence*, and kiſſed his Hand, of whom I had the Evidences your Lordſhip is adviſed of; and, after an Hour and a Half's Conference with him, I departed in the ſame Coach to viſit Sir *Alexander Giuſti*, Juſtice *de la Rota*, our dear Friend. From whom, ſo ſoon as I was departed, I met near his Gate with another of my familiar Acquaintance, that diſcovered unto me certain Plots and Circumventions, attempted and ſuggeſted by the Duke of *Seſſa*, informing againſt me in the Conſiſtory of *Rome*, that I was a ſeditious Man, prejudicial to the State of *Chriſtendom* generally; for that heretofore the Chriſtian Princes had uſed to aſſociate themſelves in a League jointly to make War againſt the *Infidels*; which I had been a Cauſe to hinder, by interpoſing Diviſion and Contention between thoſe Princes; and, as a principal Reaſon to induce them to believe the ſame, he ſhewed publickly the Diſcourſe which I ſent your Lordſhip from *Lyons*, intituled, *Admirable Adventures, &c.* which, for the more familiar Underſtanding, was tranſlated into *Italian* and *Spaniſh*. The common Diſperſing of which Diſcourſe, was like to breed much Diſhonour and Damage to Don *Philippo the Third*, King of *Caſtile*, his Maſter, and ſo purchaſe unto himſelf, being his Agent, infinite Diſgrace and Harm by his Diſpleaſure. For my Part, I anſwered, that I merited no Puniſhment for traducing into Writing ſuch true Accidents, as they were, the Confirmation whereof increaſed with the Time, conſidering they were not of mine own Invention or Stamping. Relinquiſhing this Friend, I haſted ſtraight to the Cardinal of *Oſſat*, into whoſe Hands, when I had delivered Letters, and informed him thoroughly of the Cauſe of my Repair thither: He adviſed me not to ſhew myſelf ſo openly there, until ſuch Time as I underſtood what my Enemies had conſpired to object againſt me ſince my Enterance into this City, which could not be concealed, for that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who was and is General of the Order of St. *Francis*, a *Sicilian* born, and ſo much the more my forcible Enemy, by how much he was zealous for the King of *Caſtile* his Maſter, had a Glance of me in the Cardinal of *Florence*'s Houſe. My Occaſions detained me ſo long with this Cardinal till Night grew on, ſo that his Lordſhip cauſed me to remain with him until the Morrow, from whence, after the Hearing of his Maſs, I departed to my firſt Friend's Houſe; whither

whither divers Perſons of Quality repaired to viſit me, ſignifying unto me, that the Ambaſſador for *Caſtile* intended to work me all the Miſchief he could poſſibly; and, ſeeing he found no ſufficient Means to endamage me before the Eſtate, he had a Purpoſe to bring me within the Inquiſition, alledging theſe Accuſations that follow: Firſt, he objected againſt me, that I had been in *England* ſix or ſeven Years, and that I ever favoured the Proceedings of Hereticks; that I compoſed divers Books fraught with Hereſies; that at *Lyons* I made and began to imprint a Book againſt his Holineſs, and the Inquiſitors-General of *Portugal*; with many other Matters, which I let paſs, for Fear of troubling your Lordſhip. To all which I anſwered, without Blemiſh to my Honour or Reputation, in this Manner: I thank God, all the Time I was in *England* I lived amongſt Men that were religious, as mine Enemies can teſtify; and, for my Continuance in *France*, I hope to acquit myſelf eaſily from Miſdemeanor there. To the moſt capital Matter and of greateſt Importance, that I wrote and began to print a Book at *Lyons* againſt his Holineſs, and the Inquiſitors-General of *Portugal*, I can purge myſelf purely, and paſs as clear as the moſt unſpotted Innocent, being always approved religious and zealous, wherein I appeal to the Sincere of all the Brethren of mine own Order. In that he terms me a Rebel and a Traitor to the King his Maſter, for ſhewing myſelf ſerviceable and faithful to a foreign Prince, his Enemy; in that he is aſſiſtant to my Affairs, recommending my Eſtimation by opening a Gap, to decipher the Traiterous in *Portugal*, Backſliders, Enemies to their own Friends, and very *Caſtilian* Hypocrites; that I am a Diſperſer of many Lyes in Conventicles, at this Inſtant. That Article is worthy of ſuch Men's Preferring as they ſeem to be, and not fitting Men of Worth and Lovers of Religion. As it happeneth, I have the Book about me, that was printed at *Lyons*; which ſhall confute and diſplay the Malice and Impudence of him that cauſed the reſt of my Books to be burned. The Remainder, that concerns theſe Affairs, is beſt known to your Lordſhip, and therefore, to conclude this Point, I crave Pardon for being ſo tedious.

Now to return to my former Subject. *Sunday* being the 15th of *July*, the *Monday* following, after I had finiſhed the principal Part of my Intention, I determined, by the Counſel of my Friends, to return directly to *France*. And, being advertiſed that the Duke of *Seſſa* had ſent beforehand ſome of his People to way-lay me in the ordinary Way, I changed my Courſe by *Umbria*. I departed out of *Rome* the Fourth Day after my Arrival; and, paſſing by the Cities of *Narne*, *Tarne*, *Spoleto*, *Foligni*, and *Aſſiſe*, I came to *Peruſe*, which I did only paſs through, and ſhaped my Courſe by *Siene*, *Florence*, and *Bologne*, through the Confines of *Modena* and *Mirandola*; and, before I could reach to *Mantua*, my Horſe fell upon me, and hurt one of my Legs very grievouſly, which cauſed me to ſtay in this Place, where I might provide the beſt Means for my Recovery. I aſſure your Lordſhip, I took this Miſchance to be ominous, that God would have it ſo, for that, by my Return this Bye-way, I gathered ſome Certainty of much that happened to Don *Sebaſtian* the King, ſince his Flight out of *Africk*, until he was diſcharged out of this Commonwealth: And now I begin to make your Lordſhip a true Relation, certain, and without Controulment. When it was ſpread at *Rome* that I remained in this Town, and that, by Reaſon of my Hurt, I could not ſuddenly depart from hence; a Friend of mine certified me by Letters the 6th of *Auguſt*, in what Manner *Paula Catizzone*, with her Daughter, arrived at *Naples*, being ſhipped from *Meſſina* by the Catholick King's Agents, to come and acknowledge this Priſoner for her Huſband; and the ſaid *Paula* meeting in the Ship with a religious Man of the Order of St. *Francis*, of her Acquaintance, ſhe diſcovered the Cauſe of her Travel unto him, aſſuring him, ſhe knew undoubtedly, that that Priſoner was not *Marco Tullio Catizzone* her Huſband, ſaying, That ſame Priſoner that they call Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal* had ſent him into *Portugal*, which ſhe truſted would make well for that Priſoner, and do him no Hurt at all, and that ſhe came rather to juſtify, than to condemn him. The ſame Man, my Friend, promiſed me of particular Advertiſements of whatſoever ſhall be effected in this Buſineſs. I beſeech you conſider the Cunning the *Caſtilians* uſe in the Expedition of their Enterpriſes, who are both terrible and wary in all their Practices. Although they know that *Marco Tullio Catizzone* died in *Portugal*, yet, notwithſtanding they continue their indirect and falſe Courſe, with Inventions and Sleights co-

louring their Projects, to ſeduce and blind the World. This Woman, a Subject of the *Spaniſh* King's, was threatened, upon Pain of Death, not to hinder any of the King's Proceedings; therefore ſhe muſt take upon her to know this Man, and juſtify him to be her Huſband *Marco Tullio*, &c. though ſhe had never ſeen him before, be the Matter never ſo falſe, as it is moſt untrue, and ſo proved by many Reaſons and Letters, whereof I made Mention to your Lordſhip in my Letters from *Florence*. I have ſent a Copy to my Friend in *Rome*, to be delivered to his Holineſs, and another to your Lordſhip, with theſe Preſents, to controul all thoſe that ſhall belye this Action. Beſide this Teſtimony, there newly arrived a grave *Portugueſe*, a Man of good Authority and Credit, that, underſtanding at *Rome* which Way I was departed, took Poſt-horſes, and came after me. Beſide, that, he was one of my old Acquaintance, he brought Letters in his Boſom of Recommendation to induce me to truſt him, and that he might open his Secrets unto me, which certain Lords of *Portugal*, that ſent him, charged him to do. This Man named the Houſe in which *Marco Tullio Catizzone* died, to the Owner whereof he brought and delivered certain Letters from the King, and there were counter Letters written, which were never, as yet, delivered to the King. I truſt I ſhall not have Cauſe to ſtay in this Town to write any more Letters unto you, but purpoſe, by God's Help, to make ſmall Delay to come myſelf to your Lordſhip, and excuſe all other Meſſengers: Beſeeching the heavenly King to bleſs your excellent Lordſhip. From *Venice*, the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, 1601. *Moſt humbly, at your excellent Lordſhip's Service*, Father Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE.

The Copy of a Letter written by Don Raimond Marqueti, *with this Inſcription: To Don* Sebaſtian, *calling himſelf King of* Portugal, *being at* Venice.

I Received Letters from your Lordſhip, the Fifth of *September* laſt-paſt, wherein I perceive the Reſolution your Lordſhip hath taken, to commit your Care and Truſt to *Marco Tullio Catizzone*, a Man as worthy, as able, to manage ſuch a Buſineſs. Further, I render your Lordſhip a thouſand Thanks, for the good Opinion and Confidence you have repoſed in my Perſon; in Diſcharge of which Truſt, I will repair my Diligence, to learn News of that *Marco Tullio*, who, as yet, is not returned into theſe Quarters. As for the Letter to Donna *Paula Catizzone*, I hold it no Policy to deliver it her, conſidering it as a looſe Adventure, in ſuch Dangers, to truſt a Woman. Neither will I neglect to be careful, for the Honour of the ſaid *Paula Catizzone*'s Houſe, as your Lordſhip required me; and, in the End, the Effects ſhall ſhew. To conclude, I deſire your Lordſhip to excuſe me for not uſing ſo reverend a Stile to your Lordſhip as I could wiſh, which I hope you conceive I refrain to do, becauſe I would not be diſcovered in your weightier Affairs; holding this the beſt and ſafeſt Courſe to do your Service: Wherein I beſeech the Almighty God to proſper your Lordſhip, and grant you due Succeſs, to whoſe Tuition, with reverend Kiſſing your Hands a thouſand Times, I commit your Lordſhip. From *Meſſina* the Eighth of *October*, 1598.

Don Raimond Marqueti.

The Copy of a Letter by Don Sebaſtian *King of* Portugal, *while he was Priſoner in* Venice, *ſent to* Padua *to the moſt reverend Don* Proſpero Baraeco, *Almoner to the Cathedral Church in that Town; the Original remaining in the Hands of Sir* Georgio Buſtarelli.

MOST Reverend Don *Proſpero*, I am to ſignify unto your Lordſhip, how much I have been grieved for your meritleſs Afflictions, having ſuffered Impriſonment for my Sake, by the Purſuit of the *Caſtilians*, mine Enemies. But ſeeing Thing paſt are irrecoverable, and are only to be overcome with Patience, conſidering you are not ignorant of the whole Complotment: And, foraſmuch as I am ſo reſtrained from Writing at large, that I cannot expreſs unto you my ſecret Meaning, I only requeſt you to ſend ſome truſty Meſſen-

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ger to *Meſſina*, diligently to enquire and ſearch, whether *Marco Tullio Catizzone* be returned thither with any Directions, or not. And, to that End and Purpoſe, your reverend Lordſhip may uſe my Name to Don *Raimond Marqueti*, to whom I wrote heretofore being at *Moran*, if you forget not, that I received alſo Anſwer from him. And this Gentleman you may inform of all that hath paſſed ſince that Time, if you think good; and, when *Catizzone* ſhall happen to come thither, he may direct him covertly to this Place, where he may ſecretly give me Knowledge of the Expedition in my Affairs. And, for the Love you owe to the Almighty, fail not in one Whit in a Buſineſs to me of ſo great Importance, conſidering how much it may avail, to bring my long Travels to a good End; and weighing, that the Lords of *Venice* will not be brought to the true Period of Juſtice, notwithſtanding I have oftentimes laboured unto them to do me Right, and make me known perſonally to the World; ſaying, That, if they find me not to be Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, without Favour let them worthily puniſh me. For all this Suit, they neither yet would, nor will come to the Center of my juſt Cauſe, and wrongful Impriſonment, ſaying, That they loved not to be mocked and trifled withal, offering always very readily, that, if I would deny, or not profeſs myſelf to be Don *Sebaſtian*, *&c.* they would ſet me at Liberty, *&c.* Love me ſtill as I have done you, and ſo farewel. From *Venice* the Fifteenth of *April*, 1599.

Don Sebaſtian, *King of* Portugal.

Another Letter written by the aforeſaid Fr. Texere, *a* Portugueſe, *to the ſame Biſhop.*

I Wrote to your excellent Lordſhip from *Venice*, the 13th of *Auguſt*, and departed from thence the 18th of the ſame, being then not thoroughly well; for which Reaſon I made the Way more long and tedious than I purpoſed. I ſtaid many Days at *Soleurre*, becauſe Monſieur *de Vic* would not let me paſs, until Monſieur *de Sillery* came to Town. After whoſe Coming he ſtaid me to ſee the Order of that Town, in entertaining the Cantons, and other Provincials, at their firſt Feaſt; and this Commandment I could not well diſobey. This Importunity, and ſuch other were the Impediments, that I could not reach unto *Paris* before the 14th of *October*. Then preſently I went to *Fontainebleau*, to kiſs his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Hand, who entertained me very princely, ſhewing himſelf glad of my ſafe Return. For, to tell you true, I had no aſſured Being, but in *France* (ſo offenſive and dangerous was the *Spaniſh* Indignation unto me.) At my Return from *Fontainebleau*, I met with your Lordſhip's Advocate Agent, praying him to give your Lordſhip Advertiſement of my Return; promiſing to write unto your Lordſhip ſhortly after, which I did not effect, partly for mine unapt Diſpoſition, being vexed with ſlanderous Lyes and Tales, which mine Enemies found Occaſion to ſpread in my Abſence; who, for the Satisfaction of their Malice, having neither Care of the Law of God, nor of his Fear, ſtick not to ſuppreſs any Truth, to further the Confuſion of their Neighbour, or Chriſtian Brother: And, to gorge their wicked Appetites, reſpect neither the Honour of the King, his Safety, nor the Firing of *Portugal*, which they had lately kindled and diſturbed; and more than that, being blinded in Fury themſelves, think no Man elſe can perceive their Intents, be the Matter never ſo plain and manifeſt. But of this Theme let this ſuffice, conſidering your Lordſhip is not ignorant of *Caſtilian* Broils.

At my firſt Entrance into this Place, I found certain Letters written from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Padua*, and other ordinary Paſſages in *Italy*; all which gave me credible Intelligence, that the King, my Lord and Maſter, lives, and that he is well treated in Priſon in the Caſtle *De Ovo*. And my *Roman* Friend, being joyful of my good News, wrote unto me in this Form following: ‘ Foraſmuch as your Afflictions, Dangers, and Travels, have received ſome Hope of good Event, and for that it is certain, that the Troubles of thoſe that fear God ſhall be converted into Proſperity, ſo it may fall out, that *Hæc olim meminiſſe juvabit.*’ Theſe Words and Tidings ſeemed very common and vulgar; which being conferred with thoſe Things that fell out happily in *Rome*, for the Good of my Sovereign, I conceived great Hope yet once again to

to ſee him re-eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom. By the ſame Letter I underſtand, that my Intelligence hath bred him great Contentment, and that alſo he conceived no leſs Pleaſure by thoſe Copies which I ſent him, to preſent unto his Highneſs; which were the Tranſcripts of thoſe I ſent your Lordſhip from *Venice*, which prove that *Marco Tullio Catizzone* is one, and Don *Sebaſtian* another. A Doctor and a Friend of mine, dwelling at *Lyons*, ſhewed me a Letter which a *French* Gentleman his inward Friend, of good Calling dwelling in *Rome*, after he had recorded many Things concerning the King my Maſter, revealed as followeth: 'The 'Count of *Lemos*, Viceroy of *Naples*, is very 'favourable to Don *Sebaſtian*, his Priſoner, 'honouring him very much, allowing him 'ſome ſmall Liberty; which when he heard 'that the King of *Caſtile* took in ill Part, he 'began preſently to reſtrain and kept him 'ſhorter. When he was allowed to hear Maſs 'amongſt other Priſoners, they did honour 'him with much Reverence, ſaying among 'themſelves, that they diſcovered in his Countenance and Carriage a princely Majeſty. 'And, without all Queſtion, he muſt needs be 'Don *Sebaſtian*, the King of *Portugal*, or 'ſome Devil in his Likeneſs. The Viceroy, 'as it is ſaid, craved Licence of the King of 'Caſtile to go into *Spain*, becauſe in *Naples* 'he could not recover his Health, which the 'King would in no wiſe grant him.' There be other Letters ſent into theſe Parts, not from *Portugueſe*, or any other by their Appointment, the Contents whereof are here expreſſed: 'Heretofore it hath been lawful and 'tolerable for this Priſoner, that termed himſelf Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, to 'ſpeak with any *Portugueſe* or Men of other 'Nations, that deſired to ſee the ſaid Priſoner, 'that ſaid they had ſeen him before; and ſince 'they verified him to be Don *Sebaſtian*, the 'true King of *Portugal*, he is more ſtraightly 'kept from the Sight and Speech of any than 'before.' Another Letter, having recounted ſomething concerning this King, addeth: 'The 'Count *Lemos*, lying in his Death-bed about 'the Laſt of *October*, ſaid to his Son, in the 'Preſence of his Wife and divers other Priſoners, that he ſhould look well to the Place 'and Charge he had, both of the Viceroyſhip 'and his Priſoners: For you ſee, ſaid he, that 'I am upon the Point to go to God, to render Account for that I have done during 'my Life; and here I muſt ceaſe and end my 'worldly Buſineſs: For the Diſburdening of 'my Soul and Conſcience, I proteſt, that this 'Priſoner here, whom the Vulgar call a *Calabrian*, is the very true Don *Sebaſtian*, lawful King of *Portugal*. I know it aſſuredly, 'having examined him, and for that I have 'had often Conference with him before his 'Impriſonment. Therefore I command and 'intreat you to uſe him well. This done, he 'gave him a Letter, which, ſaid he, is written to his Majeſty, I mean the Catholick 'King, touching theſe Affairs, and uſe all 'the Diligence you can in thoſe Things I 'have given you in Charge. The Father being dead, the Son reſpected the Priſoner 'with much more Reverence than he did before, but allowed him leſs Liberty than he 'had in the old Count's Life.' I have alſo two Letters from Doctor *Sampayo*, the one bearing Date the Eighteenth of *November*, the other the Fourth of *December*, which confirm the ſame Contents before mentioned. There be many other Letters here lately ſent from *Portugueſe* to the ſame Purpoſe, reinforcing the Truth: And here lately paſſed a *Portugueſe* by this Town, that proteſteth he ſpoke with Don *Sebaſtian*, declaring Marks and Tokens of his Apparel, Chamber, and Bed, and other Appurtenances. The ſame *Portugueſe* ſaid further, the King inquired of him for certain Perſons, which this Party, being then but young, could not remember, and therefore gave him no direct Anſwer. We have here many Rumours from divers Places near about. One wrote out of *Portugal*, which divers other coming from thence confirm, that upon St. *Anthony*'s Day of *Padua*, the laſt Year, they rung the great Bell at *Villila* in *Arragon* in the City of *Coimbre*, an Univerſity of *Portugal*, where befel a very admirable and rare Wonder. In the ſame Town there is a Convent of Canons Regulars, of the Order of St. *Auguſtine*, ſincerely reformed, great and rich, in the which is interred the Body of Don *Alphonſa Henriques*, the Firſt King of *Portugal*, whom they adore for a Saint. In whoſe Behalf, they ſay, God hath ſhewed ſome Miracles unto Men, to confirm their Opinion of him, that they believe not amiſs. Many religious Men, for this four-hundred Years Space ſucceſſively, continuing this Saint for their Interceſſor to God, *ut ferunt*, have obtained much Releaſe

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and Conſolation in their Afflictions, as well Strangers as the natural Countrymen: And to this Effect they have a Book written, recording all the Benefits received thereby: So that this Houſe never harboured any other, than thoſe that were devoted to this holy King. The laſt Year an old Man, whom Age had made feeble and decrepit, uſed ever to kneel down and pray at the Sepulchre of the ſaid King; and, upon St. *Anthony*'s Day the laſt Year, he there, in happy Time, offered his ſolemn Prayers, and continued a long Time in Meditation before the Sepulchre, where he remained until he was ſtiff, and not able of himſelf to riſe; but by the Aſſiſtance of his Juniors and Religious Brethren, who, beholding all his Face bedewed with Tears, demanded of him how it came to paſs? This old Man anſwered; I am very much diſpleaſed and grieved at the Negligence of our Kings and Princes of *Portugal*, as well dead as living, I mean deſcending from this holy King, that being aſſured by infinite Miracles, that he is in Heaven in eternal Glory, and lives in the Preſence of God, and we never yet knew any Man that travelled to canonize him. To whom one or two anſwered, That Hour ſhall come: And, Father, ſeeing your Devotion and Love is ſo great to this holy King, beſeech him to be a Mediator for the Liberty of Don *Sebaſtian*, deſcending of his maſculine Line, that he may be reſtored to his former Dignities and Realms; and that good Deed will cauſe him to be canonized.

We have heard lately more Reports by the Paſſengers from *Italy* and *France*, that he, whom the *Venetians* impriſoned and releaſed the laſt Year, is Don *Sebaſtian* our true King and Lord, and that he ſeems no whit to degenerate from the Steps and Traces of his Anceſtors.

As thoſe Religious Men were adviſing and contemplating upon the Viſion of this *Alphonſo*, which was mentioned in the *Admirable Adventures*, &c. and conſidering the Promiſe God made unto him, when he appeared unto him in the Field *Orique*, the Sepulchre reſounded unto them three Strokes, hearing the Eccho with Ability to judge from whence the Noiſe came. The Sound being paſt, they approached nearer unto the Tomb, continuing their Diſcourſe; and ſuddenly again the Tomb gave three other great Blows, ſo terrible that they were forced to recoil for Fear; and the Eccho continued ſo long, that they were all amazed, and become as pale and wan, as Men uſe to be in the Horror of Death. When afterwards they came to themſelves, recovering their Senſes and perfect Underſtanding, and conceived that it came by the old Man's Prayer, they went and revealed this Accident to the Biſhop of that City, who, in all the Time of Treaty between *Portugal* and the King of *Caſtile*, approved himſelf as rank a Traitor to his Country, as he proved a true Servant to the King of *Spain*; who, for his Recompence, was eſtabliſhed in that See, and created Biſhop of *Coimbra*, Count of *Arganill*, &c. with fifty-thouſand Ducats of yearly Annuity. This Biſhop, advertiſed of the Noiſe, came to the Convent, and made Inquiſition, and, finding it a Thing ſo extraordinary, ſaid: 'You 'Portugueſe, that wonder at theſe Toys, and 'give Credit to Baubles, know, that the Soul 'of this Saint, being aloft in Glory, is ſo 'ſore offended with you, that God ſuffereth 'thoſe ſenſeleſs Monuments to give Teſti-'mony of your Fopperies.' Theſe Words were ſo ill taken by the People of the Town, aſſembled about that ſtrange Noiſe, that the Biſhop was conſtrained to unſay what he had ſaid, and to confeſs it was very wonderful.

Furthermore, there are many Letters come of late from *Portugal*, that teſtify, That at *Liſbon*, the Laſt of *October*, in the Year 1601, the Church and Hoſpital of the King, called *All-Saints*, ſuddenly fell on Fire by Night, and flamed ſo furiouſly, that the Roof was burnt, and all the Images of the Kings of *Portugal*, that were painted upon the Wall, only the Pourtrait of Don *Sebaſtian* was left undefaced. The ſelf-ſame Ruin happened to the Arms of the Kings and Princes of *Portugal*, which were drawn in Eſcutcheons upon the Wall. The Day following, being the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, in the Forenoon, fell an infinite Number of Hail-ſtones, as big as ſmall Eggs, red of Colour, which bred as great Cauſe of Wonder, as the Rain that fell the Day following; which was ſo extreme, that, as I have heard credibly reported by many, the People of that Town durſt not go out of their Doors all that Day, for Fear of Drowning. Theſe Things to me, as well as to others, I aſſure your Lordſhip, ſeem marvellous, and can find no Reaſon of their Rareneſs; God of his Divine Mercy turn them to Good! I could have written to your Lordſhip

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more News of great Conſequence, if my Paper had not been injurious. But now to return to our firſt Subject, which I will intirely deliver unto your Lordſhip; and, ſeeing I have recovered my Strength, I will proceed to declare unto you the Succeſs of Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, ſince his Eſcape from the Battle in *Africa*; which I intreat your Lordſhip to cauſe to be printed, that all Princes may have free Knowledge of the Hiſtory. *Paris*, the Twelfth of *January*, 1602.

Immediately after my laſt Writing, I received Letters from my Friends at *Venice* and *Padua*; by which I underſtand, the Agent of that Signiory, being Reſident in the Catholick King's Court, hath written a Letter to that State, which hath been openly read at *Pregay*; Part of the Contents whereof are: 'That the 'Count *Lemos*, Viceroy of *Naples*, before his 'Death, wrote a Letter to the King his 'Maſter; wherein he did aſſure him, that 'that Priſoner, which he cauſed to be ſent 'him from the Duke of *Tuſcany*, under the 'Name and Title of a *Calabrian*, was Don 'Sebaſtian, the very true King of *Portugal*, 'which, in the Year 1578, loſt the Battle in '*Africa*; which he affirmed with many aſſured Reaſons and Trials, as having thoroughly examined him of divers Things, 'wherein he had dealt with him both in *Portugal* and *Caſtile*. This Viceroy never received Anſwer of this Letter, in his Life; 'and therefore, being then almoſt at the laſt 'Gaſp, for the Diſburdening of his Soul, he 'detected this Secret to his Son, that ſucceeds 'in his Place, in the Preſence of his Wife, 'his Confeſſor, and divers other Perſons of 'good Account; giving him alſo a Letter for 'the King, wherein is ratified the ſame he 'ſpoke before. The new Viceroy ſent to 'the Catholick King a Nobleman of the 'Houſe of *Mauriques*, of whoſe Houſe proceeded the Dukes of *Najara*: This Signior 'he ſent with his Father's Letter; and it is 'reported, that the King returned Anſwer of 'the ſame Letter to the Count *Lemos*, com-'manding him to treat that Priſoner well, 'and take eſpecial Care, that no Diſaſter 'chanced unto him.' Theſe News forced me to enlarge this Treatiſe. I would to God they were like to be true, and that the Catholick King would anſwer his Title with due Correſpondency to Chriſtianity, according to his Chriſtian Stile, by yielding Liberty to his Couſin-german, and reſtoring all that to him belongeth; which were an excellent Branch of Honour and Magnanimity, and an aſſured Means to ſettle *Chriſtendom* in Peace, and to avoid the Danger of preſent War, which now the lowering Heavens and malicious Inclination of Stars do aſſure us to fall upon us. I confeſs, that ſo many extraordinary Accidents do perſuade me to expect a good Iſſue out of all theſe Troubles, that they may be both happy and profitable to the whole Commonwealth of *Chriſtendom*. Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip to remember, that, about the Infancy of our Amity, I ſaid, That, if the *Portugueſe* and *Caſtilians* be not ſeparated, it will be impoſſible to maintain a general Peace in *Europe*, juſtifying my Opinion with many evident Demonſtrations; and yet, to this Day, I hold the ſame Reſolution; in which many Noblemen, both of the Council, and others of great Calling, do accord, ſaying, They from Day to Day ſee more apparent Reaſons ſo to judge. To that End, do I daily offer up my Sacrifices and earneſt Prayers to intreat the Almighty God, That it may pleaſe him, of his Divine Mercy, to inſpire the Hearts of all Chriſtian Princes to combine in one Knot to ſet this Cauſe aright before the Increaſe of more Miſchief; for, ſo much the longer as they defer this good Work, ſo much the greater will be the Ruin of *Portugal*, and Peril of our univerſal Deſtruction.

Your Noble Lordſhip's humble Servant,

Fr. Joseph Texere, Portugueſe.

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The PREFACE.

GEntle Reader, forasmuch as I have done you the Favour by my Travel to discover in Writing unto you a Peregrination so much desired: I shall intreat the like of you again, in giving Credit to that I will most faithfully deliver unto you, concerning the natural Inclination of the *Portugueſe*, and the Disposition of the King.

The *Portugueſe* have two especial Qualities, happily differing from other Nations, which are as familiar to them, as to laugh is proper to all Men. The first is, they are extremely scrupulous of Conscience: The second, they are exceeding constant in their Resolutions, especially when they are assured that they are warranted by the Law of God, and concern his Glory: For the first, I will recommend unto your Judgments two Examples: The first, after the Death of Don *Henry*, supposed King of *Portugal*; the Succession of that Kingdom, being left to the Inheritance of Women, came directly to Donna *Catharine*, Duchess of *Braganza*, Daughter to the Son of Don *Duarte*, Brother German to the said *Henry*; who caused her Title to be disputed of in the University of *Coimbra*, which Disputation was published in Print and compiled in a Book confirmed by the Hands of fourteen Doctors subscribing thereunto; all whose Sentences were pronounced in the Favour of the said *Catharine*. The like Censure was exhibited by the Doctors of *Bologne*, *Pisa*, and other Universities in that Part of *Europe*, the Succession of the said Realm of *Portugal* being adjudged to the said *Catharine*, and Don *John*, Duke of *Braganza*, her Husband and Cousin German; by Reason whereof (while the Cardinal lived, being induced, or rather informed by the Agents of Don *Philip*, the second King of *Castile*, not to publish the said Donna *Catharine* to be his Heir, did respite the Publication, pretending that Donna *Catharine*, Don *Antonio*, and Don *Philippo*, being all at once with other Competitors to the Crown, might set some Variance among the People about the Title, leaving it after his Death by certain Judges that he had appointed and named) he swore to stand to the Sentence of those Judges, and would not pronounce him King of *Portugal* himself, but said it might be a Means for him to come to the best Assurance of the Enterprise before any other; for that he had on his Part, not only the most of the Princes of *Portugal*, descending from that Line, but also many Cities and Towns in that Realm, whereof he was Owner and Lord, being about fifty with Castles, beside the City of *Braganza*, and had under his Government above two-hundred-thousand Subjects of Account, by Reason whereof he was the greatest and the richest Prince Subject, among the Christian Princes of *Europe*: Considering withal, that out of the City of *Braganza*, and two other Towns called *Chaves*, which the *Romans* termed *Æquas Flavas*, he was able to make and bring into the Field thirty-thousand Men, between the Age of five and twenty and fifty Years. And it is to be noted, that the Men bred in those Parts are hard and valiant Soldiers, and have been so approved in the Battles and Victories which the *Portugueſe* have had against the *Spaniards*, by whom they have been often vanquished in ranged Battles. This Prince's nice Conscience was the Cause, why he extended not his Force to defend his Right, but withdrew himself into a Corner, without Purpose or Intent to marry either one or the other; by which Means he left the Crown to him in the Right of his late Wife, and his Life in short Time after.

The ſecond Example:

The Lord Don *Antonio*, the Prior of *Crato*, likewiſe ſuppoſed King of *Portugal*, by reaſon of his Oath at *Santaren*, where he was choſen, and after at *Lisbon*, in which Election he was confirmed by the Deputies of the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, promiſed by Oath that he would make no Bargain or Agreement with any of their Enemies, but leave the ſame Realm at Liberty. The Catholick King, Don *Philippo*, offered to make him Viceroy of *Naples* for his Life-time, with four-hundred-thouſand Ducats of yearly Rent, and the Beſtowing of certain Offices and Benefits, and fifty-thouſand Ducats preſently to pay his Debts to go into *Italy*; and likewiſe to reſtore to their former State, Dignity, Houſes, and Goods, thoſe Perſons from whom they have been confiſcated by his Occaſion, and to give both Honour and Riches to all them that ſhould accompany and attend upon him, according to every Man's Place and Calling; upon Condition he would renounce and diſclaim all his Right and Intereſt in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, by Vertue of their Election: And if withal he would ſwear never to give Attention to any, that might perſuade him to the contrary. His Anſwer was to all theſe great Offers: That his Conſcience bound him to do nothing prejudicial to the Contract he had already made, and that he had rather live poorly and die miſerably in a ſimple Chamber with Credit, performing the Duty of a good Chriſtian, than to live in great Pomp and Pride in ſumptuous Palaces, diſclaiming the Law and Commandments of God.

Courteous Reader, no Man can ſpeak ſo aſſuredly, or ſo ſenſibly in this Matter as I: For in the Year 1582, upon St. *Auguſtine's* Day, being Priſoner at *Lisbon*, Don *Chriſtopher de Nora* (for that Time appointed Viceroy of *Portugal*, with whom his Catholick Majeſty ſent a Gentleman of his Chamber for me) aſſured me, that I might talk with him as boldly as with himſelf, telling me that the King meant to employ me to Don *Antonio* about theſe Affairs. This was not then effected, for that I eſcaped out of Priſon; ſince when, in this Country, and in *England*, I conferred with him divers Times about this Buſineſs, being his Confeſſor, who often ſaid unto me, God forbid I ſhould do a Thing ſo contrary to my Conſcience; if I ſhould, ſaid he, I perſuade myſelf that every Chink or Furrow in the Ground would open and ſwallow me up preſently, by Reaſon of that Offence. God firſt I deſire to take away my Life: I had rather live laden with Afflictions, accompanied with Miſery and Beggary, reſerving my ſerious and publick Promiſe, than to lead a perjured Life in great Proſperity, Pleaſures, and Delights. Thus he died, obtaining, as I think, for the Preſervation of his Integrity, as well Reputation among Chriſtian Men, as Recompence at God's Hand, deſiring always to live and reſt in Peace: And, in Regard of his ſmall Ambition, could have contented himſelf with the Tenth Part of the King's, his Couſin's, Offer, had it not been for the Reſpect to his Oath at their Election; and could have found in his Heart, to quit the Right and Claim he had by his Father, while the Right was in him, but could not diſpenſe with the Oath they bound him with when they elected him, having Power to do the firſt, but not the ſecond.

This is ſufficient, as I take it, gentle Reader, to prove unto you my Firſt Propoſition, That the *Portugueſe* dwell upon the Severity of their Conſcience. Now coming to prove the Second, which is, That they are moſt conſtant in their Deſigns, when they reſolve to build upon the true Law of God, and his Honour; I am to intreat you to defend me againſt the Murmurers, our Enemies, in two Reſpects: That

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is to ſay, not only in the principal Point that ſhall concern our Subject, but that they may become Cenſurers of me and of the Cauſe; ſaying, That, in the Firſt Hiſtory of Two, I ſpeak not religiouſly, and that I give Cauſe of Offence to the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, or that I incite you to take Arms againſt them. To the Firſt Objection I anſwer, That when a Perſon, of what Eſtate ſoever he be, deliver any Thing to good Purpoſe, or utter, by Chance, that which is come to paſs; in that he offends not, being thereunto obliged in Duty and Conſcience. As for the Second, where they ſuggeſt, that I tranſgreſs againſt *Chriſtian* Princes, they are much deceived: For, though a Man make fine Gold into a Chain, yet, for all that, it loſeth neither the Beauty nor Reputation of Gold, nor the Name of the moſt excellent Metal of all others: So let it be ſuppoſed, that a Man, deſcended of a princely Race, become a mean Subject, yet cannot any Man ſay, he loſeth, by his Dejection of Fortune, his Nobility that came by Nature: For *David*'s Sheep-hook was no Diſgrace to the Scepter of *Judæa*; nor *Juſtin*'s Wallet, nor the Halter of *Gratian*, Father to *Valentine*, were any Blemiſh to the Imperial Crown. Therefore I conclude, that no Man can accuſe me of Raſhneſs, in the Narration of my Hiſtory, ſpeaking to a good End accidentally; though I prove, that many Kings and Princes of *Europe* have been derived out of mean and vulgar Houſes.

The Chronicles of *Portugal* offer unto us, among the Traditions of our Anceſtors, a notable Hiſtory, well worthy the Reporting and Obſerving: In *Portugal*, in the Province of *Alentejo*, otherwiſe called *Tranſtagana*, there is a Town called *Veyros*, by Eſtimation about the Bigneſs of *Manto* upon *Seine*, ſituate upon a Mountain, at the Foot whereof Weſtward, there runs a River which hath the Beginning from the North Part, the Current paſſing into the South. Not far from that Town, upon the higheſt Part of a little Mountain, regarding the Weſt, for the moſt Part, this River ſeems to have an Iſſue towards the Eaſt; and there is a Ford where Men are conſtrained to paſs, under this Promontory: The River hath made a ſandy ſhallow Place, as it were, Knee-deep, where the Women inhabiting the ſaid Town uſe to waſh their Linnen, Maids as well Noble as Vulgar. It fell out upon a Day, that Don *John*, Natural Son to the King of *Portugal*, was to paſs by that Point with Don *Petro*, Juſticier, and Great Maſter Overſeer of the Cities, and, by reaſon of that Office, was endued with Spiritual and Temporal Honour and Authority. He being a young and luſty Gallant, and Governor of the ſame Town, beholding theſe Maidens with their Cloaths truſſed up, as Women uſe going about that Labour, this Nobleman began to jeſt with the reſt of his Company at the bare-legged Wenches; and paſſing by them, ſome Part of his Train yet to come, one Wench amongſt the reſt, as the Hiſtory reporteth, in a red Petticoat, as ſhe was tucking up her Cloaths, diſcovered her Legs ſomewhat high, and, giving herſelf a Clap with her Hand on the Calf of her Right Leg, ſaid aloud, Here is a white Leg, Girls, for the Maſter of *Auiz*. Which being overheard by ſome of his Followers, whom ſhe took no heed of, hearing and ſeeing what the Wench had both ſaid and done, came no ſooner into their Lord's Lodging, but they reported unto him what they had heard a young frolick Wench ſay, and ſee her do. Wherewithal this noble Gallant being ſtirred, ſent for her preſently, and, finding Means to have her ſecretly, upon her begot a Son. And this Maid was a Shoemaker's Daughter of that Town, very rich and of good Account; who underſtanding that his Daughter was ſent for to ſuch a Nobleman, and being informed that her own Speech and light Behaviour was the firſt Cauſe, and being aſſured ſhe was deflowered by her own frank Conſent; took it ſo heinouſly, that, at her Return Home, he

reviled her with moſt opprobrious and deſpiteful Words, and beat her out of his Doors openly: And to manifeſt unto the World, how much he was inwardly vexed with the Spoil of his Daughter, he never after would eat at any Table, nor ſleep in a Bed, nor put on any Shirt; never pared his Nails, polled his Hair, nor cut his Beard, which grew ſo long, that the People called him *Barbadon*, for it continued uncut till it reached beneath his Knees. This Maleçontent lived ſo long, that his Grandſon, called Don *Alphonſo*, grew to be a Man, and Duke of *Braganza*, created by the great *Auize* Maſter, his Father, who, by the Election of the People, afterward became King of *Portugal*, and, for his worthy Acts, was ſirnamed Memorable, and *Barcelos*, by the Right of his Wife, the ſole Daughter and Inheritor to the Conſtable of *Portugal*. This Town of *Veyros* ſtands between ſeven or eight other Towns belonging to the ſaid Duke, and is diſtant but four Leagues from *Villa Viçoſa*, where his Palace is. This Vicinity was the Cauſe that he had perfect Intelligence of the Shoemaker his Grandfather, and the Reports he heard of him, made him ſo deſirous to ſee him, that he determined to go ſeek him out himſelf in his own Town; where, meeting him in the Streets, he alighted from his Horſe, and kneeled down before him bare-headed, and deſired him to give him his Hand and his Bleſſing withal. The Shoemaker, having an Eye to the Duke's Train that attended upon him, and ſeeing his baſe Humbleneſs, and hearing his Speeches, amazedly conceived him to be ſome great Perſonage, unknown to him, and ſaid: Sir, Do you mock me? The Duke anſwered, So God help me, I do not; but in earneſt I crave I may kiſs your Hand, and receive your Bleſſing, for I am your Grandchild, and Son to *Ines* your Daughter, conceived by the King, my Lord and Father. As ſoon as the Shoemaker heard theſe Sayings, he clapped his Hand before his Eyes, and ſaid, God bleſs me from ever beholding the Son of ſo wicked a Daughter, as mine was. Yet, forafmuch as you are not guilty of her Offence, hold, take my Hand and my Bleſſing, *In the Name of the Father*, &c. But neither the Duke, nor his Followers, could perſuade him to pull away the Hand that covered his Eyes; ſo confident this old Man was in his Diſcontentment; neither would he talk any longer with the Duke. Shortly after, this old Man died, and, before his Death, he took Order for a Tomb to cover him, whereupon he commanded to be engraven all Manner of Tools that belonged to a Shoemaker, with this Epitaph:

This Sepulchre Barbadon *caus'd to be made*
(Being of Veyros, *a Shoemaker by his Trade)*
For himſelf, and the reſt of his Race,
Excepting his Daughter Ines *in any Caſe.*

I have heard it reported by the ancienteſt Perſons, that the fourth Duke of *Braganza*, Don *James*, Son to *Donna Iſabel*, Siſter to the King Don *Emanuel*, cauſed that Tomb to be defaced, being the Sepulchre of his fourth Grandfather.

As for the Daughter, after ſhe was delivered of that Son, ſhe continued a very chaſte and virtuous Woman all her Life, and the King made her Commandreſs of *Santos*, a moſt honourable Place, and very plentiful, to the which none but Princeſſes are admitted, living, as it were, Abbeſſes and Princeſſes of a Monaſtery, built without the Walls of *Lisbon*, called *Santos*, that is, *Saints*, founded by reaſon of ſome Martyrs that were there martyred. And the religious Women of that Place have

Liberty

Liberty to marry with the Knights of their Order, before they enter into that holy Profeſſion; the Order is called St. *James*, bearing the ſame Croſs. In this Monaſtery the ſame *Donna Ines* died, leaving behind her a glorious Reputation for her Virtue and Holineſs. Obſerve, gentle Reader, the Conſtancy that this *Portugueſe*, a Shoemaker, continued in, loathing to behold the honourable Eſtate of his Grandchild, nor would any more acknowledge his Daughter, having been a lewd Woman, for purchaſing Advancement with Diſhonour. This conſidered, you will not wonder at the Count *Julian*, that plagued *Spain*, and executed the King *Roderigo* for forcing his Daughter *la Cava*.

The Example of this Shoemaker is eſpecially worthy the Noting, and deeply to be conſidered; for, beſide that it makes good our Aſſertion, it teaches the Higher not to diſdain the Lower, as long as they be virtuous and Lovers of Honour. It may be, that this old Man, for his Integrity, riſing from a virtuous Zeal, merited, that a Daughter, coming by Deſcent from his Grandchild, ſhould be made Queen of *Caſtile*, and the Mother of Great *Iſabel*, Grandmother to two Emperors, *Charles the Fifth*, and *Ferdinando*; and confute the Proverb in *Spain*:

De cien en cien annos los Reynes Villanos:
Y de cientos en ſeyes los Villanos Reyes.

Which is,
From a hundred to a hundred Years Kings become Villains; and, from a hundred to ſix, Villains become Kings: ſo here the Plough was converted into the Scepter, in leſs than threeſcore and ten Years.

For the Proof of my Second Propoſition, I muſt neceſſarily refer you to the Hiſtory expreſſed in the Diſcourſe of the Twelfth Letter, intituled, *Admirable Adventures, &c. concerning Don* Sebaſtian, *the true and lawful King of* Portugal: Where it is reported of Don *Alphonſo*, the *African*, King of *Portugal*, that ſeeing King *Lewis the Sixth* deluded him, in not giving him Aid, according to his Promiſe made at the Beginning, when he firſt arrived in *France*, by which Means, for two Years Space, he left *Portugal*, not being able, for Want of Power, to bring his Purpoſe to any good Paſs, for, at his Return, being aſhamed to be ſeen of the *Portugueſe*, for that he loſt a Battle againſt the *Caſtilians*, determined with himſelf to ſteal as unknown out of *France* ſecretly, and place himſelf in a Monaſtery near unto *Rome*. And, to effect that Deſign, he diſguiſed himſelf in a ſtrange Habit, taking with him but two of his People to accompany him; but he and they were intercepted, and taken by the Way of *Robinet*, termed the Ox of *Normandy*; which *Philippus Comineus* alſo confirmeth, with this Addition, that King *Lewis* was much offended with *Robinet* for that Piece of Service; forcing him to ſupply him with an Army, and embark him for *Portugal*, where he ended his Life, as I have already more at large declared unto you elſewhere.

That which I have ſaid, gentle Reader, I think to be ſufficient, to acquaint you with the natural Diſpoſition of the *Portugueſe*. And, to induce you to believe what likewiſe hath been verified concerning Don *Sebaſtian*, my Lord and Maſter, it is convenient for you to know, that he reſolved never to diſcover himſelf, or to make it apparent to any Man, what he was; but was fully perſuaded to paſs the reſt of his

his Time uncouthly, and ſo to finiſh his Life in Silence; becauſe he wilfully took upon him, contrary to the Advice of *Xarifa*, and all the Princes, Lords, and Commanders that accompanied him, to give Battle to *Muley Maluco*, in the Hour, the Day and Place, that, in their Judgment, was not thought fit for his Advantage; and the King, acknowledging his Error and Overſight he committed that Day, ſo afflicted his Soul, that the Memory thereof bred him more inward Torment and Vexation, than any Misfortune that ever befel him in all his woeful Days. For the Confirmation whereof, I will give you to underſtand, courteous Reader, what I heard an old Man ſay, being a Man of great Authority, an ordinary Aſſiſtant, and a common Reliever of afflicted Perſons, be they never ſo abject, and a religious Man of mine own Order, and Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, a *Venetian* born, a Maintainer and Supporter of Truth, who, during this Realm's laſt Troubles, wrote in Behalf of his Chriſtian Majeſty. This reverend Prelate, while I lay ſick in his Houſe, diſtant ſome half League from *Venice*, ſitting by the Bed-ſide, ſaid unto me, In this very ſelf-ſame Bed lay Don *Sebaſtian* your King, tormented with a Fever, before his Impriſonment in *Venice*, at which Time, in my Hearing, a Father of the Order of St. *Bernard*, a Doctor in Divinity, very famous for his Profeſſion, intreated him to tell him how it came to paſs that he loſt the Battle in *Africa*; and, becauſe the King condeſcended not to his Demand, he reiterated the ſame again: Then ſuddenly I beheld Tears guſhing from his Eyes as big as Peaſe, and in ſuch Abundance, as they did wet not only his Handkerchief, but his Shirt, the Sheet, and a ſilk Quilt that lay upon him. This Paſſion was without Weeping or Sobbing, for that he never could do, but ever ſhewed himſelf all one, no Changeling, come Proſperity or Adverſity. At length he requeſted us inſtantly, to uſe ſome other Communication, ſaying, The Remembrance of that intolerable Miſhap was to him ſuch a Torment, as it deprived him of Reaſon and Judgment, and made him deſire to abandon both the Sight and Converſation of all Men. All this Grief could not ſupplant his Sickneſs, which perſecuted him ſo ſore, as he was out of Hope or Care of his Recovery, often tempting him to end his Miſery with his own Hands. I conſidered, it was great Inhumanity to add a Torment to his Affliction, in ſeeking to extract that from his Knowledge, which his extreme Sorrow would not give his Tongue Leave to utter; ſo I deſired the Nobleman to depart with me, and give him Time to reſt a While; for that, the Night before, he had ſlept very little, or not at all. To conclude, The Shame and Grief he ſuſtained inwardly by his raſh Attempt, as is before rehearſed, committing ſo great an Error, and ſo prejudicial to Chriſtianity, enforcing him to obſcure and hide himſelf from all his Acquaintance and Familiars; imitating *Alphonſo*, his Predeceſſor, both in Temerity and Repentance; or to equal *Boliſlaus*, King of *Poland*, who, to kill *Staniſlaus* the Biſhop of *Cracovia*, left both his Crown and Scepter, and retired himſelf into *Hungary*, where, ſome ſay, within few Years after the Execution of his bloody Purpoſe, he ſlew himſelf. Others ſay, that he was devoured with Dogs in a Foreſt; but the moſt certain Report ſaith, that he ſerved a Cook in a Monaſtery at *Carinthia*, called *Oſia*, a little diſtant from the Town named *Felikirchen*; and, after the Sufferance of many Troubles and Travels, he died, and was known by a Writing, which was found in his Boſom, the Contents whereof was: *I am* Boliſlaus, *ſome Time King of* Poland, *that ſlew* Staniſlaus, *Biſhop of* Cracovia. In the ſame Manner, I believe, had Don *Sebaſtian*, the King of *Portugal*, died, had he not been a religious Man, bound in Conſcience to ſhew and reveal himſelf, and take Pains to ſeek to be reſtored to his former Rights and Dignities, ſo provoked to do by ſecret Illumination from God himſelf, who otherwiſe had.

had reſolved to end his Life in an Hermitage; which Intent he manifeſted in certain *Italian* Verſes, compoſed by him while he was in Priſon in *Venice*, which I have about me, uttering all his Succeſs ſince he loſt the Battle in *Africk*, *&c.* There were four Examiners, appointed by the Senate, to attend that Buſineſs all the Time of his Impriſonment there, which Examinations and Verſes he ſent, incloſed in a Letter, to his Holineſs, which alſo are in Cuſtody. The Advocate, Judge, Counſellor, and Inquiſitor teſtify, that he gave them a princely, ſententious, and a pithy Anſwer, rehearſing all Things that had paſſed, concerning himſelf and others, ſince that Battle in *Africk*, with the Names of the Generals, Colonels, Captains, Lords, and Gentlemen, that accompanied him in that Action; the Number, and the Diverſities of Nations, the Day, the Hour, the Situation of the Place, where it was fought; how, and in what Manner he eſcaped.

I am again to intreat you, friendly Reader, to give Credit to that I ſhall report unto you, and not to meaſure the Nature of *Portugueſe*, by the light and lewd Diſpoſitions of other Nations.

When I was in *England* with Don *Antonio*, the putative King of *Portugal*, as I told you before, I was ſollicited by Father *Diego* of *Chaves*, a Profeſſor of my own Order, with great Importunacy to relinquiſh and give over this Signior Don *Antonio*, and incline towards his Catholick Majeſty, whoſe Confeſſor this *Diego* was, and his ſole Governor; aſſuring me, that, if I would yield to his Requeſt, I ſhould be very bountifully rewarded; and wrote unto me moſt confidently, that my Entertainment ſhould not want one Mite of twenty-five or thirty-thouſand Ducats yearly in Revenue, to be duly paid; which Allowance would not only ſerve competently to maintain me in honourable Eſtate, but I might alſo deduct a Surpluſage therefrom to inrich my Kindred and Friends withal, whom alſo the King promiſed to prefer and advance for my Sake (*This Confeſſor was my Mother's Couſin-german.*) aſſuring me, that all my Actions, Intents, and Purpoſes whatſoever, prejudicial to his Catholick Majeſty, ſhould be quite buried in Oblivion, and no Blame for any Invectives, or Writings in Derogation of his Majeſty, ſhould be once objected againſt me. And, to the End I might the rather yield unto him, he recapitulated all the particular Offices and Favours, he had performed in my Behalf at the Time of my Impriſonment; that he purchaſed my Deliverance, and ſaved me from being adjudged to the Gallies, and alſo prevented me from being ſtretched upon the Rack; and, further, obtained Pardon of his Majeſty for *Emanuel Texere*, my Uncle, that was condemned to loſe his Head, and cauſed all his Goods to be reſtored, that were confiſcated for being in Employment with Don *Antonio* againſt the King; and, when he could not obtain a Grant at my Hands, of that which he demanded himſelf, he incited my Friends and Acquaintance to do their uttermoſt to win me from my conſtant Reſolution, hoping, in Regard of the great Diſtance and Separation from my Country, and what by the Want and Neceſſity I endured in *France*, with my aged Conſtitution of Body, I would retire from that Place, and end my Age in *Portugal*, where I began my Youth, attempting afterward, by Rating and Reviling, to make me recant, when other Provocations would not prevail; all which Enticements, mixed with bitter Taunts, moved me nothing at all; and at this Inſtant, if I would vouchſafe Acceptance, I might receive the ſame Entertainment before offered. It is not yet two Years paſt, ſince a very dear Friend of mine in this Town preſſed me, with vehement Perſuaſions, to return into *Portugal*, aſſuring me of as much Advancement there, as I would deſire; but God forbid, that ever I ſhould accept it; for I had rather be a poor religious Beggar in *France*, than

than a great diſcontented Biſhop in *Caſtile*, or in *Portugal*, conſidering the Country is not itſelf, but in Bondage, moſt ſervilely ſubject to *Caſtilian* Tyranny. In this Town, a Nobleman of *France*, accompanied with ſome religious Men of my own Order, often perſuaded me to leave the Habit of St. *Dominick* and betake myſelf to another, aſſuring me, in Lieu thereof, of an Abbey (which he had in his Power at that Time to give) and afterwards a Convent of eight or nine thouſand Livres annual Rent; and, to make me capable thereof, he promiſed to procure me a Diſpenſation from his Holineſs to allow the Exchange of my preſent Habit; all which bountiful Proffers could not once move me to change my Shape, like a mutable Weather-cock, or an airy Chameleon. For, if the Spirit of God forſake me not, I will die, as I have lived, a religious Votary to St. *Dominick* and a natural *Portugueſe*; and the ſame bleſſed Stability poſſeſs all thoſe that ſeek and ſpread my Reproach and Defamation. And, to thoſe that make a Scorn of me, I anſwer nothing, but that I am a true religious *Portugueſe*, of the ſame Diſpoſition that others of my Countrymen be, I mean, the godly, virtuous, and loyal *Portugueſe*; neither will I admit any for my Aſſociates, in this Caſe, but ſuch as be moſt intirely ſincere and conſtant. So I end my preſent Narration in the Name of God, and purpoſe to proceed to the Handling of my promiſed Diſcourſe; which, albeit I cannot ſo exactly relate, as I deſire, not being an Eye-witneſs of all that hath been done and ſuffered by this miſerable King, my Lord and Maſter, I have gathered out of the greateſt Probabilities and Aſſertions of the Juſteſt and Honeſteſt, that I could poſſibly learn, or underſtand, that were able to give me the beſt Intelligence; which Diligence I was bound in Duty and Conſcience to exerciſe; and am withal forced, by the Importunity of many, meeting me in the Town and Field at every Corner, to diſcourſe unto them my Maſter's Adventures. Therefore, to ſatisfy them and all the World, and to meet with their tedious Inquiſitions, I have effected this Collection, to rid myſelf of Trouble, and to quench their inordinate Thirſt after the Truth, referring all, that can read, to this and my former Diſcourſe of *Admirable Adventures*. Farewell.

A Narration of Things done by Don Sebaſtian *King of* Portugal, *ſince the Battle he loſt in the Fields of* Alquiber *in* Africk, *fighting againſt* Muley Maluco, *an Infidel, Anno* 1578, *until this preſent Time. Written by Father* Joſeph Texere, *a* Portugueſe.

AT my being in *Venice*, gentle Reader, I underſtood by divers, that the Opinion conceived of many, and the Rumour commonly ſpread concerning the Death of Don *Sebaſtian* the King of *Portugal*, my Lord and Maſter, was falſe; and believed rather, that their Reports were more like to be true, that maintained the contrary. For that it was confidently juſtified by credible Perſons, that he was ſeen alive and ſafe ſince the Battle in *Africk*, namely, by *Cid Albequerine*, *Emanuel Texere*, my Uncle, *N. Murſelo Higuera*, and many other Gentlemen and Perſonages of great Quality and Account. He eſcaped by Flight among the Rout, being ſore hurt in his Head and in one Arm, and paſſed as a private Man to his Ships, and was embarked amongſt the Remnant of his Army, that ſaved themſelves by Flight, as he was forced to do. After a few Days, he arrived in *Portugal*, in a Town called *Neu feu de mille fuentes*, near unto St. *Vincent's* Cape, where he refreſhed himſelf, and ſent for a Chirurgeon from *Faro*; his Name I have forgotten, but well I remember he was reckoned excellent in his Art. There the King ſojourned, accompanied with the Duke of *Aveira*, and *Chriſtopher Tavora*, and divers other Lords, until he was perfectly healed. The Things of his

his being at the Cape were ſuddenly ſpread at *Liſbon*, and was ſoon publiſhed generally throughout all *Portugal*. And it was affirmed, that he was ſeen at the Convent of Capuchins, built upon the Point of St. *Vincent*, amongſt his Companions. This Rumour was ſoon quelled by the Policy and Authority of *Petro de Alcacova*, great Secretary of *Portugal*, in the Behalf of Don *Philip* King of *Spain*, with whom he had before-hand concluded, when Don *Sebaſtian* the King employed him in Ambaſſage into *Spain*, before his Departure into *Africk*. And for that Cauſe this *Peter Alcacova*, a damnable Politician, and a monſterous Traitor, as ſoon as the firſt News came, that the Chriſtians had loſt the Day, and his King and Maſter ſlain, this *Jew* gave ſecret Intelligence to the King of *Caſtile* of all that happened; ſignifying unto him, that now were a fit Time to ſurpriſe the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and bid him make ready for the Purpoſe. I reſpected the Handling of the ſecond Eſtabliſhment of Union between the King my Maſter before his Departure, and the King of *Caſtile*, which is expreſſed by one *Conneſtay* at large, who, being a Man of good Reſpect in *Portugal*, came Poſt to ſeek me from *Rome* to *Venice*, and, amongſt many other News, he reported unto me, that, as ſoon as ever it was bruited Abroad in *Portugal*, that Don *Sebaſtian* the King was living, and Priſoner in *Venice*, there were many Devices revived concerning this Bruit, that long Time before lay buried. And withal you muſt note, that Don *Diego de Soſa*, the Admiral, which conducted the King into *Africk*, re-embarked him from thence into *Portugal* again, and gave continual Intelligence unto his Kindred and aſſured Friends, that their King was living, and that he had ſecretly received him a-board, among the ſcattered Troops, and gave them an eſpecial Charge that they ſhould conceal it. And further, that he gave him a ſecret Sign, whereby he might know him hereafter, if Need required; which Privity Don *Diego* diſcovered unawares, when a Counterfeit (ſuborned for the Purpoſe) came to that *Diego*'s Houſe, ſending for him into the Field to come Home to ſpeak with Don *Sebaſtian* the King; to whom he ſaid abruptly, Hath he delivered any ſecret Token betwixt him and me, whereby I might credit thee? By which Queſtion he publiſhed that, which he ſecretly had bewrayed before to his Allies. Whereupon the Cardinal Don *Henry*, Great Uncle to the King, took Occaſion to ſend a truſty Servant of his, called *Emanuel Antunes*, to St. *Vincent*'s Cape, charging him to uſe all the Induſtry he might, in finding out what Certainty he could learn of the King his Nephew. All which this *Emanuel* performed, with as much Endeavour as he might poſſibly uſe; and, by his diligent Inquiſition about the ſaid Cape, found that the King had been in the Monaſtery; and was there certified, that he was both hurt in the Head and Arm, and, in a manner frantick, not only for the exceeding Anguiſh and Vexation of Mind which he ſuffered for the Loſs of Victory, but withal the Shame did ever perplex him, when he conſidered the Overthrow came by Indiſcretion and Raſhneſs, and that, by his Default, the Flower and Prime of all *Portugal* was defeated and cut off. *Antunes* brought a very large Teſtimonial hereof to the Cardinal, under the Seal of the Father Guardian, and all the reſt of his Brethren of the ſaid Monaſtery; which the Cardinal received with his own Hands, commanding his Servant to impart this Secret to none, which he, for his own Part, buried in his own Boſom. And not being able to find out what Courſe his Nephew, and his Company, took for their Eſcape out of the Country, gave over the Expectation of his Recovery either of his Crown and Scepter while he lived, though it were his due. But, when it was known in *Portugal* that the King lived, *Antunes* began to acknowledge the Pains he had undergone in theſe Affairs, by his Maſter's Appointment; which was no ſooner conveyed to the King of *Caſtile*'s Ear, but he ſent for this *Antunes*, of whom he had a liberal Relation of all that he knew concerning that Buſineſs; and, ſoon after *Antunes*'s Return into *Portugal*, he died. Whereby it appeareth unto me, that God lengthened his Life ſome Space, to reveal a Truth, that ſeemed before to be very intricate and doubtful. Shortly after, the *Portugueſe* began to murmur among themſelves, boldly ſaying, that Don *Philip* the King had made away Don *Sebaſtian* their King, his Nephew, going to him to crave his Aid before his Departure into *Africk*, becauſe he had a Meaning to gain the Kingdom of *Portugal* to him and his Succeſſors, and hold it by Uſurpation. And this Scandal was never extinguiſhed, becauſe Fame divulged his Arriving at the Cape called St. *Vincent*, and no Certainty appeared to the World, what Way he paſſed from thence. But ſince it is proved, that from

Spain he got Shipping and travelled into *Alexandria*, and there lived in *Preſter John*'s Court with his Followers, ſome twenty Months, unknown of what Quality he was, profeſſing that he had a Deſire to ſee the World, and travelled only to that End and Purpoſe; for of Want he made no Shew, he and his Company being well furniſhed with Gold and Jewels of great Price. From *Æthiopia* they paſſed over the *Red Sea*, and ſo directly to the Mount *Sinai*; from thence to the Great Sophi, called *Xatama* King of *Perſia*, whom he ſerved as a Commander five or ſix Years againſt the *Turks*, where he atchieved many Victories, and divers Wounds in his Body, with much Honour and Reputation. In Requital whereof, the King of *Perſia* did him many honourable Offices, and gave him rich Preſents of ineſtimable Price, with the which he and his Company departed. I heard at *Venice* of his Conference with Colonel *Cigogna*, a Man of great Experience in the Wars, which aſſured the Lords of the Senate, that he never talked with any more wiſe, learned, or better experienced in Military Diſcipline, than this noble Perſon; and he proteſted he could be no other, than the ſame he profeſſed to be. The excellent and moſt reverend Lord the Archbiſhop ſaid, he heard the Diſcourſe between the King and the Colonel, which delighted him exceedingly. This Archbiſhop I could not ſpeak withal at my being in *Venice*, for that he was employed in *Dalmatia* in the Affairs of the State.

The King, leaving *Perſia*, went towards *Jeruſalem*, from whence he travelled by firm Land to *Conſtantinople*; which, after certain Days, he left, and came into *Italy*, from thence to *Hungary*, and from thence fetched a Compaſs by *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Swedeland*, and *Denmark*, where he took Shipping for *England*; and in *London* it is reported, he ſaw Don *Antonio*, the ſuppoſed King of *Portugal*. From *England* he paſſed into *Holland*; from *Holland* by *Almain* back to *Antwerp*; from thence to *Paris*, *Anno* 1586. It comes to my Memory, that, in the latter End of the ſame Year, one *Antonio Fernandes Pignero*, a Prieſt, which had ſometime been Almoner to the ſaid *Don Sebaſtian*, &c. and was with me in Service from the ſaid Lord Don *Antonio*, told me, that the ſame Don *Antonio* had heard it credibly reported, that Don *Sebaſtian* the King was living, &c. whereat Don *Antonio* ſeemed to be ſore amazed and perplexed. About which Time I craved Licenſe of Don *Antonio* to go out of *England* into this Country, which he gave with ſome Shew of Diſcontentment therewith. By reaſon whereof, and to avoid all Suſpicion, I moved no Queſtion to him concerning the Particularity of this Matter; and I muſt tell you, by the Way, that *Pignero* had all this Diſcourſe in Writing, *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*, which although, ſaid he, I make the ſame known unto you, yet I pray you conceal it from Don *Antonio*, becauſe it may be very prejudicial to him of whom I heard it. In the Year following, after *Eaſter*, in the Time of *Ember*, when I was come to that Town, whither I made the Scope of my Journey, I heard the like concerning the ſame Buſineſs which I before had heard in *England*, whereof I ſeemed to make no great Care; and coming to *Paris*, after his Chriſtian Majeſty had entered the Town, Don *Nouvelet* aſſured me, in the Preſence of divers *Portugueſe* and *Frenchmen*, not once or twice, but many Times, that it was as certain and aſſured that Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, had been lately in *Paris*, as he ſpoke to me; deſcribing him to me by many Circumſtances; to all which I gave no Credit, eſteeming all he ſaid to be mere Fables. Not that I held any Opinion or Conceit that he was ſlain at the Battle in *Africk*; but my Imagination could not receive any Impreſſion that he could be guilty of any ſuch rare Diſſimulation, to paſs ſo many Cities and Regions without Diſcovery.

The laſt Year writing to the ſaid Doctor to *Anniſſi*, where he dwelt, of the News which I heard, that my Lord and Maſter ſhould be ſet at Liberty by the Conſent of the Seigniory of *Venice*: I intreated him to write unto me at large, that which he had oft recited to me in this Town, concerning the Eſtate of that King. And becauſe his Anſwer was, that he could not agree to the Satisfaction of my Demands, I ceaſed to importune him any further in that Behalf. But foraſmuch as, at my being at *Venice*, ſome of the chiefeſt of the Seigniory of that State, aſking me, if I were able to ſay any Thing concerning what the King had anſwered upon his Examination; ſaying, that he had been in *Paris*, and there conferred with a *Portugueſe* fled out of his Country for Don *Antonio*'s Cauſe, being his Couſin. And further, that he met with a Gentleman of *Swiſſerland* at *Soleurre*, departing

departing from thence towards *Anniſſi*, by whom I ſent a Letter to Don *Nouvelet*; in the which I moſt inſtantly deſired him to ſet down in Writing all that he had declared to me at *Paris*, concerning my Maſter Don *Sebaſtian*, &c. At my great Importunity, it pleaſed him to grant me my Deſire; and here I have annexed the ſame, copied out *verbatim*, as it was written, in Manner and Form, with the Recommendations he aſſigned me to do to his Friends, named in the ſame Original, Men of good Eſteem for Birth, Office, and popular Affection. So that to his Truth and Sincerity no Man can take Exception, being a Profeſſor in his Art, both very learned and excellently experienced, in his Life and Manners never detected. Therefore all Suſpicion, either of the Matter or the Man, is prevented.

The Copy of a Letter, ſent from Don Nouvelet, *to Father* Joſeph Texere.

SIR,

I Received your laſt Letter, dated the Eighteenth of the Month paſt; whereby you make me recall to Mind the Grief, I conceived by your Letters preceding, concerning the Troubles of *Emanuel Godigno*, a Gentleman born in *Portugal*. I had long ſince expreſſed in Writing, and ſent it you, if I had conjectured your Diſpoſition had been apt to entertain News: So ready and willing I am to apply my Endeavours to do you Service, in any Thing you ſhall pleaſe to command me: But the Conſideration of your rare Perfection of Memory made me decline from Doubt of any Defect therein, and ſo much the ſlower in committing that to Writing, which I had before ſo obſervantly uttered in your Hearing, and in the Preſence of many Perſons of good Reſpect, as well of your Country, as of other Nations; imputing this Impoſition rather to your Deſire to be better aſſured, *obſignatis tabulis*, than to any Want of Carriage in your underſtanding Parts, I thus addreſs my Pen to confirm my Tongue's Diſcourſe: In the Year of our Lord 1588, being at *Nantz*, in Employment and Service of my Lord the Cardinal of *Gondie*, about the Affairs of my Lord the Biſhop of *Paris*, his Nephew, that was called Abbot of *Buzai*, I took up my Lodging in the Convent of the *Jacobins*, where I found good Opportunity to ingraft myſelf in the Favour and Friendſhip of the reverend Father, Dr. *Sampayo*, a Man much commended for his liberal Erudition in Letters, but recommended for his Integrity and Zeal; one of your own Order, and of your antient and approved Acquaintance, and, being both godly and learned, united in more aſſured Bonds of Love and Amity, than are exerciſed among the Vulgar. Mean While, that League of Friendſhip, then planted between that good Doctor, *Sampayo*, and me, took ſo good Root in us both, that it continueth without Peril of Supplanting until this Day, and is like, for your Sake, to fructify abundantly, as well by Increaſe of Love, as of Acquaintance with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen of good Sort and Condition. Among the reſt of the ordinary Frequenters, came Sir *Emanuel Godigno* to viſit Dr. *Sampayo* at my Lodging, and, taking ſome Acquaintance of me, continued the ſame as long as I lay at *Nantz*, till I retired towards *Paris*, leaving, to my great Sorrow, the ſweet Converſation betwixt Dr. *Sampayo* and myſelf, loving each other dearly. This *Godigno*, loth to let ſlip out of Uſe the Compliments that had paſt between him and me at *Nantz*, at his Coming to *Paris* frequented my Lodging daily, to underſtand of Doctor *Sampayo*'s Health and Welfare; whereof I not being able to give him any certain Intelligence, he began to mourn and look heavily, whom I could not chuſe but in that Paſſion to accompany, envying any Man's Affection ſhould exceed mine in Zeal to my Friend. It followed that, upon a *Sunday*, in what Month I remember not, this Signior *Godigno* received the Communion very devoutly, miniſtred by the chief of the *Jacobins*, which made me refrain for that Time to ſalute him, or he me; for, in Truth, I think he ſaw me not, and I, not willing to interrupt his Devotion, let him paſs without any Ceremony on my Part performed. Notwithſtanding, the ſame Afternoon he repaired to my Lodging, and as his Cuſtom was, demanded what Tidings I heard of his Friend and mine, Doctor *Sampayo*; and I, having no better Means to inform him than before, deſired him to excuſe my Ignorance, being unable to give him any Contentment by Intelligence of him, or from him. At which Anſwer, the kind Gentle-

man ſeemed very penſive and appaled, ſitting ſtill a long While mute and ſilent; whereby I imagined he had ſomewhat that inwardly diſtempered him, for I might perceive the Tears trickle down his Cheeks. Which Perturbation, breaking out at his Eyes, afforded him ſome Liberty to utter theſe Words following: 'Sir, I conſider the great Love that was betwixt Doctor *Sampayo* and you, that manifeſtly appeared to me at *Nantz*; and withal, the Confidence he repoſed in your Fidelity towards him; which perſuades me, that I cannot commit a ſecret Matter of great Conſequence to a Man that can more aſſuredly conceal it than yourſelf. And I doubt not but the ſame ſhall be as ſafely guarded in the Treaſury of your Conſtancy, as in his, if you will vouchſafe to give me your unfeigned Promiſe ſo to do.' Whereunto I anſwered: 'Sir, if it be a Secret never as yet by you revealed unto any Man but unto me, you may boldly ſpeak it; but if you have already truſted any Man, or ſhall hereafter declare the ſame to any other, it may ſo fall out, that you may lay ſome other Man's deſerved Blame to my Charge. Therefore in this doubtful Caſe I beſeech you truſt yourſelf, and tell me nothing; for I will not have you ranſack your Incloſure upon my Proteſtation, although I preſume ſo much upon your honeſt Sincerity, being a Gentleman both honeſt and religious, you will utter nothing unto me that ſhall not be like yourſelf; conſidering beſide, I have ſeen you this Day participate a ſound Myſtery moſt reverently and devoutly among the *Jacobins*, which aſſures me, that you cannot produce any thing out of your Mouth either profane or wicked.' Whereunto he replied, That he was expreſly prepared to receive the Holy Communion upon this Day, to the End God might inſpire him with the Underſtanding what was fitteſt for him to do in this Caſe, and reſolved abſolutely to tell it me, that I might diſcloſe it to Doctor *Sampayo*, fearing leſt he might die burdened with ſo great a Secret as concerned the Good of all *Chriſtendom*, holding his Conſcience greatly charged with the Weight thereof, conjuring me ſeriouſly to deliver it ſafe to Doctor *Sampayo*; mean While if it pleaſe God to take him out of this tranſitory World, it might be lawful for me to publiſh it openly before my Death. This and ſuch other like Speeches being ended, he began to unboſom his Conceit in this Manner: It was my Chance to meet with a Gentleman in this Town, my Countryman, between the which and me there had been antient Amity; after many Days Conference at ſecret Meetings, he told me that Don *Sebaſtian*, the King of *Portugal*, was not dead; whereat the ſaid *Godigno* ſeemed to be aſtoniſhed, and ſaid, he did not believe it, until he had ſeen him alive with his own Eyes, and then, ſaid he, I may have Reaſon to be of your Mind. Which the other promiſed ſhould be effected, and, to that Purpoſe carried him to Dinner to the Houſe where Don *Sebaſtion* was lodged, which was as I remember in St. *James*'s Street, or in *Harp* Street; whether the firſt or ſecond Day, or ſhortly after he had uſed that Place, he could not certainly name the Time, but a Friend of his, a *Portugueſe*, came and inquired at the Houſe for Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*; and, as he was coming up the Stairs, *Godigno* haſted down the Stairs to ſtop his Paſſage, and took Occaſion to carry away his Friend, feigning ſome other Affairs with him, becauſe he would prevent the King from Diſcovery, who was very jealous of publick Notice. But, the Morrow after, the ſame Gentleman came again about his former Buſineſs, and inquired earneſtly for the King, and, being there denied him, ceaſed not to aſk, of every one he met throughout all the City, for Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*; but, not prevailing at all, he fell into an extreme Agony, and deſiſted not from Inquiſition to little Purpoſe; and, ſurpriſed with great Care what to do, was at length inſpired with a Motion from God to profeſs a ſolitary Life, and take upon him the Habit of an Hermit: So, being diſguiſed, he travelled towards *Spain*, and, arriving, at the Court, found Means to ſpeak with the Catholick King, ſaying, That he had Matters of great Importance to reveal unto him, and to none but the King. And, after long Attendance, he was admitted to the King's Preſence to have Audience; to whom he proteſted he had lately ſeen Don *Sebaſtian* in *Paris*, and confirmed it by many Signs and Tokens of Verity. The King preſently forbad him by any Means to utter it to any Man living, and willed him to go Abroad every where to ſearch out and diſcover what he might poſſibly; allowing him preſent Money to bear his Charges, delivering him

him a Letter to Don *Bernardin Mendoſa*, then his Leager-ambaſſador in *France*, to give him any Money he ſhould have Cauſe to uſe, not ſignifying unto him for what Cauſe or Intent; and thereupon he ſhewed me Letters, which made the Matter evident, that he had been in *Spain*, as is aforeſaid; but for the Particularities of the ſaid Letters I do not well remember, but that I hold myſelf ſatisfied thereby, that he had been in *Spain*, &c. But, to continue his Tale, he told, he had travelled ſo long, that, his Money being well waſted, he was forced to go to *Mendoſa* to be ſupplied in his Neceſſity; to whom when he would not reveal the Cauſe of his Coming into thoſe Parts, and having Letters of Intelligence out of *Spain* from ſome great Man, that he ſhould deliver that *Godigno* no more Money, being but an Impoſtor and a Deluder, as they termed him, *Mendoſa* was ſoon confirmed in that Parſimony, intending before to ſhut up his Liberality, and to give him never a Denier; at which Denial this *Godigno* began to lament, and burſt forth into bitter Tears: As I judge, his Lamentation was, becauſe he was croſſed and prevented for Coming to the Type of his Enterpriſe.

In the End, proteſting before God and his Angels, and by Vertue of that holy Sacrament he had that Day received, that all that he had uttered to me was true: In the End, without Proteſtation of Believing, or Shew of Infidelity, I promiſed him my Secrecy, as he deſired. Some few Days after this Conference, he returned unto me, as he uſed to do, inquiring what News I heard of Father *Sampayo*; to whom I anſwered, I underſtood of him no more than before. Mean While, I was, as it were, diſtracted in Conceit, ſeeing this Gentleman's Relation a Paradox adverſe to the Fame and vulgar Opinion of Don *Sebaſtian*'s Death: And, weighing this Gentleman's Integrity, Zeal, and Communication, with the *Jacobin*'s, could not in my Conſcience condemn him for a Lyar. But, whether it were true or falſe, according to my Promiſe I concealed it, though it were in ſome Sort an Offence ſo to do. It came to paſs in ſome little Space after, in the Houſe of an Apothecary, dwelling in the Suburbs called *St. Germain*'s, near the Gate, whoſe Houſe was razed at the Siege of *Paris*, that this Man died. Here is all that I can ſay concerning this Subject, which I never opened to any Man, ſaving to Dr. *Sampayo*, which was a good While after, but the Time I do not juſtly remember: And one Cauſe why I was loth to ſpeak of it, was, for that I was afraid to be thought deluded. And, methinks, this I have written unto you may ſeem very ſtrange, notwithſtanding the common Report at this Hour is, that Don *Sebaſtian* was ſeen alive two Years after he was detained in *Venice*: But I tell you, the greater Part of the World ſuppoſe that he is a Counterfeit, ſuborned, &c. God knows what he is, who ever ſend you a happy and long Life: So, with my humble Recommendations to your reverend Self, I leave you. From *Aniſi*, the Laſt of *September*, *Anno* 1601.

I forgot to tell you, that *Emanuel Godigno* added to that before-mentioned, that the *Catholick* King gave him in eſpecial Charge to tell Don *Sebaſtian*, that the *Catholick* King requeſted him by any Means to haſten his Return without Delay to him, deſiring nothing ſo much as to render him the Poſſeſſion of his Realm and Kingdom, and to beſtow his eldeſt Daughter upon him in Marriage.

I am farther to deſire of you ſo much Favour, as to ſend me theſe Books from *Lyons*, here mentioned in a Catalogue, incloſed in this Letter, and I will faithfully repay whatſoever you ſhall lay out to that Purpoſe. Here follow the Titles: All the Works you can find, *De Regno Chriſti temporali*. I beſeech you ſalute for me Monſieur *le Fevre*, recommending my faithful Service unto him: Of whom, if it pleaſe you, you may crave Aſſiſtance in my Buſineſs, for he is a Man *multæ lectionis*.

Good Lord! I had forgotten my Duty to Monſieur *de Tyron*, to Monſieur *Pellejay*, to Monſieur *de Marnay*, and to my loving Friends of *Amboiſe*, three Brethren, reckoning myſelf much bound to them all: Notwithſtanding, I fear they little trouble themſelves with the thinking upon ſo mean a Man as myſelf; and this Conceit half diſmays me to trouble you ſo far, as to recommend me, in all Humility, to my Lord Biſhop of *Evreux*. Whatſoever you ſhall think convenient to perform in my Behalf, either to add or diminiſh, I refer to your Diſcretion.

Your moſt humble Servant,
CL. D. Nouvelet.

The Superſcription.
To M. *Texere*, *Portugueſe*, Counſellor and Almoner to the King, &c.

A Declaration.

THE King, Don *Sebaſtian*, departing from *Paris*, travelled through *France* directly into *Italy*: And I know not who followed him, or where he forſook his Company; but moſt aſſured I am, he reſolved to give over the Pomp and Glory of the World, and to retire himſelf to live privately; and being in *Dalmatia*, he made Choice of an Hermitage for his Habitation, contenting him therewith, in Lieu of his former princely Palace. This poor Hermitage was ſituated on the Top of a Mountain, near the City of *Leſine*, where he abode for the Space of three Years: In the Iſſue of which Time there arrived a Ship of *Portugal*, from whence ſome Paſſengers going a Pilgrimage to that Hermitage, ſeeing the King, knew him incontinently, and ſaid aloud: *Behold, yonder is our King Don* Sebaſtian; and ſpread this Rumour preſently about the City. The King, perceiving that he was diſcovered, grew much diſpleaſed therewith, and, upon that Diſcontentment, determined with himſelf to forſake the Place, to the great Crucifying of my Soul, for there he lived in great Tranquillity of Mind, with no leſs Conſolation. Being in a bodily Fear, leſt the *Portugueſe* ſhould come thither and ſearch for him, he thought good to go: And, before he went from *Leſine*, he diſtributed all his Moveables and Houſhold-ſtuff amongſt his Friends: Three of the which, coming to *Venice*, were called before the Senate, before whom they confirmed all which the ſaid King confeſſed upon his firſt Examination, touching his Eſtate, and Accidents in thoſe Quarters. The Senators called them to come before the King Face to Face, in open View of the whole Senate and Aſſiſtants, and they knew one another very well; and one of them brought a Picture with him, which the King had left behind him, upon the which was painted *Jeſus Chriſt* crucified, with St. *Sebaſtian* and St. *Anthony* of *Padua*. And this Act is ſo common in *Venice*, that they talk thereof without Controulment.

The King departed from *Leſine*, wandering here and there, ſeeking ſome convenient Place to retire himſelf into, fit for his Deſign, lodged himſelf in a Mountain near *Piſa*, where he ſpent his Time as you ſhall hear. He had Hoſe, and what elſe I know not, but no Hat, nor other neceſſary Thing that might ſerve inſtead thereof; by reaſon whereof you muſt needs imagine his Complexion, of Force, muſt alter, which, from Swarthy, became Black: His Hair grew long, but not unſeemly, for he uſed to cut it: His Garments were of coarſe Cloth, and his Food Herbs, Roots, and Fiſhes, which were given him for God's Sake: He frequented the City, where, the firſt Months of his Arrival, he gave Money towards the Dowries and Marriages of poor Maidens; and, at his own Charge, delivered many out of Priſon, diſcharging their Debts. And, having diſtributed all he had for God-ſake, he was fain to receive again for God-ſake, and took that in good Part which was given him in the Town, only to ſerve the Neceſſities of his Perſon, which were few, conſidering the Auſterity of his Diet, and hard Penance which he willingly endured, relieving Priſoners with the Surpluſage of his poor Fortunes, if he had any, to whom he did many Services by his Travel and Labour, to diſpatch their Buſineſs whenſoever they requeſted him. One reported unto me, that he had many charitable Alms at a *Portugueſe*'s Houſe in the Town, who miniſtered unto him Cloaths and other Neceſſaries, without Knowledge what he was, or where he was born; which he, by his own Confeſſion, took very thankfully. The like befell him in *St. Alexis*, where he afterward arrived; and after in *Edeſſa*, a City in *Syria*, he received Benevolence of his own Servants, that wandered almoſt through the habitable Parts of the World to ſeek him.

After he had remained certain Years in theſe Mountains, there appeared a Viſion unto him by Night, wherein he thought God commanded him to repair Home into his own Kingdom, and leave this deſolate and ſolitary Life, and abandon both Hermitage and Mountains: But, afterward miſliking his former Opinion, he began to ſuſpect the ſame Apparition to be diabolical, or merely fantaſtical, and revoked that Purpoſe for to proceed in his Journey Homeward: But a very old Man dwelling near unto him in the foreſaid deſolate Place, with whom he lived in a great League of Amity, becauſe he was a virtuous Man, exerciſing

himſelf

himſelf wholly in Devotion and Prayer, made him revoke that unreverent Conceit of his Viſion, ſaying that it was a good and a godly Motion, and therefore could not proceed from an ill Spirit: And therefore a godly and a divine Viſion, and perſuaded him to do his Endeavour, to execute that, which therein was given him in Charge.

The King liſtened unto this old Man's Advice, and ſo much the rather, for that he diſcovered unto him before many ſtrange Things, and foretold many Matters that he had ſeen take Event according to his Predivination. Whereupon the King wiping away the Tears from his Cheeks, which his woeful Heart had ſent outward as Meſſengers of ſecret Sorrow, took his Leave of his Fellow in Affliction, like one deprived (by Grief) of ready Uſe both of Reaſon and Judgment: So, abruptly leaving his loving Friend and religious Companion, trotted onwards of his Journey from one Place to another, until he came to *Meſſina*, a City in *Sicily*. In which Place it is ſuppoſed he had left (paſſing that Way before) ſome Pieces of Gold and Jewels of Value, which to recover, to ſerve his preſent Turn, and to furniſh him in good Sort, he was forced to diſcover himſelf to his Companions, from whom he had ſtolen long before.

In this Voyage he ſent *Marco Tullio Catizzone* into *Portugal*, with divers Letters, to many Perſons of Quality (as is ſaid before in my Treatiſe called *Admirable Adventures*.) And at *Meſſina* he ſhipped himſelf in a Galley belonging to his Holineſs, bound for *Genoa*, being fraught with Silks, and afterward came to *Civita Vecchia*. From whence without any Delay he poſted to *Rome*, and was lodged near unto *St. Peter*'s Church, where as he was ſleeping in his Chamber, he was robbed by certain of his Servants, whom he had newly entertained into his Service, not long after his Coming to *Rome*. And very near as ſhortly after my Departure from thence, hearing of the Rumour, I ſent to a Friend of mine there, to give me Intelligence of the Certainty of theſe Tidings, and ſpoke with his Hoſteſs, being a Widow, and with her Children and Servants, which reported all that had paſſed in that Buſineſs, ſaying they well diſcerned by his Behaviour, that he was ſome honourable Perſonage, or ſome very great Lord, and ſaid they were very much grieved with the unfortunate Rumour that was ſpread there, that he was declared to be *Don Sebaſtian*, the true King of *Portugal*; which by his Gravity and majeſtical Behaviour aſſured them no leſs, than that he was ſome great Prince.

Conferring this I now learned, with theſe Circumſtances collected before in this Country, and afterwards confirmed at *Venice*, any Man may be aſſured that this Report was true. At *Venice* one ſhewed me an Inventory, written with his own Hand, of thoſe Parcels of Treaſure that had been ſtolen from him: Amongſt the reſt there was a Chain of Gold garniſhed with precious Stones, which the great Sophi preſented him, with a Diamond of great Value, and Rings with precious Stones moſt exquiſitely ſet, with many other Pieces of good Eſtimation and Value. And, while he was diſtempered for the Loſs of theſe Jewels, he miſſed certain Papers, the Purports whereof were of great Importance: All which were ſlipperily conveyed away; which being kept had been direct Teſtimonies to ſerve his Turn, in the doubtful Opinions of them that were to try and ſift him, whether he were the ſame Don *Sebaſtian* he pretended to be. And, having Underſtanding of ſome Ambuſhment laid to intrap him by the Paſſage of *Umbria*, he altered his Courſe and went by *Narne*; and when he came thither, and heard no News of his Enemies in his Way, he went forward by *Tarne*: Where he had Intelligence that his Holineſs would go to our Lady's of *Loretto*. Then he addreſſed his Journey to that Place directly; and, when he came to *Neuvaine*, he underſtood his Holineſs had changed his Purpoſe, and was reſolved to go by *Bologne*, and ſo to *Ferrara*: The King, after his Devotion ended, bent his Travel towards *Bologne*. Whither when he came ſore wearied and tired miſerably, he heard of another Alteration, that his Holineſs, by Means of ſome Sickneſs, that came upon him ſuddenly, had no Intent once to budge from *Rome*, being forced to keep his Chamber. This Toſſing and Reeling to no Purpoſe troubled the poor King exceedingly, having broken the Neck of his Deſigns: Not knowing then what Way to take, thought with himſelf to go ſome Way at a Venture; not reſolving upon any one, his Fortunes grew ſo variable, that at laſt he directly paſt to a Village, which belongs to the Count of *Verona*, in the Midway to *Mantua*, which ſome call *Nogara*. And, when he came to that Borough, a ſtrange Imagination poſſeſſed him, that one

violently withſtood him, for Going any further that Way. Then he, ſuppoſing himſelf to have Day-light enough to guide him to *Mantua*, was contented to be checked in the other Paſſage; finding his Mind aſſailed with a thouſand variable Cogitations, which ſo afflicted him, that he could not utter any one Period of his Vexations, to him that accompanied him. All this Time I had no certain Report of the King's being in that Place; which is the Cauſe I made no Mention of the Day, as I uſed to do of his other Paſſages.

The King being at *Mantua* told a Gentleman of *Loretto*, that, when he was at our *Lady*'s there, he named himſelf, *Juan Poeta*. This Gentleman, being entered into very good Terms of Amity with the King, did him many kind Favours and Courteſies, entertaining him at his Lodging in the beſt Sort he could deviſe: And ſhortly after accompanied him to *Ferrara*, where he apparelled the King in Silks and Velvet. Shortly after this Gentleman had performed theſe Offices to the King, his urgent Buſineſs called him from that Place: But, before he went, he conducted the King to his Taylor's Houſe; and there took Order for Supplying of his Wants, and gave Charge for his ſpecial Entertainment, willing his Hoſt to call him *Joanne Baptiſta Sartori della contrada de Santa Maria la Fratra*. This Man was of good Years, very virtuous and rich, into whoſe Houſe the King entered the Fourth of *October*, *Anno* 1597. In which Year, the King, underſtanding the Pope was to make his Entry into *Ferrara*, accompanied with this Taylor, about the Firſt of *May* ſet forward towards the ſame City: Whither when the King confeſſed himſelf to Friar *Alonſo*, a religious Profeſſor of my Order, a Man of great Virtue and Sincerity (but very ſimple) who came, and found not his Holineſs there, he determined then to attend his Coming; in which Space the King, thinking to do well, did that which fell out to be very ill, in reporting to divers Nobles and Gentlemen, that *Don Sebaſtian* the King of *Portugal* was in the City, attending the Preſence of his Holineſs: And as it happeneth, that one Evil ſeldom comes alone, the Taylor being acquainted with a Gentleman of *Portugal* (whoſe Name I know not, ſome called him *Baron*) this Gentleman the Taylor conducted Home to the King's Lodging to Dinner. This *Portugueſe*, ſitting at the Table, often beheld the King adviſedly as he ſat at Meat, and obſerved him in every Reſpect. Soon after Dinner was done, the King roſe and departed to his Chamber. After his Retiring the Gentleman ſaid to his Hoſteſs, and the reſt of the Company that dined with them, the Taylor alſo being preſent: 'Gentlemen '(ſaid he) this Gentleman, that ſat here at 'Dinner amongſt us, is ſurely *Don Sebaſtian* 'the King of *Portugal*. I am that Country-'man and know him well, for I have 'ſeen him many Times before his Departure 'into *Africa* to war againſt the *Infidels*. All 'we *Portugueſe* hold it for an aſſured Verity, 'that he eſcaped at that Time very ſore hurt, 'and that he was ſeen afterwards in *Portugal*, 'from whence he fled, but how or what Way 'we could never yet learn.' The Taylor no ſooner heard theſe Words, but he went preſently and told them to the King. This Speech much offended the King, and grieved him not a little; and withal, remembering that Friar *Alonſo* had in his mere Simplicity betrayed him: And moreover, conſidering that the King of *Caſtile*'s Agent was adviſed that he was in that City, and plotted againſt him, being in great Fear what Evil might happen unto him, reſolved preſently to ſteal away ſecretly, without taking Leave either of Hoſt, Confeſſor, or Taylor.

This Diſcourſe the Taylor himſelf uttered unto me, with many other Particularities, in the Temple of *St. Silveſter* in *Verona*, confirming the ſame in his own Houſe afterwards, with the Effuſion of abundance of Tears running down his Cheeks and Beard, with ſuch zealous Lamentation, as he forced me to accompany him in the ſelf-ſame Manner of grieving. He told me alſo that he remained in his Houſe with him ſeven Months at the leaſt, and was attended on by his Daughter, being a fair young Maiden: And in all that While he proteſted the King did not once look directly in her Face, commending him for his temperate, affable, and exceeding virtuous Behaviour, and that he obſerved his Faſts very ſeverely, praying almoſt continually: And ſaid farther unto me weeping: 'Father, I 'fear that Prince is much injured: I beſeech 'the Almighty God to preſerve him: O that 'it were lawful for me, and for his Safety, 'that I might keep him within my ſimple Ha-'bitation, not as he is a Prince, but in reſpect 'of his Bounty and Honour: and, if I ſhould 'happen to die before him, I could leave 'him ſufficient to live on all the Days of his 'Life.' Truſt me the Simplicity of this poor old

old Man pleaſed me exceedingly, and induced me the rather to believe him. He alſo informed me by what Title the Senate of *Venice* called him, and inquired of him if ever he entertained him in his Houſe, and whether his Anſwers to divers Interrogatives were true or not, and whether all that he told the Lords were true or falſe? To which he anſwered juſtly, and failed not a Jot; and he maintained him to be the true King of *Portugal*, having many Reaſons ſo to perſuade him: The one was the confident Aſſertion of the *Portugueſe* Gentleman that dined in his Company at *Ferrara*, ſaying he departed out of *Portugal* ſecretly, yet proved by many Circumſtances: And this old Man aſſiſted me much when the Senate convened him before them, aſking him how long he kept Company with him before he came to *Ferrara*, and whether he were the ſame Man that lodged in his Houſe. Then he kneeled down before his Feet, embracing them, and, looking towards the Senate, ſaid: *This is* Don Sebaſtian *King of* Portugal, *which lodged in my Houſe, whom afterward I accompanied to* Ferrara. And when the King was aſked of the Judges, whether he knew that old Man or no: He anſwered, that he had never ſeen him before this Day. At which Anſwer, the old Man told me he was more perplexed, than he was with his ſudden Departure from him at *Ferrara*, and wept moſt bitterly. I muſt excuſe the King for thus Confuting the old Man before the Senate, for that he underſtood at *Venice* and *Padua*, a little after he departed from the Preſence of the Senate, that they had ſtraightly impriſoned and puniſhed one *Monſieur Jeronimo* at *Venice*, for entertaining him in his Houſe, and had puniſhed divers others for doing him the like Favour. And the King, fearing that the like Rigour might be offered this ſilly old Man, made him diſclaim his Acquaintance: Which the King, upon his Return to Priſon, revealed incontinently to Count *Cæſar Martinengo*, to Count *Charles* his Brother, and divers others his fellow Priſoners. 'And the Lords ſaid 'unto me, they called me to ſee one *John* '*Baptiſta Sartori de Verona*, and aſked me if 'I knew him; and for that I was much bound 'to this good old Man, for many good Of-'fices done unto me, and for that I ſaw it 'turned them all to Diſpleaſure, that did me 'any Good, I anſwered for his Safety, that I 'knew him not, nor had ever ſeen him: 'Which the poor old Man digeſts very hea-'vily: And, if any good Friend would but 'deliver this my Excuſe unto him, I will ac-'knowledge myſelf much bound to him for 'that friendly Courteſy.' The ſelf-ſame Act, in the like Words, a Cannon of *Breſſe* reported unto me, meeting me in that City, accompanying me as far as *Lac*, happening to ſpeak of the King, and of the Opinion that was delivered of them generally that had ſeen him: That it was thought verily he was *Don Sebaſtian* the King moſt aſſuredly, not knowing me to be a Favourer of his Proceedings: Telling me that all, he knew of the Matter, he heard of theſe Counts and Gentlemen that were in Priſon with him, for the Space of five Months: Whereof he recited unto me many Particulars: And this Canon (as I take it to be) was called *De Lone*: So after long Conference, the Night approaching, I took my Leave of him, *&c.*

The King, departing from *Ferrara*, held on his Way to *Padua*, and being there, he thought it fit he ſhould attend the Anſwer of his Letters he ſent into *Portugal* by *Marco Tullio Catizzone*: His Devotion performed to *St. Anthony*, he determined to go to *Venice*, where all theſe Things happened unto him, which we have already reported in the former Treaties, intitled, *Admirable Adventures*, &c. as you may read in a Letter ſent to me from *John de Caſtro*; and in that, which the King wrote to his Holineſs: Where it is at large ſpecified, how he was betrayed into the Hands of the *Caſtilians*, by one of his own Servants for Reward, and ſo committed to Priſon. This treacherous Varlet, being convinced and reproved by ſome of the King's Friends, that had Underſtanding of his perfidious Service, being already brought and corrupted with a few Pence, following the perjured Faction like a maſterleſs Curr, fell into the Art of Slandering, and Banding againſt his loyal Maſter with hot Purſuit, and vehement Accuſations, as Sodomy, Couſenage, in Priſon and Abroad. Notwithſtanding all this Villainy, God, that weighs all Men's Cauſes in equal Balance, will not ſuffer his Servants ever to quail under the Burden of Iniquity: The Hearing of his Cauſe was committed to Sir *Marco Quirini*, which was at that Time *Sabio de la terre firme*, and at this Day is *Sabio Grande*, one of the four Judges, Commiſſioners allotted for this Circuit. The ſaid *Quirini*, reporting to the Senate

nate what he had heard concerning his Accuſations, and what alſo was teſtified in his Defence, ſaid, 'That he not only found this 'Man innocent and guiltleſs of the Crimes laid 'to his Charge, but thought him generally to 'have lived a harmleſs Life.' This Sentence was well approved and allowed by the Senators: And as ſoon as it was publiſhed, which was in the Beginning of the Year 1599, they freed the King from the Dungeon where he lay before, and placed him in a more favourable Priſon, a Place of ſome Liberty. You ſhall read hereafter the Pains and Puniſhment *Don Sebaſtian* the King my Maſter endured ſince his Miſadventure in *Africa*, until the Day of his Manifeſtation to the World. I beſeech you hold me excuſed, though I ſatisfy you not ſo plentifully and ſo orderly as you expect or deſire: It is all I could learn, and it is hard to gather ſo much in theſe Parts, where the Truth hath been ſo ingeniouſly laboured to be ſuppreſſed and ſmothered: Beſides, the great Hazard of my Perſon in Travelling to obtain this little, aſſuring you that our Hope withers not, but ſprings daily, to ſee my Lord *Don Sebaſtian* to be as abſolute King of *Portugal*, as it is juſtly due unto him by the Law of God and Nations: Then ſhall my Pen trample upon the Vail of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, that now ſo imperiouſly curbs poor Patience and Equity.

Seeing God hath hitherto been both his Lamp and Shield, to lighten and guard him, through ſo many dark and dangerous Ambuſhments: Why ſhould we not be aſſured that he, that can, hath a Purpoſe to make us rejoice, and wonder as much at his Advancement and Dignity, as his poor Friends and Servants are grieved and diſmayed with his Fall and Miſery; hoping all Chriſtian, magnificent, and majeſtical Princes will join in Interceſſion to the Almighty, to reſtore my poor, yet princely Maſter, from his woeful Impriſonment, to his Crown and Liberty.

A Declaration.

NOW it is requiſite, that I report unto you ſomewhat concerning the Ring, that hath been ſo famous throughout the World, and of the rare Virtues it was eſteemed for; and ſo proceed to handle other Matters, whereof ſome make for his Purpoſe, and others as much for his Hinderance.

You have heard, gentle Reader, of one that ſhewed this King a Ring, *&c.* thus it happened: As ſoon as he was come to *Venice*, there was a Warning given to the Goldſmiths, both by himſelf and ſome other of his Friends, that he was robbed of certain Pieces of Gold and Jewels at *Rome*; then he gave them the Marks and Tokens, deſiring them, that if, any ſuch came into their Hands by Chance, they would make Stay of them, until he, or ſome for him, came to challenge them. Not long after, a Goldſmith lighted upon a Ring of Gold, whereon was engraven the Arms of *Portugal*, which Ring he preſently brought to Monſieur *Jeronimo*, of whom you have read before, an Inhabitant of the ſame Town, who was jointly apprehended with the King for Lodging in his Houſe, and was not delivered until five Hours after the King was ſet at Liberty. *Jeronimo* took the Ring, and brought it ſecretly to the King, lodging privily in his Houſe. As ſoon as the King beheld the Ring, he ſaid, This Ring is none of mine, but belongs to Don *Antonio*, my Couſin. This Relation I had from *Jeronimo* himſelf, at *Venice*, in the Preſence of many Witneſſes, and how the Goldſmith happened to get this Ring. In *Moran*, an Iſland ſome half League from *Venice*, there is an Abbot called *Capelo*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, a grave Perſonage, and of great Authority, hearing that the King laid Wait for certain Jewels that he had loſt, hoping thereby to recover ſome of them, having a Diamond in his Keeping, with the Arms of *Portugal*, came to the Town to the Conventicles of St. *Francis*, called *Frari*, where the King lay concealed, for that he was purſued by ſome that meaned him no Good; who no ſooner beheld the Ring, but he ſaid, Verily this is mine; and I either loſt the ſame in *Flanders*, or elſe it was ſtolen from me. And, when the King had put it upon his Finger, it appeared otherwiſe engraven than before. The Abbot inquiring of him, that brought him the Ring, How he came by it? He anſwered, It is true that the King hath ſaid. There hence aroſe a ſtrange Rumour of a Ring, that, by turning the Stone, you might diſcern three great Letters engraven, *S. R. P.* that is

as

as much to ſay, *Sebaſtianus Rex Portugalliæ*. Ignorant People, not conceiving aright of the Thing, raiſed thereupon ſuch Rumours, as their own Imaginations could gather; and at all Times, ſo often as the Abbot ſhewed the Ring to the King, he had many Witneſſes to teſtify the ſame. I ſojourned three Weeks in the ſame Iſle, very near the Abbot's Houſe, after this had paſſed.

To the Second Point: Although the King was lean and weak, by Reaſon of his Travel and Troubles, as it is like he could not be ſo ſtrong and puiſſant as he was when he reigned in *Portugal*, being there full-fed and corpulent; yet in *Padua*, in the Houſe of Don *Proſpero Baracco*, he was ſeen to lift up two Men at once with great Facility, one of which was called *Paſquino Moroſini*, the other *Bernardino Santi*; both theſe together, putting his Arm between their Legs, he heaved from the Ground, without Straining or Wrenching, in the View of many. He did the like in the Iſle of *Moran* to two others, the one called *Jeronimo Calegari*, the other *Paſquilino Calegari*, and there was preſent the Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, at the like Performance of his Puiſſance, with other Men of Quality; and this *Paſquilino* was a Man both tall and corpulent. A *Venetian* Gentleman, of the Houſe wherein the King was Priſoner, oftentimes took Occaſion to ſcoff at the King, ſaying, It was impoſſible he ſhould be the Perſon he reported himſelf to be, with other jearing Frumps; whereto the King ſaid earneſtly, Sir, I pray you tell me the Reaſon of your Incredulity, and whereupon it is grounded; and *Moliner* anſwered, Becauſe I have heard it often reported, that the King, Don *Sebaſtian*, was a luſty ſtrong Man, of Power to pull a Horſe-ſhoe in ſunder with his Hands, and able to tire ſix Horſes in an Hour; and you are but a ſpare, poor, meager Shrimp, and a Griſtle in Reſpect of ſuch a one, and ſcarcely able to tear four Cards aſunder, if they be well joined together, nor like to tire one Horſe in an Hour. Well, ſaid the King, if Force will prove me to be Don *Sebaſtian*, *&c.* and the Matter reſt only upon that, it may be, that one Day I may ſatisfy you in that Point. So long this Gallant continued in his former Jearing and Railing, that, one Day above the reſt, he moved the King's Patience, and made him angry, and conſtrained him to ſhew him, by the Force of his Hands, that he was Don *Sebaſtian*, *&c.* and made him confeſs the ſame; for, being in a Rage, he came upon him directly, and took him by the Girdle with his Right-hand, and, heaving him higher than his Head, carried him round about the Priſon in that Manner, to the great Admiration of all that beheld it; and this Gentleman, never after, durſt abuſe him any more, but uſed him with the Honour and Reverence that was due unto him. In like Manner, he took up in the ſame Priſon, by the Girdle, one *Gaſparo Turloni*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, with his Right-hand, and *Baptiſta Marſoto* with his Left-hand, and lifted them both up from the Ground at one Time. He alſo, in the ſame Priſon, took up, putting his Arm between their Legs, two other Gentlemen, one very groſs and corpulent, namely *Meſſier Lucio de Meſſine*, and *Alexander de Alexandria*, and lifted them both of a good Height; the Opportunity of this Gentleman made him do it in Priſon; and at *Padua*, and at *Moran*, he was diſpoſed to ſhew his Force, to pleaſure his Friends thereby. That, which before was ſpoken of the Ring, and of his Forces, were the two Things I thought neceſſary firſt to give you Notice of.

To add to the two firſt two others: In *Venice* there is a rich and an honourable Merchant, who, hearing of this King, what Marks and Tokens he had on his Body, and what he had ſaid and done, took Occaſion to go to him, and made Means to deſerve his Love and Amity, by the Performance of many kind Offices towards him. This Merchant was a *Piedmonteſe* by Nation, by Name called Monſieur *John Baſſaneſſe*, and his Mother, being a Widow, married after to one *Bartholomæo Verneti*, a *Piedmonteſe* born alſo, who often uſed to check and reprove his Son-in-law for Going ſo much to the King, ſaying, He was an Impoſtor and a Counterfeit; and his Son-in-law boldly defended the King, by all the Means and Reaſons he could deviſe. During this Contention betwixt the Father and the Son-in-law, the old Man ſaid, Come hither, hear me: *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, ſent an Ambaſſador to Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, his Nephew, Son to his Couſin-german, which Ambaſſador brought him a Preſent, and returned back again from the ſaid King with an Anſwer, and another Preſent from the King to the Duke; the Ambaſſador's

Name was *Dominico Belli*, whoſe Servant I was at that very Inſtant, by Means whereof I ſaw, and was privy to all the Parcels, and placed them myſelf in the Caſket, and likewiſe ſaw adviſedly what was returned from the King. Now, Sir, if you can perſuade that Man, that ſays he is Don *Sebaſtian*, *&c.* to tell me what Parcels thoſe were, that were ſent to and fro, directly, you ſhall bring me to be of your Mind, and to confeſs, that he is the very ſame Man he nominates himſelf to be. *John Baſſaneſſe* hearing theſe Words, bethought himſelf which Way he might come to have Conference with the King, to underſtand the Right of this Matter; and, as he was ſtudying how to bring his Purpoſe about, he dreamed of a Stratagem, which ſhould effect his Deſign, which was, That he would perpetrate ſome light Crime, in Hope therefore to be committed to the Priſon, where the King was: Whereupon he reſolved to take a Cudgel under his Cloke, and go to the *Realto*, the chiefeſt Place in *Venice*, and there quarrel with one or other, and baſtinado him until he had drawn Blood of him, for which Act he doubted not but to be committed: He proceeded according to his ſecret Determination, and, when he was come near the *Realto*, he met with a Friend of his, who perceiving by his Countenance, that he was troubled in Mind, ſaid unto him, Sir, I ſee by you there is ſomewhat amiſs. *John Baſſaneſſe* being well aſſured, that he was a faithful Servant to the King, laid open his Intention unto him, who found Means to get a Note, in Writing, under the King's Hand, of all the Parcels, that paſſed from the one to the other. This Memorandum was put into the Hands of one *Leonardo Donato*, one of the *Sabio Grande*, that firſt examined the King, and was thought to owe him little Goodwill; but, after he ſurveyed his Cauſe, and found it ſo juſt and true, travelled earneſtly to the Senate, to pronounce him Don *Sebaſtian*, the true King of *Portugal*. All this I have heard confirmed by many very worthy Perſons: The Original I could not bring with me, for that *Donato*, at my being there, was employed as General of five and twenty-thouſand Foot, and five-thouſand Horſe, in the County of *Breſſe*, which Force, the Seigniory had levied the Year before, for their Defence, upon ſome Intelligence, *&c.* But, as ſoon as *John Baſſaneſſe* had got the Writing, he hied him Home to his Father-in-law, and they agreed between them, that one ſhould ſtand at one End of the Table, and the other below, and the Father wrote the Pieces he knew, and the Son, by his Note, was able to inform the old Man of divers Parcels that he had forgotten; and the old Man ſaid, It was Haſte made him overſlip ſomewhat; thoſe four white Horſes, ſaid he, I did not well remember, but I think verily it was true; and the old Man wondered not a little, how his Son came by this Intelligence, and ſaid, He had deviſed it himſelf; but, ſeeing himſelf vanquiſhed, ſaid to his Son, Viſit the King, my Son, at your Pleaſure, and do him what Good you may, and I beſeech God to aſſiſt him.

Foraſmuch as I know the curious Sort of People deſire to view the Particulars, and to make our Proof the more authentical, I have here ſet them down in Order, as they were inventoried.

The Parcels preſented by the Duke to the King.

A Caſe full of Silks, of divers Colours.

Another, full of Cloth of Silver, of divers Sorts and Colours.

Another, full of Cloth of Gold, of divers Colours.

A Diamond ſet in a Ring.

An ancient Garment, of very great Value, being a Trophy, taken from the *French* at St. *Quintain's*, embroidered and garniſhed about the Neck with many Jewels; four white Horſes, which the old Man had forgotten, and divers other Pieces not named.

Thoſe Parcels that were ſent from the King to the Duke.

A great Chain of Gold of very good Value, two Peutrils, two Bits, two Pair of Stirrups, all garniſhed with Diamonds, Rubies, and other Stones of great Price.

One Diamond ſet in Gold, which *Bartholomæo Verneti* ſaid was as big as the Nail of his Right-thumb.

Many *Eaſt-Indian* Diſhes, of ſundry Colours, with other rich Things of good Eſteem.

For the Second of the laſt Proofs, being the fourth and laſt, you ſhall underſtand that there be four Merchants at *Venice*, Men endued with Wealth, Honour, Eſtimation, and Charity, that in my Hearing have named theſe four Witneſſes

Witneſſes *Barnaba Rizzo*, *Jean Baſſaneſſe*, *Conſtantine Nicoli*, who keeps in his Hand the original Letter of Don *Raimond Marqueti*, by which it is manifeſt that Don *Sebaſtian* is one Man, and *Marco Tullio Catizzone* another: which Letter he ſhewed publickly at *St. Mark*'s, to convince the Falſhood of the *Caſtilians*, and their Adherents: For the which and ſuch other like Services, the *Spaniards* could not be appeaſed without Revenge. The Nineteenth of *October*, I had Intelligence by Letters, that one came into this honeſt Man's Shop, his Servants being all ſent out of the Way, and cut him on the Head with a Cutlaſs, and in divers other Places ſo dangerouſly, that he was in great Peril of his Life. The Malefactor eſcaped unknown. The fourth and laſt is called *Baptiſta Dolphin*, and theſe four have been ever good Friends to the King, both by entertaining him and travelling in his Affairs, to the uttermoſt of their Power, to ſet him at Liberty, without Intermiſſion of any Minute of Opportunity, that might be ſpent in his profitable Service. But the *Caſtilian* Agents conſidering and knowing the Zeal of theſe Perſonages, and obſerving their Conſtancy, that, both with all their Might and Main, defended the Cauſe of the King my Maſter: Seeing that neither fair Promiſes, Perſuaſions, nor Threatenings, could make them deſiſt from their vowed Fidelity and Aſſiſtance, entered into this deviliſh Practice. Firſt they began to publiſh theſe Witneſſes to be Fools, Couſeners, and Rogues, and perſuaded certain Bankers and Brokers to lay Wagers with them, that the Priſoner was not Don *Sebaſtian* the King: Aſſuring them that they might offer to give a Thouſand for One, if ever it were proved or publiſhed; for that they knew aſſuredly, that he was a *Calabrian*, a Sodomite, a Thief, a Couſener, and a Counterfeit, and that 'ere long they ſhould ſee him hanged upon one of the Pillars of *St Mark*'s Church. Theſe Uſurers believing this to be true, and deſirous to make Gain of any Thing, began to enter into the Courſe of laying Wagers, as the *Caſtilians* had adviſed them. The Witneſſes hearing they offered ſo frankly a Thouſand to One, if the Priſoner were judged to be Don *Sebaſtian*, &c. knowing certainly that it was he (believing that the Senate, in regard of ſuch eſpecial Marks, Tokens, and Proofs, would not refuſe to publiſh him, what they had found him) were eaſily drawn to bargain with theſe Bankers, to ſome of the which, the ſimple and honeſt Men gave out twenty, ſome thirty, ſome fifty, ſome ten, ſome five Crowns, in Hopes to be paid a Thouſand for One: So that they had given out ſome three-hundred Crowns or more; and, ſhortly after they found out the Wrong and Hinderance they had done to the poor King's Cauſe, by their Money, they began to repent themſelves exceedingly of their Folly: The Account was caſt, that the Repayment would amount to three-hundred thouſand Crowns. And the Bankers ſeeing themſelves engaged for ſo great a Sum of Money; and if the Senate ſhould chance to publiſh that which they knew to be true, that they were like to be ſtripped of the greateſt Part of their Subſtance, began to complot and oppoſe themſelves to countercheck the Truth, which fell out to be a great Prejudice and Bar to the King my Maſter's Cauſe; for that many chief Men, and the Factors of many principal Houſes, were intereſted in this Hazard of Indemnity: As thoſe of the Houſe of *Aſtroci*, *Caponi*, *Baglioni*, *Labia*, *Jacobo Begia*, *Antonio Simone*, *Pietro Tobon*, *Baſtian Garinoni*, and many others of their Parents and Allies, for their Sakes: Among which were divers that bare Offices in the Commonweal, as *Jacobo Feſcurini* a Proctor in *St. Mark*, that was ever an Enemy to the King my Maſter. In the End this deviliſh Invention, and *Caſtilian* pernicious Policy, wrought us much Woe, and multiplied our Enemies infinitely: For it was ſo commonly known and ſpoken, that little Children, as they went for Muſtard, could ſay, that this was the principal Cauſe why the Senators would have had Don *Sebaſtian* ſay, he was not Don *Sebaſtian* but a *Calabrian*, and they promiſed ſtraight to ſet him at Liberty; and not that Favour alone, but they would do what elſe for him, he could or would require. Whereupon he wrote a Letter to the Pope, complaining juſtly upon the Senators of *Venice*, for Requiring at his Hands ſo unlawful a Thing, to whom he declared in his Letter, that he anſwered them, that he had rather die a tortured Death, than confeſs ſo palpable an Untruth, to gain an ignominious Life and Liberty. O that it were poſſible for me to ſpeak all that is true in this Caſe! But I muſt let paſs infinite Injuries, leſt the Revealing all might rather aggravate than relieve my Maſter's Miſeries. If I durſt, this Diſcourſe ſhould have been more ample, and better underſtood

derſtood; if it were lawful that I might ſay what I could ſay, that the Monarchs and Princes of *Chriſtendom* have done the King my Lord ſecretly and openly much Good and Ill, and are unwilling either of both ſhould be manifeſted to the World in Writing. Notwithſtanding I will never bury in Silence an Anſwer that a grand *Sabio* of this Commonwealth made to a magnificent Prince in *Europe*, of great Underſtanding, but of no great Antiquity. This *Sabio*, going to viſit this Prince, was intreated by him to tell him what Ground the Seigniory of *Venice* had, to proceed upon the Priſoner in that Form, which called himſelf Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*? For (ſaid he) if they found him to be a *Calabrian*, why did they ſet him at Liberty without Chaſtiſement? And if it were verified unto them by good Proofs and Evidence that he was Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, why did they uſe him in that Manner? The Grand *Sabio* publickly made this Anſwer in the Preſence of many. Sir, foraſmuch as the Affairs concerned the Eſtate of *Spain*, the Seigniory would not preſume to judge whether it was he or not. This Man was committed for Diſobeying a Commandment the Seignory laid upon him, and therefore reſtrained two Years of his Liberty, to the End he might repent him of his Fault, and after the Expiration of two Years again diſmiſſed him upon the like Commandment. And to be plain with your Excellency: The Man would follow no good Advice, but was wilful, turbulent, and of ill Government, by which Means much Ill is come unto him. That Word, *ill adviſed*, might have been well interpreted, for that he would not deny himſelf to be that which undoubtedly he was. It was not my Fortune to be preſent at this Act, being elſewhere employed out of thoſe Parts: But at my Return it was related to me, by a learned Perſon that was there preſent; which afterward the ſame Prince himſelf did ratify unto me, aſſuring me that the Anſwer of that *Sabio* Grand did verily induce him to believe, that that Priſoner was *Don Sebaſtian*, the very true King of *Portugal*: For if the Seigniory had held this Man to be a *Calabrian*: Said this Prince, To what Purpoſe did the *Sabio* hold me with ſuch a long Diſcourſe publickly, conſidering he knew the Privity of the Affairs? If he had been proved a *Calabrian*, it had been ſufficient to have ſaid in a Word, Sir, he was a *Calabrian*, an Impoſtor, and a Couſener, without any more ado. But you ſee how the World fares, and how it ſways abruptly, and ſo ends my pitiful Narration; adviſing, intreating, and conjuring you (gentle Reader) to ſhun the Snares and Trips of theſe ſubtle Enemies: For I can aſſure you, by the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, that they be thoſe that *St. Chryſoſtome* terms the Phariſees, *Qui portabant mel in ore, & fel in corde*: They will ſlap you in the Mouth with Honey, which when you begin to chew, perhaps you ſhall taſte ſweet, but, in the Digeſtion, you ſhall find it moſt bitter in Operation. Farewell.

The Judges Judgment. A Speech penned in the Beginning of the Parliament againſt the Judges.

Per ignotum quendam.

Printed for *John Aſhton*, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

Mr. *Speaker*,

IT was a Cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* (who, as by their Power they once gave Laws, ſo, by the happy Succeſs of their long flouriſhing Government, might they well give Examples to all the World) that in their Senates the youngeſt Man ſpoke firſt: Partly, that they might not have their weaker Notions anticipated by the more knowing Senators; and partly, for that the Senate might not be diverted from the mature Reſolutions of the more antient, by the Interpoſitions of the younger

younger Men; they, as all free States, ever allowing free Members to expreſs themſelves according to their ſeveral Capacities: And methinks it was a happy Method. So your Opinions and Inclinations of the Aſſembly being diſcovered and ripened to Reſolution by ſuch Gradations, the Sentences of the Sages founded as Judgments, not Orations; their Wiſdom and Gravity put a ſeaſonable Period to others, perhaps otherwiſe endleſs Diſcourſes.

Their Precedent encourages me (who worſt may) to break the Ice. Children can lay their Fingers on the Sore, point out their Pain; and infant Graduates in Parliament may groan out the Grievances of a diſeaſed Commonwealth; but they muſt be Doctors in the Art of Government, that can apply apt Remedies to recover it.

Mr. *Speaker*, Antient and approved hath been that Parallel of the body Politick with the body Natural: It is the Part of the Patients in either diſtempered, to impart freely their Griefs to the Phyſicians of the Body or State, if they expect a Cure.

This Commonwealth is, or ſhould be, but one Body: This Houſe the great Phyſician of all our Maladies; and, alas, Mr. *Speaker*, of what afflicted Part ſhall we poor Patients complain firſt? Or rather, of what ſhall we not complain?

Are we not Heart-ſick? Is there in us that which God requires, Unity, Purity, and Singularity of Heart? Nay, is not Religion (the Soul of this Body) ſo miſerably diſtracted, that, I ſpeak it with Terror of Heart, it is to be feared, there is more Confuſion of Religions amongſt us, than there was of Tongues at the Subverſion of *Babel*: And is it not then high Time that we underſtand one another, that we were reduced to one Faith, one Government?

Sir, Is the Head whole: The Seat of Government and Juſtice, the Fountain from whoſe ſweet Influence all the inferior Members of this Body ſhould receive both Vigour and Motion: Nay, hath not rather a general Apoplexy, or Palſy, taken, or ſhaken, all our Members? Are not ſome dead? Others buried quick? Some diſmembered, all diſordered, by the Diverſion of the Courſe of Juſtice? Is the Liver (Nature's *Exchequer*) open; from whoſe free Diſtribution each Limb may receive its proper Nutriment, or rather is it not wholly obſtructed? Our Property taken from us? So that it may properly be ſaid of us, *Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra*; our Anceſtors drank the Juice of their own Vines, reaped and eat the Fruit of their own Harveſt. But now the poor Man's Plough goes to furrow the Seas, to build Ships. We labour not for ourſelves, but to feed Excreſcences of Nature, Things grown up out of the Ruins of the Natural Members, Monopoliſts.

Sir, Theſe are *Maxime vitalia*; Religion, Juſtice, Property: The Heart, the Head, the Liver, of this great Body; and theſe diſtempered or obſtructed, can the ſubordinate Parts be free? No, Sir, the Truth is, all is ſo far out of Frame, that to lay open every particular Grievance were to drive us into Deſpair of Cure: In ſo great Confuſion, where to begin firſt, requires not much leſs Care than what to apply.

Mr. *Speaker*, I know it is a plauſible Motion to begin with Setting God's Houſe in Order firſt: Who preſſes that, moves with ſuch Advantage, that he is ſure no Man will gainſay him. It is a well-becoming Zeal, to prefer Religion before our own Affairs; and indeed it is a Duty not to be omitted, where they are in equal Danger: But, in Cure of the body Politick or Natural, we muſt ſtill prefer the moſt preſſing Exigents.

Phyſicians know that Conſumptions, Dropſies, and ſuch-like lingering Diſeaſes, are more mortal, more difficult to cure, than ſlight external Wounds: Yet, if the leaſt Vein be but, they muſt neglect their greater Cures to ſtop that, which, if neglected, muſt needs exhauſt the Stock of Nature, and produce a Diſſolution of the whole Man.

A Defection from the Duties of our Religion is a Conſumption to any State; no Foundation is firm that is not laid in *Chriſt*.

The Denial of Juſtice, the Abridgment of our Liberties, is ſuch an Obſtruction as renders the Commonwealth Leprous; but the Wounds in our Property let out the Life-blood of the People.

The Reformation of Church-Government muſt neceſſarily be a Work of much Time, and, God be thanked, the Diſeaſe is not deſperate: *We ſerve one God, we believe in one Chriſt, and we all acknowledge and profeſs one Goſpel.* The Difference is only *de modo*, we vary but in Ceremonies; to reduce which to the primitive Practice, muſt be a Work of great

great Debate, is not a Work for us alone to ſettle.

The Stop of Juſtice can yet injure but Particulars. It is true, there may be many, too many Inſtances of ſtrange Oppreſſions, great Oppreſſors; but it will be hard to judge the Concluſion. *Eadem de cæteris.*

But, take from us the Property of our Eſtates, our Subſiſtences, we are no more a People; this is that Vein, which hath been ſo deep cut, ſo far exhauſted, that, to preſerve our Being, we muſt, doubtleſs, firſt ſtop this Current; then ſettle Rules to live by, when we are ſure to live.

Mr. *Speaker*, he, that well weighs this little Word, *Property*, or Propriety in our Eſtates, will find it of a large Extent; the Leeches, that have ſucked this Blood, have been Exciſe, Benevolences, Loans, Impoſitions, Monopolies, Military Taxes, Ship-money, *cum multis aliis*; all which ſpring from one Root.

And is it not high Time to grub up that Root, that brings forth ſuch Fruit? Shall we firſt ſtand to lop the Branches one by one, when we may down with all at once? He, that, to correct an evil Tree, that brings forth bad Fruit, ſhall begin at the Maſter-Bough, and ſo lop downwards, is in Danger to fall himſelf, before the Tree falls. The ſafer and ſpeedier Way is to begin at the Root; and there, with Submiſſion to better Judgments, would I lay to the Axe.

The Root of moſt of our preſent Miſchiefs, and the Ruin of all Poſterity, do I hold to be that extrajudicial (Judgment I cannot ſay, but rather) Doom, delivered by all the Judges, under their Hands out of Court, yet recorded in all Courts, to the Subverſion of all our fundamental Laws and Liberties, and Annihilation, if not Confiſcation of our Eſtates: That, in Caſe of Danger, the King may impoſe upon his Subjects, and that he is the ſole Judge of the Danger, Neceſſity, and Proportion; which, in brief, is to take what, when, and where he will: Which, though delivered in the Time of a gracious and merciful Prince, who, we hope, will not wreſt it beyond our Abilities, yet, left to the Interpretation of a ſucceeding Tyrant, if ever this Nation be ſo unfortunate to fall into the Hands of ſuch, it is a Record, wherein every Man may read himſelf a Slave, that reads it, having nothing he can call his own, all proſtitute to the Will of another.

What to do in ſuch a Caſe we are not to ſeek for Precedents; our honourable Anceſtors taught us, in the juſt and exemplary Puniſhments of Chief Juſtice *Treſilian* and his Accomplices (for Giving their Judgments, out of Parliament, againſt the eſtabliſhed Laws of Parliament, how tender they were of us, how careful we ought to be to continue thoſe Laws, to preſerve the Liberty of our Poſterity.

I am far from maligning the Perſon, nor in my Heart wiſh I the Execution of any Man; but, certainly, it ſhall be a Juſtice well becoming this Houſe, to lay their Heads at his Majeſty's Mercy, who had laid us under his Feet, who had made us but Tenants at Will of our Liberties and Eſtates.

And, though I cannot but approve of Mercy, as a great Virtue in any Prince, yet I heartily pray it may prove a Precedent as ſafe and uſeful to this oppreſſed State, as that of Juſtice.

Mr. *Speaker*, Blaſted may that Tongue be, that ſhall in the leaſt Degree derogate from the Glory of thoſe Halcyon Days, our Fathers enjoyed, during the Government of that ever-bleſſed, never-to-be-forgot Royal *Eliſabeth!* But certainly I may ſafely ſay, without Detraction, it was much Advantage to the Peace and Proſperity of her Reign, that the great Examples of *Empſon* and *Dudley* were then freſh in Memory. The Civility of our Laws tells us, That Kings *can* do no Wrong; and then is the State ſecure, when Judges, their Miniſters, *dare* do none. Since our Times have found the Want of ſuch Examples, it is fit we ſhould leave ſome to Poſterity. God forbid, that all ſhould be thought, or found guilty! There are, doubtleſs, ſome Ring-leaders, let us ſift them out. In publick Government, to paſs by the Nocent is equal Injuſtice, as to puniſh the Innocent. An Omiſſion of that Duty, now, will be a Guilt in us, render us ſhamed in Hiſtory, curſed by Poſterity; our gracious and, in that Act of voluntary Juſtice, moſt glorious King hath given up, to the Satisfaction of his afflicted People, the Authors of their Ruins; the Power of future Preſervation is now in us; *& qui non ſervat patriam, cum poteſt, idem facit deſtruenti patriam.*

What though we cannot reſtore the Damage of the Commonwealth, we may yet repair the Breaches in the Bounds of Monarchy; though it be with our Loſs and Charge,

we

we ſhall ſo leave our Children's Children fenced, as with a Wall of Safety, by the Reſtoration of our Laws to their ancient Vigour and Luſtre.

It is too true, that it is to be feared the Revenues of the Crown, ſold out-right, would ſcarce remunerate the Injuries, or repay the Loſſes of this ſuffering Nation ſince the Pronouncing of that fatal Sentence. What proportionable Satisfaction, then, can this Commonwealth receive in the Puniſhment of a few inconſiderable Delinquents? But it is a Rule valid in Law, approved in Equity, that, *Qui non habent in crumena, luant in corpore*; and it is without all Queſtion, in Policy, exemplary Puniſhments conduce more to the State, than pecuniary Reparations; Hope of Impunity lulls every bad great Officer into Security, for his Time; and, Who would not venture to raiſe a Fortune, when the Allurements of Honour and Wealth are ſo prevalent, if the Worſt, that can befall, be but Reſtitution?

We ſee the bad Effects of this bold erroneous Opinion; what was at firſt but corrupt Law, by Encouragement taken from their Impunity, is ſince become falſe Doctrine; the People taught in Pulpits, They have no Property; Kings inſtructed in that deſtructive Principle, That all is their's; and it is thence deduced into neceſſary State-policy, whiſpered in Council, That he is no Monarch, who is bounded by any Law.

By which bad Conſequences, the beſt of Kings hath been, by the Infuſion of ſuch poiſonous Poſitions, diverted from the ſweet Inclinations of his own natural Equity and Juſtice; the very Eſſence of a King taken from him, which is the Preſervation of his People; and, whereas *Salus Populi* is, or ſhould be *Suprema Lex*, the Power of undoing us is maſqued under the Stile of what ſhould be ſacred Royal Prerogative.

And is it not high Time for us to make Examples of the firſt Authors of this ſubverted Law, bad Counſel, worſe Doctrine?

Let no Man think to divert us from the Purſuit of Juſtice, by poiſoning the clear Streams of our Affections with jealous Fears of his Majeſty's Interruption, if we look too high. Shall we therefore doubt of Juſtice, becauſe we have Need of great Juſtice? We may be confident, the King well knows, That his Juſtice is the Band of our Allegiance; that it is the Staff, the Proof of his Sovereignty?

It is an happy Aſſurance of his Intentions of Grace to us, that our Loyalty hath at laſt won him to tender the Safety of his People; and certainly (all our Preſſures well weighed, theſe twelve Years laſt paſt) it will be found, the paſſive Loyalty of this ſuffering Nation hath out-done the active Duty of all Times and Stories: As the Poet hath it,

Fortiter ille facit, qui miſer eſſe poteſt.

I may as properly ſay, *Fideliter fecimus*, We have done loyally to ſuffer ſo patiently.

Then, ſince our Royal Lord hath in Mercy viſited us, let us not doubt, but, in his Juſtice, he will redeem his People. *Qui timide rogat, docet negare.* But, when Religion is innovated, our Liberties violated, our fundamental Laws abrogated, our modern Laws already obſoleted, the Property of our Eſtates alienated, nothing left us, we can call our own, but our Miſery and our Patience; if ever any Nation might juſtifiably, this certainly may now, now moſt properly, moſt ſeaſonably cry out, and cry aloud, *Vel ſacræ regnet juſtitia, vel ruat cœlum.*

Mr. *Speaker*, the Sum of my humble Motion is, That a ſpecial Committee may be appointed to examine the whole Carriage of that extrajudicial Judgment; who were the Counſellors, Sollicitors, and Subſcribers to the ſame; the Reaſons of their Subſcription; whether according to their Opinions, by Importunity, or Preſſure of others, whether *pro forma tantum*; and, upon Report thereof, to draw up a Charge againſt the Guilty; and then, *Currat Lex, fiat Juſtitia.*

The Character of an *Oxford* Incendiary. Printed for *Robert White*, in 1643. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

AN

AN *Oxford* Incendiary is a Court Salamander, whoſe proper Element is *Fire:* An *Engliſhman*, yet lives by Antiperiſtaſis to his native Climate, and turns our Northern Temperate into the Torrid Zone. All antient Philoſophers are by him confuted, having made one Region more of Fire than they dreamed of; nor is it any Wonder, ſeeing he creates new Prodigies every Day.

I ſuppoſe him lineally deſcended from St. *George*'s Fiery Dragon; and, if you pleaſe to inquire of Doctor *Heylin*, he may chance to make good the Heraldry. But, whoſoever was the Sire, Mother he hath none that I can hear of; nor do I believe that Nature, our common Mother, will own the Monſter. For his Name, you may, if you pleaſe, make bold with *Ovid*, and call him *Phaeton*, for he rules the Chariot of the Sun, and, having gotten the Reins in his own Hand, hurries all into Combuſtion; yet the deſperate Wretch cares not, ſo he may work a Metamorphoſis upon the Nation, or mingle his own with the Kingdom's Aſhes.

His Birth-place I take to be Mount *Ætna*; there *Empedocles* acted the Man-midwife, and delivered him out at the Tonnels. If the Pope want a Leiger for Purgatory, none can fit him better; he being of a Conſtitution and Religion ſuitable to the Service.

But his Employment muſt be altogether at Home, elſe the deluded Fraternity will grow chill in their Deſigns here; and to them there's no Sport without a Fire Drake, or an *Ignis Fatuus*.

To be a little more plain; an *Oxford* Incendiary is the Excrement of ill-governed Monarchy; the vaſt Volume of Treaſon wrapped up in an Epitome; one that feeds the Vulture Prerogative with the Carcaſe of the Commonwealth, that it may diſgorge into his own Coffers; and makes a Mule, to ſay no worſe of Majeſty, to carry him through all his own private Deſigns againſt the Publick.

Yet, notwithſtanding his proper Sphere is the Court, there he ſhines a bright Conſtellation of Royal Favour, though the whole Kingdom beſide take him for a prodigious Comet, and behold him with the ſame Countenance as they did that in the Year 1618. Nor is it without Reaſon, when the meaneſt Prognoſticator cries, that he portends the Ruin of ſome great Princes. Upon his Influence depends the Almanack of Treaſon, exactly calculated for the ſeveral Meridians of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*; for from thence you may judge of all Eclipſes between King and Parliament, or tell what Weather will be in *Great-Britain* the whole Year following.

Thus *Jupiter* and *Mars*, meeting in Conjunction at *York*, with a direful Aſpect threatened Miſery to the Nation; though it produced no Effect, till an Interpoſition of Malignants at *Shrewſbury*, and an oblique Courſe of *Venus* from *Holland*, bade us expect a Deluge of Blood.

Indeed it may ſerve for *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, with very little (or no) Difference; for the Tragedy and Actors are the ſame, only the Scenes are ſeveral, the better to dreſs out the Plot, and make it ſeem more intricate: Thus the rare *Iriſh* Commiſſion was begotten of *Engliſh* Parents, when the Earl of *Antrim* was made a Godfather to the Deſign; though *Ormond* had rather forfeit his Honour and Conſcience, than ſay they were *Engliſh* Hands which cut the Proteſtants Throats with an *Iriſh* Knife.

But this is not all, the Train of Gunpowder reaches to *Scotland*; and there they light Matches to blow up the Fidelity of that Nation: Which not taking Effect upon the Heads, then Squib-cracks are tied to the very Breech of *Thule*, to ſet Fire on the Highland Wilderneſs; for in ſuch barren Places is their Harveſt: Rare Vipers! who thrive beſt out of the Sun-ſhine, in the dark Caves of Bariſm and Ignorance.

But ſtand off, or provide an Antidote: The moſt prodigious Serpent comes crawling this Way; ſome monſtrous *African* or *American*, for ſure it is not of the *Britiſh* Brood; yet every Cavalier carries it in his Boſom, like a tame Snake: It is the Commiſſion of Array, a very flying Dragon hatched in a Conventicle of Spit-fires; an illegitimate By-blow to ſupplant the Militia. It was ſpawned at *Whitehall*; there the Cock-brained Crew ingendered with their Maſter's Female Underſtanding: At *York* it became an Egg, O that it had then been cruſhed! But afterwards, ſcarce Pen-feathered, it ventured a Flight toward *Hull*; yet fell ſhort, and was ſore bruiſed. Notwithſtanding this, it crept to *Nottingham*; and

and there, in Hope of Recovery, voided a Standard with a Declaration or two, evident Symptoms of a Bloody Flux at Hand.

But the Leeches, not able to draw Blood there, betook themſelves Weſtward toward *Wales*; and then fell to Sucking at the nether Poſtern of the Kingdom: It was Time then to caſt the Water of the State, and purge out the Excrements of the Body Politick.

Now the Game begins; Room for the *Roman* Actors: Here the Biſhops rack themſelves in a Pulpit, vomiting up Daggers, like *Hocus*, to amaze the People; Doctrine Cannon-proof, and let the Devil make Application, ſo he can convert all to his Majeſty's Uſe. If the Pope be Commander in Chief, it is but Reaſon they ſhould be Major-Generals; and for inferior Officers, Deans and Arch-deacons the only Colonels; Prebends Lieutenant-Colonels; Big-bellied Parſons Majors; Vicars Captains; Curates Enſigns: And for the reſt, they cannot be wanting, when there are whole Swarms of the ſame Breed of Caterpillars in both Univerſities.

Theſe are Spaniels to the Incendiary in Hope of Preferment: He leads them in Couples, breeds them to fetch and carry after his own Humour, and to be at the Word of Command: But the Sport is, to ſee a Dog handle a Drum-ſtick; yet theſe docile Creatures will do it, and beat up their Drums in all Churches and Chapels, to alarm the People againſt Reformation and the Parliament. This black Brigade are of the ſame Lineage with the Incendiary, he hugs them as his white Boy: And to ſay the Truth, there is not a Hair's Difference between them; the Chief of the Prelatical Clergy being the principal, if not the only Fire-men: And therefore it cannot be amiſs to preſent them in the firſt Rank of Tragedians, ſeeing our Scene is the precious Univerſity of *Oxford*.

As the Prologue before the Play, enter *Canterbury*, the Pope's Pigmy-Champion, the meritorious Traitor, the Catholick Demi-Culvering, the Reverend Granado; who lived to ſet all on Fire, yet eſcaped the Martyrdom of Hanging to be quenched upon a Scaffold; whereas the other Kind of Death had been more ſuitable to his Life, having always been a Pendant in the Ear of Majeſty. This is he that took Water lately at the *Tower*, being bound for the *Red-Sea*; but that, for his Preſumption in comparing himſelf with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and threatening *Charon* with the *Star-Chamber*, he over-turned the Ferry-Boat, and let him drop into Purgatory: Thus it is to quarrel with a Waterman.

A Broom, a Broom; Sweep the Stage: Here comes Religion in Slip-ſhoes and Sandals; Miſtreſs Novelty's Gentleman-Uſher clad in Robes of Antiquity; the Bell-man of the *Jewiſh* Temple; *Aaron* in the laſt Edition; *Wren* turned *Robin-redbreaſt*, as gay as the Bird of *Paradiſe*, with his Man *Pocklynton* at his Heels: Theſe two, like Lightning and Thunder, never parted; two Dioceſan Exorciſts, that conjured away all godly Miniſters by Bell, Book, and Candle: Their Charms were ſo ſtrong, that nothing could lay them but a Parliament, the Kingdom's Antidote.

Now ſingle out *Pocklynton* from his Maſter, and couple with him *Heylin*, two of *Canterbury*'s prime Beagles, and as famous as his Breed of *Smyrna* Cats. Theſe two held a Conſpiracy againſt the Sabbath; helped to rear up an Altar, with the Title of *Chriſtianum*, ſet up the Ten Commandments over it, where they might plainly read themſelves Sabbath-breakers and Idolaters; and yet continued to worſhip both it and the Candleſticks, committing Fornication with Gold and Timber. Nor is this all; *Heylin* can ſhew more Tricks than one for a Biſhoprick: To make good the *Roman* Calendar, he will prove St. *George* a real Saint; and then upon this ſandy Foundation creates an imaginary Honour to the moſt honourable Order of the Garter; as if the Proteſtant Nobility of this Kingdom would be taken with *Romiſh* Gewgaws, or pleaſed with ſuch trifling Fetches: Yet believe me, as the Times went, it was a politick Fetch for Preferment.

And now we talk of Preferment, enter *Owen Glendour* on Horſe back, *Brute*'s Couſin-german, and the Top of her Kindred, *Welch Williams*, the Prelate of *York*: This is the pepper-noſed Caliph, that ſnuffs, huffs, and puffs Ingratitude at the Parliament, though they freed him from Priſon, and put his Adverſary in his Room. Tell him of Reformation, and you transform him to a Turkycock: A *Jack-a-Lent*, made of a red Herring and a Leek, will not more inflame him, than the Name of Preſbytery: Some kind Heart take this Incendiary and cool him, or Vexation will conſume him to Aſhes.

But I wonder how it comes to paſs, that *Armagh* ſhould be ranked here: The Caſe ſtood otherwiſe

otherwiſe once; nay, he ebbed ſo far from his Archiepiſcopal Dignity, as to turn Lecturer, and ſo brought himſelf into a Poſſibility of Heaven, till the old Man began to doat upon the World again. I cannot tell to what I may attribute his Apoſtaſy; to his Climate, or his Conſcience; his Country, or his Religion, or both; yet we have found him a right *Iriſhman*, and a ſecond *Spalato*.

It is a rare Myſtery, that this Pageant ſhould be ſo perſecuted by the Rebels, as to fly for his Life out of *Ireland*, and yet be able to digeſt them and their Councils at *Oxford*. But, was it ever ſeen, that a Biſhop would be out with any that were in at the Court? This is the Prelates Heaven; there they are all parallel; though diſtant in their Ends, as in the Circumference, yet united in the Center: Give their Ambition Line enough, and you may decoy them whither you pleaſe: Thus our *quondam* Saint *Patrick* ſlipped into the Bog at *Oxford*.

I ſhould have done with them now, but that I find another in over Head and Ears; I mean the Brewer in *Pontificalibus*, *Duppa* the formal Dray-horſe, that carries about Holy-water in Rundlets, to furniſh the Court, Camp, and Univerſity: *Davis* the Barber ſhaves his Majeſty with the very ſame; for there needs no Waſh-balls, when the Exorciſm ſcours beyond Soap-ſuds. This is he that puts down *Gunter* in his Firework Proteſtations againſt the Proteſtant Religion; and then, in his Majeſty's Name, charges them upon the People. For the ſame Purpoſe alſo, he frames inchanted Prayers for *Chriſt-church* Chapel; and ſo makes the Organs, at once, pipe out Impiety againſt Heaven, and Treaſon againſt the State. God bleſs Prince *Charles*, for this is his Tutor: He cries to him, when you pray, Say thus; but what? A *Pater-noſter* or two, with a little Collect and Litany, after the Tradition of his Fathers; from which, my Litany ſhall be, *Good Lord deliver him.*

But if you would know him better, let *Stewart*, the Ghoſt of *Arminius*, appear, to bring in the Cataſtrophe. Theſe two are Brothers, both having the Whore of *Babylon* for their Mother; and the Sons of *Pelagius* by heretical Adoption. The Foundation of old *Rome*, ſaith Hiſtory, was laid in Blood; and theſe *Romuli* take the ſame Courſe to be Founders of new *Rome* here in *England*: The Name of Peace puts them into a Fit of the Cholick; it ſtings like a *Tarantula*, for Nothing will cure them but the Muſick of War.

Now ſound aloud: Avaunt ye Black-coats, the Court-pageants are entering; *Strafford* without a Head: But, let him paſs for a dumb Show; the Tyrant hath had his Exit already by Order of Parliament.

Who comes next? What, *Henrietta Maria!* Sure our Incendiary is an Hermaphrodite, and admits of both Sexes: The *Iriſh* Rebels call her their Generaliſſima; what ſhe willed they acted: She ſet them on Work, and they pay themſelves their Wages out of the Proteſtants Eſtates. Becauſe the Pope is turned out of Doors, ſhe makes the fatal Siſters and Furies of her Privy-council, and proceeds ſo meritoriouſly manful, that *Kenelm Digby* conſults now with his Holineſs, to have her ſet in the Rubrick, by the Name of St. *Nemeſis in Breeches*. How many breeding Fits hath ſhe had ſince the Coming over of Madam *Beldam?* And no ſooner delivered of one Plot, but, within the Month, a Conception of another. I wonder at *Neptune*'s Rage againſt theſe two, Mother and Daughter, for they never croſſed the Sea but a Tempeſt followed; which ſhews, that they were not of the *Halcyon* Brood.

But the Flame riſes not high enough yet; therefore haſten away the two Bellows-menders from *Holland*; *Rupert* and *Maurice*, *Simeon* and *Levi*: A Miracle, that a Phenix ſhould bring forth two ſuch Vipers! If this be too bold, know that the Game is begun, and then all Fellows at Football: But I ſpare them, though they are ſo unnatural, as not to ſpare that Nation which bred them up.

Next, enter a Gentleman in Diſguiſe, newly landed out of the Ship called *Providence*; *Ahitophel junior*, with Store of *Sampſon*'s Foxes and Firebrands: Pull off his Vizard, and his Name is *George Digby*. This is the beardleſs *Solon*; *Lycurgus* newly whipped out of Long-coats into the Privy-council; Treachery's Man-midwife, and *Machiavel*'s Catamite; for by him were ſpawned thoſe deſperate Aphoriſms and Poſitions, of his Majeſty's wandering from his Parliament. What we wonder at in the reſt, is natural to him, being a native *Spaniard*, to have an Antipathy to the Weal of our Nation; for an Atheiſt, that hath neither Religion, nor Conſcience to ſway him, follows the Conſtitution, and ingrafted Prin-

ciples

ciples of his Climate. The Truth of this they knew well enough, that fetched him out of the Senate to the Court, and the *Spaniſh Gilt-head* ſwallowed the Bait immediately: Faces about; farewell to Religion, Honour, Parliament, common Honeſty, and all; for he waited but for ſuch an Opportunity, as well as *Colepeper* and *Dering*, though the latter miſſed it.

More *Spaniards* yet? *Briſtol* and *Cottington*, rare Peccadillo's! Imps of *Spinola*; two of *Gondemar*'s Jockies, that poſted between *Whitehall* and *Madrid*, till at length they mortgaged *England* with the Proteſtant Religion, for a Penſion of *Spaniſh* Gennets, and Bars of Silver; which they have ſtriven ſince to repay, together with the Intereſt of pernicious Counſels, and ſecret Practices. Upon a Return of the *Indian* Plate-fleet, theſe Hirelings will do any Thing, even ſacrifice their Country, to thoſe Gods of *America*.

Here comes a Gentleman of the Long-robe; *Littleton*, the egregious Pickpocket, that would have ſtolen away the Kingdom's Purſe from the Parliament; which renders him, by the known Laws, a moſt intolerable Traitor. He promiſes his Majeſty to make all good by Law; but firſt intends to baniſh *Dalton*, *Cooke*, and the reſt, as Heterodox, Pettyfoggers, and ſpurious Authors. If no Body will believe he can maintain the Slander of Rebels, yet his Impudence can diſdain all ſuch Scruples, though with Arguments grounded upon a manifeſt Contradiction to the State's Fundamentals.

What he cannot do, *Heath* will: This Tetter converſes altogether with old outworn Records, to make good the Caſe: He might do well then to come and ſearch in the *Tower*, if he dare venture his Neck upon the Point, in a legal Trial. In him we find it true, That an old Man is twice a Child; for he ſtands in Fear of every bigger Boy at Court: Beſides, he makes a fine Hobby-horſe of the Prerogative; and tricks it ever and anon with illegal Ribbands. He procreates Proclamations alſo in private, yet avows the ſpurious Iſſue as legitimate as Acts of Parliament, and ſo, upon Pain of high Diſpleaſure, the Subjects muſt own them; like the needy Fornicator, that lays his Brats at other Men's Doors.

There are more Adulterers of the Law; But ſtay, here is a Poſt come to Town with ill News: Oh *Briſtol! Briſtol* is loſt! Up ſtarts the *Junto*; Weſtward Hoy! Off goes their Parliament-purple, and away to *Oxford*. This rotten Limb of the Repreſentative Body boaſts itſelf as healthful and ſound as the Whole; and, having been catechiſed a while at Court, would anſwer to no Name but Parliament. O prodigious! Nay, the Renegado Conventicle had the Impudence to ſit and vote the Kingdom Slaves; and, for this, thought themſelves highly recompenſed with a Smile or two, from the ſupreme Petticoat. No Heaven now but there; they offer Incenſe to Traitors, and have the Conſcience to idoliſe an *Iriſh* Rebel, a Murderer of Proteſtants; imitating, herein, the naked *Indians*, who worſhip the Devil for Deſtroying their Kindred.

But the beſt of it is, this Firework never did much Miſchief, though all Ways have been tried, from the Squib to the Cannon; for they never durſt ſtand to it yet: Always in Motion; the Curſe of *Cain* purſues them, as a juſt Reward, that theſe, who chuſe to live, ſhould alſo die Runagates.

What think ye then of *Montroſe?* This Lapwing-incendiary ran away half-hatched from *Oxford*, to raiſe a Combuſtion in *Scotland:* As his Tutors in *England*, ſo he thrives beſt there, where is moſt Ignorance. He raked up the Remains of ancient Barbariſm, and ſoldered them together with Creatures of like Metal from *Ireland*; the very Droſs of both Countries coagulated into an Army. The firſt Sight of them would convert a Sadducee, and make him confeſs a Reſurrection of the old Heathen *Picts* and *Kerns:* Strange Names they have! And, ſhould a Herald venture to reckon the Genealogy, he might be taken for a Conjurer: The Repetition of twenty *Mac*'s, *O Connor*'s, *O Brian*'s, and *O Donnel*'s, were a Charm for the Gout, or an Ague, beyond all the Magneticks in Chymiſtry.

This mountainous Breed of Pagans, like the old Earth-born Giants, fight againſt Heaven, bidding Defiance to *Chriſt* and his Goſpel; concerning which they know no more than what belongs to Blaſphemy: Miſerable then is that Prince who counts ſuch his beſt Subjects! Moſt abominable is that Cauſe, which cannot ſtand but with ſuch Supporters! Of late they domineered with ſuperlative Tyranny, and had, in Conceit, ſwallowed up all *Scotland*; but now the Monſters ſurfeit with

their own Blood: And, if ever they recover *their Stomachs, it will be but for a running Banquet.*

There is Ormond too, the juggling Marquis, *the new Popin-jay* Duke, and, to give him *all his Titles,* Lord Protector of the Rebels; for the Wolves are brought now into the ſame Fold with the Sheep. They ſay commonly now, that there is not a Rebel in *Ireland*: Are they not good Men then at *Oxford*, to fight ſo long till they have left never a Rebel? But the late Peace confirms them good Subjects, though Rebels before: Thus, by entertaining this Paradox for Truth, the Pye-bald Marquis got his Dukedom of *Oſſory*.

Antrim is a Rebel not worth the Naming, nor that precious Piece of Iron-work, his Ducheſs; yet I muſt needs ſay, ſhe was a Lady rarely marked out for two eminent Husbands, the Beds of *Buckingham* and *Antrim*; this latter more pernicious than a Bed of Scorpions.

Yet there is one Marquis more, a wiſe one, God wot, *Wincheſter*, the Man of *Baſing*; but let him paſs, he has not Wit enough to be an Incendiary. And for *Newcaſtle*, he is but a counterfeit Marquis; at the beſt but a Play-wright; one of *Apollo*'s Whirligigs; one, that, when he ſhould be fighting, would be fornicating with the Nine Muſes, or the Dean of *York*'s Daughters; a very Thing; a Soul traducted out of Perfume and Compliment; a ſilken General, that ran away beyond Sea in a Sailor's Canvas: He, with his Tinder-box of Authority, firſt lighted the Fire in the North, yet was ſo kind to ſee it quenched again, e're he left us.

But the Weſtern Squib, *Hopton*, holds out ſtill, and rages beyond Gunpowder with *Aqua vitæ*; but there are other Ingredients of Atheiſm joined to him, which make the Blaze in the Weſt ſhew ſo big, for he of himſelf is nothing now: The Man lives toward the Sun-ſetting, treads *Antipodes* of late to Victory, and deſpairs of appearing Eaſt again; yet, to comfort him, becauſe the Parliament lay Claim to his bald Pate, the King hath given him a Peruke of Honour.

I had almoſt forgotten *Goring*, her Majeſty's Jeweller; ſhe plundered the Crown, and he conveyed away, converting all into Arms and Gunpowder: Rare Philoſophical Tranſmutation! But this is the leaſt Part of his Skill; for, in Time of Peace, he was ſo expert an Alchymiſt, that he turned Rags, and worſe Things, into Gold and Silver.

There is butcherly *Jermyn* too, contemptible *Harry*, the Left Leg of a Lord; he that wraps up his Treaſon in fine Linnen: He Maſter of the Horſe? Mount the Chicken upon an Elephant; for he is a Man of ſome Subſtance, though little Revenue; ſomewhat too ugly, in my Opinion, for a Lady's Favourite, yet that is nothing to ſome; for the old Lady, that died in *Flanders*, regarded not the Feature. This Feather-bed Traitor muſt paſs alſo for an Incendiary; for Juſtice put the Gentleman into ſuch a Fright, that to make one Shift he avoided another; and, at an ill Seaſon, took his long Journey in *Spaniſh-leather* Boots.

There are other Whelps of *Cataline*; but it were endleſs to reckon up all. I ſhall conclude thus: What the Poets feign of *Hercules*'s *Hydra*, is Truth of our Incendiary: It is a fertile Monſter of many Heads, for, by lopping off one, up ſtarts a miraculous Generation of many more: Then, as it cannot be imagined how he conquered that prodigious Enemy, but by ſtriking off all the Heads at a Blow; ſo the ready Way to quell this, muſt be to bring the whole Rabble at once to Execution.

The Life of *Henry the Second*, King of *England*. Shewing what Troubles befel in his Reign, concerning the Wars between him and his Subjects; and alſo the Manner how he ſet up his Standard near *Rudland*, *Henry* of *Eſſex* being General, and the Manner how he left his Crown; neceſſary to be obſerved in theſe dangerous and diſtracted Times of ours.

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IN the Year of our Lord 1154, *Henry* the Second was crowned; he was a Man of a low Stature, and fat of Body, of a freſh Colour, a valiant Soldier, a good Scholar, and of good Expreſſion in his Speech; very wiſe, and much delighted with Peace.

In the ſecond Year of his Reign a Council was held at *Wallingford*, where the Nobles were ſworn to the King and his Iſſue, by an Oath of Allegiance compoſed by the King and his Council for that Purpoſe; after which *Geffery* the Kings Brother roſe in Rebellion, and did much Hurt, but was afterwards overcome by the King, and all was yielded into the King's Hands.

In the third Year of his Reign the *Welchmen* roſe againſt him, and the King raiſed an Army, and made *Henry of Eſſex* his chief General of the Army; and, when the King was come into *Wales*, *Henry of Eſſex* by the Commandment of the King raiſed the Standard, and open War was proclaimed, and many from their own Habitations (as alſo out of divers Priſons) came to aſſiſt the King, and there was a great Battle fought near to *Rudland*, where there were many Men ſlain on both Sides; but the King recovered the Caſtle, and marched towards the Caſtle of *Baſingwirk*, where there was a great Slaughter on the King's Army, by reaſon whereof the Army was much diſcouraged, and *Henry* of *Eſſex*, and thoſe under him who had the Truſt of the Bearing of the Standard, did at that Time let the Standard fall down to the Ground in the Battle, which did ſo exceedingly encourage the *Welchmen*, that they purſued with great Eagerneſs; the King himſelf was exceedingly diſmayed hereat, and fled to ſave his Life, but the two Armies fought daily, for by the Help of the Earl of *Clare* it was raiſed up again.

Now the King had appointed a Navy of Ships alſo to go forth againſt them, and *Madoc ap Merideth* was Admiral of the Seas, who had ſpoiled divers Churches, and done much Hurt in the *Iſle of Man*, and *Angleſey*; but after much Blood-ſhed they began on both Sides to be weary of War, and there was an Agreement and Peace concluded, and on the next *Chriſtmas* Day after King *Henry* being at *Worceſter* went to Church, and going to Prayers with the Congregation took his Crown off his Head, and laid it on the Communion Table, and would never wear it after.

In the ſeventh Year of his Reign there being great Troubles in *Ireland* about the Rudiments of Faith, and Eccleſiaſtical Rights, the King called a Council, and *Nicholas* of *Wallingford* and *William Fitz-Adelm* were ſent over to *Ireland* by the Authority and Conſent of the King and Council, at which Time was this Confeſſion, or Creed, publiſhed, *viz.*

'I Beleeve in God Fadir Almichty, Fppiper of Heaven and Earth, and in *Iheſus Chriſt* his oneleihi Son ure Loverd, that is ivange Thurch the holy Ghoſt, bore of *M ry* Maiden, Tholede pine under *Ponce Pilat*, picht on rode Tree, dead and is buried, licht into Hell, the tridde Day from Death aroſe, ſteich into Heaven, ſit on his Fadir richt Honde God Almichty, then is comminde to deme the Quickke and the Dede; I beleeve in the holy Ghoſt, all holy Chirche, Mone of alle Hallwen, Forgivenis of Sine, Fleiſſ upriſing, Lif with aaten End.' *Amen.*

The King alſo cauſed an Oath of Fidelity to be drawn, for his Subjects to ſwear to his Son Prince *Henry*, concerning his Inheritance under their Fidelity to the King, in caſe the King ſhould die before his Son, which Proteſtation was taken through the whole Kingdom.

In the eighth Year of his Reign there was a Sect ſprang up called *Publicans*; the chief Leader of them was one *Gerard* a good Scholar, but his Fellows were moſt of them ſilly and ignorant People.

They denied the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church, Matrimony, Baptiſm, the Supper of the Lord, *&c.*

Theſe were ſo ſtiff, and ſtood ſo ſtoutly to their Opinions, that they would not be convinced of any Error in their Tenents; and, when *Gerard* the Chief of them was brought to *Oxford*, he would not recant from any of his Tenents, wherefore Judgment was denounced againſt them.

1. That they ſhould be ſtigmatiſed in their Foreheads. 2. That they ſhould be whipped 3. That they ſhould be turned out of the City. 4. That they ſhould not be received into any Town. 5. That none ſhould give them any Relief. 6. That none ſhould afford them any Succour.

Theſe Men nevertheleſs ſuffered joyfully, ſinging as they went, 'Bleſſed are ye when Men 'hate you, Bleſſed are ye when Men hate 'you, and ſo wandered in the Fields till, with 'the Cold and Hunger, they all died, for no 'Man durſt relieve them.'

In the ninth Year of his Reign, *Henry* of *Eſſex* was accuſed of High Treaſon before the Nobility, and theſe Articles were exhibited againſt him.

1. That the ſaid *Henry* of *Eſſex* did in the Expedition to *Wales*, in narrow and hard Paſſage (at *Colleſhell*) moſt fraudulently throw away the King's Standard.

2. That he did with a loud Voice pronounce the King to be dead.

3. That he turned back thoſe that came to relieve the King's Army againſt the *Welchmen*.

Theſe Articles he denied, and after great Debate thereof, before the King and Council, the Matter was judged to be tried by Combate, and *Henry* of *Eſſex*, ſuppoſed to be ſlain, was carried away, but he revived, and ſpent the reſt of his Days in Reading.

In the twelfth Year of his Reign the King appointed a Collection to be made through all the Countries, in this Manner, *viz.*

1. For every Pound in moveable Goods being ſo valued for the firſt Year, 2 *d.*

2. For four Years after for every Pound ſo valued, 1 *d.*

3. For Arable Lands, and for Vines, the Charge and Coſt of them not reckoned for every Pound thereof after the ſame Manner alſo.

4. He, that hath an Houſe valued to be worth one Pound, to pay one Penny.

5. He, that hath ſome Office Agent, one Penny.

After the Payment whereof, the King cauſed his Son *Henry* to be crowned, by the Perſuaſions of *Robert*, Archbiſhop of *York*, thinking it would prove to the great Quietneſs of himſelf and his Realm, but it proved otherwiſe; for the young King received the Fealties of the Earls and Barons.

Henry, the Younger, rebelled againſt his Father, and many Earls and Barons fled over to him, and many great and bloody Battles were fought between them; but, at the laſt, the old King ſubdued this Rebellion, and, finding that the *Scots* had joined againſt him, gave to many of the young Nobility, whom he had found to be loyal unto him, the moſt Part of the Land in *Scotland*, and impriſoned and fined many of the *Engliſh*, for this Rebellion.

In the twenty-firſt Year of his Reign, a Brother of the Earl of *Ferrers* was ſlain in the City of *London*; whereat the King was much diſpleaſed, and vowed Revenge againſt the City; and there were great Troubles between the Court and the City, inſomuch that the City was diſtracted and diſquieted within itſelf; for, in the End, there were many unruly Citizens, who did give themſelves to the Pillaging and Robbing of rich Men's Houſes, of whom one *Andrew Buckequint* and *John Ould* were chief; but the grave Wiſdom of the King ſoon ſuppreſſed them; and there was Peace between the young King and the old, and the Father and the Son did eat and drink at one Table, and all was ended in Peace; and, ſhortly after, the diſobedient Son was cut off, and the old King reigned quietly alone.

Then the King called a Convocation of the Clergy at *London*, and the Pope's Legate ſat in the Chair, and, next to him, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on his right Hand, as Primate of *England*; but, when the Archbiſhop of *York* ſaw, that he muſt ſit on the left Hand of the Pope's Legate, he diſdained the Place, and did ſtrive to croud his Arſe between them; but, becauſe the Legate was not to remove, and the Archbiſhop would not remove, therefore he moſt unmannerly ſwopped him down on the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Lap, for which he was thrown down to the Ground; and, after his Complaint made to the King, of whom he thought to have found Relief, but was deceived, he was well laughed at for his Remedy.

In the twenty-fifth Year of his Reign there was again a Rebellion, after great Taxes laid upon

upon the Subjects for the Voyage to *Jeruſalem*; whereat the King's Majeſty was ſo perplexed and troubled, that he curſed the Day wherein he was born, and none about him, neither Clergy nor Nobles, could comfort him; through the Extremity whereof he was brought to a grievous Sickneſs: After he had reigned thirty-four Years, being above ſixty Years of Age, and leaving in his Treaſury above an hundred-thouſand Marks, he died.

When this Royal King was carried forth to be buried, he was firſt apparelled in his Princely Robes, and his Crown upon his Head, and rich Gloves on his Hands, and Boots on his Legs, wrought with gold Spurs on his Heels, a Ring of Gold on his Finger, a Scepter in his Hand, and a Sword by his Side; and, lying thus, like a Prince in State, though a dead Corpſe, he was uncovered, and, looking upon him under his Robes, he looked with a moſt ſweet and pleaſant Countenance, as if he had only ſlept; who was again covered, and, as he deſerved, moſt honourably buried.

A perfect Narrative of the Apprehenſion, Trial, and Confeſſion of the Five ſeveral Perſons that were Confederates in ſtealing the Mace and the two Privy Purſes from the Lord High Chancellor of *England*. As it was atteſted at the Seſſions held at *Juſtice-Hall* in the *Old-Bailey*, the Seventh and Eighth of *March*, *Anno* 1676-7. With Permiſſion. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

MANY and intolerable are the Injuries and Abuſes that are committed almoſt daily within the City and Suburbs of *London*; I need not run no further to find out Examples that may equaliſe the Barbarian Infidel, do but conſider in what Sphere we move; with double Diligence our Natives run to haſten others and their own Deſtruction; one Brother can't put Confidence in another, but ſtill is fearful, leſt he ſhould betray him; one Neighbour hates another, and are grown ſo implacable and almoſt incorrigible, that, did not timely Juſtice ſuperſede, no Man could find Safety in his own Caſtle; the Superviewing of each Seſſions will demonſtrate the Vices and Perverſeneſs of our Times.

But not to derogate too far from the intended Subject of this preſent Narrative; I ſhall give you an Account of the audacious Burglary that was committed on my Lord Chancellor, the Sixth of *February*, being *Tueſday* Night, One-thouſand ſix-hundred ſeventy-ſix, and the Parties that were apprehended the *Saturday* Night following.

The Manner of their Apprehenſion was thus: Some of the Head of the Gang had taken a Lodging in *Knight-Rider-Street*, near *Doctors-Commons*; and there, in a Cloſet, they had lodged the Mace and Purſes.

The Woman's Daughter of the Houſe, going up in their Abſence to make the Bed, ſaw ſome ſilver Spangles, and ſome odd Ends of Silver ſcattered about the Chamber, which ſhe, with no ſmall Diligence, picked up, not knowing from whence ſuch Riches ſhould proceed; in this Admiration ſhe pauſed a While, and it was not long before her Fancy led her, like the reſt of her Sex, to pry into and ſearch the furthermoſt Point of this new and ſtrange Apparition, and directing her Courſe to the Cloſet Door, ſhe, through the Key-hole, could diſcern ſomething that was not commonly repreſented to her View, which was the upper End of the Mace, but knew not what it was; however, ſhe thought it could not be amiſs to acquaint her beloved Mother with what ſhe had beheld; and, with this Reſolve, ſhe haſtens down Stairs, and, with a Voice betwixt Fear and Joy, ſhe cries out: *Oh Mother! Mother!*

ther! Yonder is the King's Crown in our Cloſet! Pray, Mother, come along with me and ſee it.

The admiring Mother, being ſomething ſurpriſed at her Daughter's Relation, as alſo having no good Opinion of her new Lodgers, makes Haſte, good Woman, and goes to the Cloſet Door; and, opening the Lock with a Knife, ſhe entered into the Cloſet, where ſhe ſoon diſcerned that it was not a Crown, but a Mace; and, having heard that ſuch a Thing was loſt, ſends immediately away to acquaint my Lord Chancellor that the Mace was in her Houſe; upon which Information, a Warrant was ſoon granted, and Officers ſent to Mr. *Thomas Northy*, Conſtable of *Queen-hithe* Ward, who, with a ſufficient Aſſiſtance, went into *Knight-Rider-ſtreet*, to their Lodging, and very luckily found them, being Five in Number, and of both Sexes, *viz.* three Men, and two Women, whom they carried before the Right Worſhipful Sir *William Turner*, who, after Examination, according to Juſtice, committed them to the common Jail of *Newgate*.

At the Seſſions held in the *Old Bailey*, beginning the Seventh Day of this Inſtant *March*, the five Priſoners aforeſaid were firſt called to the Bar, where, according to the Cuſtom of *England*, they were bid to hold up their Hands, and aſked, Whether Guilty or Not Guilty? They all replied ſeverally, Not Guilty. After that the Witneſſes were ſworn and examined, who very manifeſtly proved the Fact, the Woman and her Daughter where they lodged being two great Evidences againſt them.

After this the Principal of thoſe Malefactors, a Perſon very well known in Court, having been arraigned at the ſame Bar five or ſix ſeveral Times before, very confidently ſpeaks to the Bench in this Manner: 'My Lord, I 'own the Fact, and it was I, and this Man, 'pointing to one that ſtood by him at the 'Bar, that robbed my Lord Chancellor, and 'the other three are clear of the Fact, though I 'cannot ſay but they were Confederates with us 'in the Concealment of the Prize after it was 'taken. This I declare, ſaid he, to the honourable Bench, that I may be clear of the 'Blood of theſe other three Perſons.' The Bench, and all Spectators elſe, admired to hear him thus confidently declare himſelf guilty before Examination, knowing that the Fact was of ſo high a Nature, and, without all Doubt, would prove Capital. However, the Court went on in a legal Way; and another Witneſs begun to demonſtrate in what Manner he was taken; to whom the Priſoner anſwered in this Manner: 'Prithee, Fellow, do not make 'ſuch a long Narration of my being taken, 'thou ſeeſt I am here, and I own that I and 'this Man, as aforeſaid, are guilty of the 'Fact.'

With that the other Priſoner, whom he thus impeached, endeavoured to clear himſelf after this Manner: 'My Lord, ſaid he, this Man, 'meeting me in *Paul's* Churchyard, aſked me 'to go and drink, with whom I went, and, 'after we were ſeated, he told me, that he 'knew of a Booty that would make me ſmile, 'telling me of the Mace and Purſes; and 'further ſaying, that, if I would be his Aſ'ſiſtant, he would give me my Share of the 'Prize.' To whom the Priſoner aforeſaid made this Reply in open Court; 'Yes, my 'Lord, I look like a Fellow that would com'mit a Robbery, and give him half the Prize.' At this there was a great Shout in the Court, but Silence was ſtraight commanded. And the other Man with the two Women were examined, who endeavoured to clear themſelves; but ſufficient Evidence was produced in Court, who did atteſt, that they found ſome of the Plate with them at the Time of their Apprehenſion; ſo they were put to Silence, and diſmiſſed the Court for that Time.

It was obſerved, the Priſoner whom the chief Malefactor impeached to be equally guilty of the Fact with himſelf, had a great Senſe of Sorrow upon him whilſt he was at the Bar, and complained to himſelf of lewd and laſcivious Women, ſaying, that they were the Cauſe of his and many other Men's Ruin; which is certainly true, that they are the Ruin of many a hopeful young Man.

The Parlement of Byrdes. Imprynted at *London*, in *Paules* Churche yarde, at the Sygne of the *Lambe*, by *Abraham Uele*. In *Black Letter*, *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

THIS is the Parlyament of Byrdes,
For hye and lowe, and them amyddes,
To ordayne a Meane, how it is beſt
To kepe amonge them Peaſe and Reſt;
For much Noyſe is on euery Syde
Againſt the Hauke ſo full of Pryde:
Therfore they ſhall in Bylles brynge
Theyr Complayntes to the Egle, theyr Kynge,
And, by the Kynge in Parlyament,
Shall be ſette in lefull Iudgement.

The Grype. The great Grype was the fyrſt that ſpake,
And ſayd: *Owne is Owne, Who can it take?*
For *Thyne* and *Myne* make much Debate,
Wyth Great and Small, in euery Eſtate.

The Cuckowe. I ſynge, ſayde the Cuckowe, euer one Songe:
That the Weake taketh euer the Wronge;
For he, that hathe wyth vs mooſt Myght,
Taketh his Wyll, as Reaſon is, ryght.

The Fawcon. Than aunſwered the Fawcon to that Saw:
That pleaſeth a Prynce is Iuſt and Lawe;
And he that can no Songe but one,
Whan he hathe ſonge, his Wytte is gone.

The Commyns. Than all the Byrdes, that coude ſpeake,
Sayde: The Hauke doth vs great Wreake;
Of them ſo many diuers there be,
That no Foule, ne Byrde, may fro them flye.

The Hauke. The Hauke aunſwered the prating Pye:
Where is many Wordes, the Trouthe goeth by;
And better it were to ſeace of Language ſone,
Than ſpeake, and repent whan thou haſt done.

The Sterlynge. Than ſayde the Sterlynge verement:
Who ſayth Soth ſhalbe ſhent;
No Man may now ſpeake of Trouthe,
But his Head be broke; and that is Routhe.

The Hauke. The Hauke ſwore, by his Head of Gray,
All Sothes be not for to ſay;
It is better ſome be left by Reaſon,
Than Trouthe to be ſpoken out of Seaſon.

The Popyn Iaye. Than ſpake the Popyn Iaye of Paradyſe:
Who ſayth lytell, he is wyſe;
For lytell Money is ſoone ſpende,
And fewe Wordes are ſoone amende.

The Hauke. The Hauke bad, for Dreade of Payne,
Speake not to muche of thy Souerayne;
For, who that will forge Tales newe,
Whan he weneth leeſt, his Tale may he rewe.

The Commyns. Than deſyred Great and Small
To mewe the Hauke for good and all:
A Place alone we would he had,
For his Counſell to vs was neuer glad.

The Hauke. The Hauke aunſwered: Ye fayle, ye fayle all Witte,
It is no Tyme to mewe Haukes yet;
Commyns of Haukes can but lytell ſkyll,
They ſhall not rule them as they wyll.

The Nyghtyngale. Anone than ſynge the Nyghtyngale,
With Notes many, great and ſmale:
That Byrde, that can well ſpeake and ſynge,
Shall be cherysſhed with Quene and Kyng.

The Hauke. The Hauke aunſwered, with great Furye:
The Songe is nought, that is not mery;
And who ſo no better ſynge can,
Maketh lytell Chere to any Man.

The Douue. Than rombled the Douue for her Lot:
Folke may be mery, and ſynge not;
And who ſo hath no good Voyce,
Muſt make mery with lytell Noyſe.

The Hauke. Whan this Reaſon was forth ſhewed,
Lerne, quoth the Hauke, or ye be lewed;

For

For the Byrde, that can not ſpeake, ne ſynge,
Shall to the Kechyne to ſerue the Kynge.
The Feſaunt. Than crowed the Feſaunt in the Wood:
Domme Med, he ſayde, getteth lytell Good;
Wodde, nor Water, nor other Foode;
It fleteth from hym, as doeth the Flodde.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Whan all is ſought,
Great Crowers were neuer ought;
For, I ſwere by my Foly,
He is not moſte wyſe, that is moſte ioly.
The Moore Cocke. Than crowed agayne the Moore Cocke:
The Hauke bringeth much Thing out of Nocke;
The Oſyll whyſteleth, and Byrdes blacke;
He muſt haue a do, that a do doth make.
The Hauke. I muſt, ſayde the Hauke, by all my Belles,
Say for my ſelfe, for none will elles:
He is not greatly to repreue,
That ſpeaketh with his Soueraynes Leue.
The Byttur. Than blusſhed the Byttur in the Fenne,
The Cote, the Dobchicke, and the Water Henne:
The Hauke that doeth vs all this Dere,
We woulde he were ſouſed in the Myre.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Wyſshers want Wyll,
Whether they ſpeake loude, or ſtyll;
Whan all this done was ſayde and lafte,
Euery Man muſt lyue by his Crafte.
The Malarde. Than creked the Malarde and the Goſe:
They may beſt flye that are loſe;
He is well that is at large,
That nedeth not the Kynges great Charge.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Though they fle loſe,
They muſt obeye, they may not choſe;
Who hath a Maiſter, or a Make,
He is tyed by the Stake.
The Heronne. Than creked the Heronne and the Crane:
Great Trouble make Wittes lame;
He is well aduyſed, that can bere hym lowe,
And ſuffer euery Wynde to ouerblowe.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Who can blowe to pleaſe?
Longe Neckes done great Eaſe;
For the Commyns, that hath no Reſt,
Meneth not euer with the beſt.

The Patryche, Quayle, and Larke.
The Partryche, Quayle, and Larke in Fielde
Sayde: Her may not auayle but Spere and Shelde;
The Hauke with vs maketh great Batayle,
In euery Countrey, where he may auayle.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde: Who ſo wylfully wyll fyght,
May make hym Wronge ſone of hys Ryght;
Lawe is beſt, I vnderſtande,
To ryght all in euery Lande.
The Robyn and the Wrenne. Than chydde the Robyn and the Wrenne,
And all ſmall Byrdes that beare Penne:
Againſt the Hauke the Commyns muſt aryſe,
And helpe them ſelfe in theyr beſt Wyſe.
The Hauke. The Hauke made the Wrenne his Anſwer,
Small Power may lytle Dere,
And who wyll lyue in Reſt longe,
Maye nat be beſy with his Tonge.
The Commyns. Than prayed all the Commyn Houſe,
That ſome myght the Hauke Souce,
For Foule ne Byrde, by Water ne Lande,
He wyll leaue a lyue, and he myght ſtande;
In his Neſt, may none abyde
In Countre where he doth glyde;
Theyr Fethers he plucketh many a Folde,
And leaueth them naked in full great Colde;
We think, therfore, by Reaſon good,
To deſtroy the Hauke, and all his Bloode.
The Kynge and his Lordes. The Kynge and his Lordes anſwered, anone
States may not the Hauke forgone,
Nor by no Law his Kynde deſtroye,
Nor deme him ſelfe for to dye,
Nor put him to none other Diſtreſſe,
But kepe him in a Payre of Ieſſe,
That he fle nat to no Byrde about,
But his Keper let hym oute.
The Cornyſſhe-daw. Then ſaid the *Cornyſſhe-daw*,
Lytle Money, lytle Lawe,
For here is nought els with Frende ne Fo,
But go bet Peny, go bet, go.
The Hauke. Thou *Corniſſhe*, quod the Hauke, by thy Wyll,
Say well, or holde the ſtyll;
Thou haſt harde of many a Man,
A Tonge breaketh Bone, and it ſelfe hath none.
The Kynge. Then anſwered the Kynge, and the Byrdes by Rowe,
Why cometh not to the Parlyament the Crowe?

For good Counſell refourmeth euery Myſſe,
And it betokeneth where it is.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde, It is nat leſſe,
Councell is good in Warre and Peſe;
But the Crowe hath no Brayne
For to gyue Counſell, but of the Rayne.
The Nightwhale. Then ſayd the Night-whale, with his Heed gaye,
He ſhameth vs with his Parlyament Aray;
It is a Tearme with *Iohn* and *Iacke*,
Broked Sleue draweth Arme a backe.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde, He ſhall thryue full late
That loketh to kepe a great Eſtate,
And can nat, wyth all his Wyſedome,
Gette hym ſelfe an hole Gowne.
The Pecocke and the Swanne. Then ſayde the Pecocke and the Swanne,
Who no Good hath, no Good canne,
And lytle is his Wytte ſet by,
That hath not to beare out Company.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayd, He is worſe than Wood,
That maketh hym freſhe with other Mennes Good,
Or ought wyll borowe and neuer paye,
Or with Wrong getteth gallaunt Araye.
The Specke. Then in his Hole, ſayd the Specke,
I would the Hauke brake his Necke,
Or brought vnto ſome myſcheuous Dale,
For of euery Byrde he telleth a Tale.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayd, though thy Caſtell be in the Tree,
Buylde not aboue thy Degree;
For who ſo heweth ouer hye,
The Chippes wyll fall in his Eye.
The Kynge. Then ſayd the Kynge, It is our Entent,
To amande the Crowes Rayment;
And all the Byrdes ſayde, Anone
Of eche of our Fethers he ſhall haue one.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde, He may ſone come to Honeſte,
That euery Man helpeth in his Poſte;
For, as teacheth vs the learned Clerke,
Many Handes maketh lyght Werke.
The Tytyffre. I ſay, ſayde the Tytyffre, we *Kentyſhe* Men,
We may not geue the Crowe a Penne,
For, with them that are ſobre and good,
A Byrde in Hande is worth two in the Wood.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde, I take me to my Crede,
Who ſo will ſpende Wit you he may ſpede;
Lytle ye gyue, but ye wote why,
Ye make the Blynde eate many a Flye.
The Crowe. Than the Crowe was put in his Araye,
I am not nowe as I was Yeſterdaye;
I am able, without Offence,
To ſpeake in the Kynges Preſence.
The Hauke. The Hauke ſayde to the Commons, By Dene,
Enuy and Pride would fayne be ſene;
He is worthy none Audience to haue,
That can not ſay but Knaue, Knaue.
The Commyns. Than aſked the Byrdes, by Aduyſement,
Who is that taketh to vs no Tent,
He preſumeth before vs all to ſle,
To the Kynges hyghe Maieſte.
The Hauke. The Hauke aunſwered to the white Semewe,
It is the ſory blacke Crowe,
And for him fareth no Man the better,
Let hym crowe therfore neuer the greater.
The Lordes. Than ſayde the Lordes euerychone,
We wyll aſke of the Kynge Abone,
That euery Byrde ſhall reſume
Agayne his Fether, and his Plume,
And make the Crowe agayne a Knaue,
For he, that Nought hath, Nought ſhall haue.
The Hauke. Than ſayde the Hauke, as ſome ſayne,
Borowed Ware wyll Home agayne,
And who wyll herken what euery Man doſe,
Maye goe helpe to ſho the Goſe.
The Cormoraunte. For the Crowe ſpake the Cormoraunte,
And of his Rule made great Auaunt,
Suche Worſhip is Reaſon that euery Man haue,
As the Kynges Highnes vouchſaue.
The Hauke. It is Sothe, ſayde the Hauke, that thou doeſt ſay,
Whan all turneth to Sporte and Playe,
Thou mayſt leeſte ſpeake for the Crowes Pelfe,
For all Thing loueth that is lyke it ſelfe.
The hole Parlyament. Than prayed the hole Parlyament,
To the Kynge with one Aſſent,
That euery Byrde her Fether myght
Take from that proude Knyght.
The Kynge. The Kynge ſayde, Ye ſhall Leaue haue,
A Knyght ſhould neuer come of a Knaue;
All Thynge wyll ſhew from whence it come,
Where is his Place and his Home.

The Hauke. Now trewly, ſaid the Hauke, than
It is a great Comfort to all Men,
Of the Kynges great Proſperite,
Whan the Kynge ruleth well his Communalty.
Than was plucked from the Crowe anone
All his Fethers by one and by one,
And laſte all blacke in ſtede of reed,
And called hym a Page of the fyrſt Heed.
The Hauke Quod the Hauke, the Crowe is now as he ſhould be,
A kynde Knaue in his Degre,
And he that weneth no Byrde is hym lyke,
Whan his Fethers are plucked, he may hym go pike.
The Commyns. Than made the Commyns great Noyſe,
And aſked of the Lordes wyth one Voyce,
That they would the Hauke exyle
Out of this Lande many a Myle,
Neuer to come agayne hyther;
But the Kynge ſent for him thyder:
Hym to truſt we haue no Theſon,
For it is proued in Truſt is Treaſon;
And, ſythe ye ſay he ſhall nat dye,
Plucke of his Hokes and let hym flye.
The Lordes. To that, ſayde the Lordes, we pretende
This Statute and other to amende;
So in this, that ye accorde
To put all in our Souerayne Lorde.
The Commyns. The Commyns ſayde, It is great Skyll,
All Thynge to be at the Kynges Wyll;
And, vnder the Hande of his great Myght,
By Grace the People to ſeke theyr Ryght.
The Hauke. Than ſayde the Hauke, Now to, now fro,
Thus goeth the Worlde in Well and Wo.
The Kynge. Than ſayde the Kynge in his Maieſtye,
We wyll diſſeuer this great Semble;
He commaunded his Chauncelere,
The beſt Statutes to rede that he myght here:
Thus the fynal Iudgement
He redde of the Byrdes Parlyament,
Whether they be whyte or blacke,
None ſhall others Fethers take;
Nor the Ravyn plucke the Pecockes Tayle,
To make him freſſhe for his Auayle,
For the Commyns Fethers want,
For wyth ſome they be ryght ſkant.
The Iaye. Thus ſayeth the Coſen of the Iay,
That none ſhall vſe others ary,
For who ſo mounteth wyth Egle on hye,
Shall fayle Fethers whan he would flye.
Sapiencia. Be nat greedy Glede to gader,
For Good fadeth and Foules Fether,
And, though thy Fether be not gaye,
Haue none Enuye at the Swannes Aray.
Concludent. For, thoughe an Aſtryche may eat a Nayle,
Wrath wyll plucke him Winge and Tayle,
And, yf thou lye in Swalowes Neſt,
Let nat Slouth in thy Fethers reſt;
Be trew as Turtyll in thy Kynde,
For Luſt wyll part as Fethers in Wynde:
And he that is a glotnus Gull,
Deth wyll ſoon his Fethers pull;
Thoughe thou be as haſty as a Wype,
And thy Fethers flyght rype,
Loke thy Fethers and Wryting be dene,
What they ſay and what they mene,
For here is none other Thynge,
But Fowles, Fethers, and Wrytynge:
Thus endeth the Byrdes Parlyament,
By theyr Kynges Commaundement.

Aphoriſms of State: Or, Certain ſecret Articles for the Reedifying of the *Romiſh* Church, agreed upon, and approved in Council by the College of Cardinals in *Rome*, ſhewed and delivered unto Pope *Gregory the Fifteenth*, a little before his Death. Whereunto is annexed a Cenſure upon the chief Points of that which the Cardinals had concluded. By *Thomas Scott*. Very needful and profitable for all thoſe, who are deſirous to underſtand the Event of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and of the State of the Princes Electors of

Saxony

Saxony and *Brandenburgh*, in the Behalf of the Clergy in *Rome*. Fit for the *Britiſh* Nation eſpecially to take Notice of, that they may evidently ſee the Iſſue of all our Treaties, Ambaſſages, and Promiſes, with other Hopes depending; wherein we have been long held in Suſpence, and are ſtill like to be, to our irrrecoverable Loſs. Faithfully tranſlated, according to the *Latin* and *Netherlandiſh Dutch*, into *Engliſh*. Printed at *Utrecht*, 1624, *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

The firſt Article.

WHEREAS *Maximilian* the Duke of *Bavaria*, for the Eſtabliſhing the State of his Prince Electorſhip, hath ſought unto the Authority of the Apoſtolical Seat*, thereby hath the Apoſtolical Church obtained Opportunity, to recover their loſt Obedience in the denied Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

The 2d Article.

Since the Pope of *Rome*, by Means of the preſent Duke of *Bavaria*, as being the moſt obedient Son of the Church, may obtain again the Rights, which, for theſe two-hundred Years and more, have been loſt in the Conſtituting of certain Things, and Orders in the Empire, belonging to the Church, it will be a very ſmall Labour, to pluck the Poſſeſſions of the Church Goods which depend upon the Eccleſiaſtical Rights, out of the Hands of the Heretick.s

The 3d Article.

Whereas the Duke of *Bavaria*, according to the eſpecial Oath, made unto the Church, hath an earneſt Deſire, to reſtore again the Eccleſiaſtical State, as it was before the Time of Pope *Gregory* the *Eleventh*, the Hereticks (who are the Temporal Arm of the Empire) ſhall be bound to reſtore again thoſe Goods which they have poſſeſſed ſince the *Paſſawiſh* Tranſaction.

The 4th Article.

Since that it properly appertaineth to the Church to diſcern and take Notice of the State and Order of the Empire, wherefore thoſe Hereticks which deny this Antiquity, and the Rights of the Church in the State and Order of the Empire, which now by the Duke of *Bavaria* ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in Time to come, are not to be tolerated.

The 5th Article.

Since that Pope *Leo the Third* had the Power, in reſpect of the Hereſy, to cut off, and ſeparate the *Eaſtern* † Authority from the *Weſtern*; and to pluck that from the *Grecians*: Wherefore ſhall not the Pope now have the ſame Power, to take the Prince Electorſhip from the *Palſgrave*, as being an Arch-heretick, and tranſport the ſame unto the Duke of *Bavaria*, the moſt obedient Son of the Church.

The 6th Article.

Since the Diviſion of the *Eaſtern* Empire, from the *Weſtern*, which was performed by the moſt Bleſſed Pope, *Leo* the *Third*, hath continued ſo firm and ſacred even to this very Time: That, although the *Weſtern* Empire hath often Times been void of a Poſſeſſor, it was never as yet united unto the *Eaſtern* Empire, nor the Laws of the one in the Provinces of the other were ever of Force: Wherefore then ſhall not the Diviſion of the Prince-Elector's Dignities of the *Palſgrave*, that Arch-heretick, be maintained upon the moſt Catholick Duke of *Bavaria*, in the like Sanctity of Perpetuity and Stability, by the Pope and the Holy League?

The 7th Article.

Since that the Tranſport of the Empire, from the *Grecians* unto the *French*, performed

with ſuch a free Arm, and ſuch an active Power by Pope *Leo*: The *Grecian* Emperors themſelves, although they were the ſtrongeſt, durſt never oppugn the ſame, nay have many Times and often very ſignificantly commended and firmly kept the ſame; in like Manner the Ability nor the Oppoſition of the Arch-heretick, the *Saxon*, who is yet remaining, may not hinder, much leſs make Oppoſition to the Tranſport of the Prince Elector's Dignity, unto the moſt Catholick Duke of *Bavaria*: In regard that he, as being an Heretick, and not knowing the Sanctity, nor the Antiquity of the right Original of the Empire, and ignorant of the Laws and Privileges thereof, may not enjoy that Right.

The 8th Article.

Whenas *Frederick the Firſt*, according to the Will and Pleaſure of Pope *Alexander the Third*, was detruded from the Imperial Seat, then *Emanuel Comnenus* preſented both Men and Money unto the Pope againſt *Frederick*, to the End the *Grecian* Church might be united to the *Latins*: By which undoubtedly he confeſſeth, that to eſtabliſh and fortify the Pope's Cutting off, and Tranſport, and the Uniting of one Kingdom with another, was forbidden all Men whatſoever, ſave only the Pope, who had firſt ſeparated them; ſo in like Manner theſe Things like as they alſo be, ſo is it true that the Pope, with the Holy League, are bound to employ all their Power againſt the Arch-heretick, the *Saxon* *, and all thoſe Rebels, that depend upon him: That the Sanctity of the Apoſtolical Stool†, and the Antiquity of the *Romiſh* Empire, in the Tranſport of the Prince Elector's Dignity, might be preſerved and maintained.

The 9th Article.

After Pope *Leo*, have other Popes, alſo, only by the Authority of their Chair, very often tranſported the ſaid *Weſtern* Empire from one Nation to another; wherefore then may not the Pope, by the ſame Authority of the Chair of *Rome*, pluck the Prince Elector's Dignity out of the Hands of the Hereticks, and tranſport the ſame to the Catholick Princes, to the End that the ſacred Eſſence of the *Romiſh* Empire, by the Extirpation of Hereticks, be again eſtabliſhed?

The 10th Article.

Whereas, in all Right, Pope *Boniface the Eighth*, unto whom the ſupreme Authority in the Church belonged, would not admit that *Albert the Firſt* of that Name, Emperor of the *Romans*, by Right of Inheritance might come to the Empire, like as he had fought both for himſelf and for his Poſterity and Succeſſors, but only by Election: In like Manner may the Pope, the Emperor, and the Holy League, without violating the Apoſtolical Seat, which always, to be kept ſacred in her Antiquity, muſt be defended, not to ſuffer the *Saxon* and the *Brandenburgher*, that they ſhould ſeek to draw the Authority of the Antiquity in the Tranſport of the Electorſhip from the Chair of *Rome*, to bring the ſame to the College of the Prince Electors.

The 11th Article.

Philip, King of the *Franks*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Avignon* ‡ unto Pope *Clement the Firſt*: That they very humbly ſhould intreat him, that he would reſtore the Empire again to the *French*, under whom before it had been. Then did the Pope ſend Ambaſſadors unto the Prince Electors, by whom he commanded them, that they ſhould chuſe *Henry* of *Luxemburgh* Emperor: And that, if they did the Contrary, that they ſhould incur great Danger, and ſhould forfeit the Empire, and the Right of their Election unto others for ever; whereupon they preſently aſſembled, and elected *Henry* Emperor. From all this very plainly appeareth, that the *French* aſſuredly knew, that it was in the Pope's Power to eſtabliſh the Imperial Command in that Kingdom, and to tranſport from the *Germans* the Empire and the Right of the Election: And therefore may the Pope, according to the Plenitude of his Power, no longer uſe Connivance, when as theſe Arch-hereticks, the *Saxon* and the *Brandenburgher*, would throw down into Hell the Antiquity and Order of the Empire.

The 12th Article.

It is in the Pope's Hands, as in all Hiſtories appeareth, to renew the Emperor in the Em-

* The Elector of *Saxony*, who firſt protected *Luther* and continued, till of late Years, the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*. † *i. e.* The Chair. ‡ A City in *France*, where the Pope, being baniſhed *Rome*, kept his Reſidence for about 70 Years.

pire, to tranſport the Authority of one Nation unto another, and utterly to aboliſh the Right of Election: How wickedly and ungodly then doth the *Saxon*, in labouring to pluck the ſaid Power from the Chair of *Rome*, and to unite the ſame unto the College of the Prince Electors? By this Means the Pope of *Rome* and the Emperor may expect, that from this Permiſſion the reſt of the Arch-hereticks, the *Saxon* and the *Brandenburgher*, may change the Eſſence of the Holy Church and of the Empire, into an abominable and curſed Monſter.

The 13th Article.

Since that *Wenceſlaus*, by reaſon of his Follies, by the Prince Electors, was depoſed from the Imperial Seat, and contrarily *Robert Palſgrave* of the *Rhine*, by the Command and Authority of Pope *Boniface the Ninth*, aſcended to that high Dignity: In like Manner alſo is the *Palſgrave*, that Arch-heretick, becauſe he had committed high Treaſon, and had diſturbed the common Peace of the Emperor and the Empire, detruded from the Prince-Electorſhip: And contrarily, for the Recovering of the Antiquity, the Emperor, with the ſacred and true Prince Electors, as Sons obedient to the Church, and diligent in maintaining Antiquity, by Commiſſion from the Pope, hath promoted *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* in all Right unto that high Degree of Prince Electorſhip.

The 14th Article.

So that, by the Authority of the Apoſtolical Seat, the Power of Electing an Emperor, and a Prince Elector, is drawn into the Number of ſeven Princes: Yet whereas, according to the Conceſſion of *Gregory the Fifth*, it appertained unto all the Princes of *Germany*: Alſo, by the ſame Plenitude of Power, it is lawful for the Pope to cut off the Dignity of the Prince Electorſhip, from the *Palſgrave* and his Heirs, and to tranſport the ſame unto the Duke of *Bavaria*.

The 15th Article.

The Plenitude of the Power of the Apoſtolical Seat is proved by the publick Documents, as is the Election of *Rudolph*, of *Habsburgh*, *Adolph*, *Henry the Seventh*, *Charles the Fourth*, *Wenceſlaus*, and *Rupertus*, who had no other Stability, but from the Grant and Conſent of *Nicholas the Third*, *Boniface the Eighth*, *Clement the Fifth*, *Clement the Sixth*, *Gregory the Eleventh*, and *Boniface the Ninth*, which publick Documents are kept with the Writings of the Apoſtolical Seat.

The 16th Article.

To the End that the Antiquity of the Empire may the better be manifeſted, that the Pope and the Church hath only the Power to take Notice, diſcern, and to diſpoſe of the Affairs of the Empire: Therefore the Emperor is crowned with the Crown by the Pope, who therein hath the higheſt Authority, and, this Work effected, then is he eſtabliſhed in the Imperial Seat: Therefore all Doctors do agree herein, that he, that is crowned by the Pope, hath the Power only to bear the Title of Emperor and *Auguſtus*: To ſign with the Sign of the Golden Bull, and to take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Empire: And, when the Prince is not crowned by the Pope, he is rightly forbidden to uſe the ſame.

The 17th Article.

At what Time a great Contention was riſen between *Charles the Bald* King of the *Franks*, and his Brother *Lodowick*, in Behalf of the Empire: Then preſently *Charles* poſted unto *Rome*, and ſo with Gifts and Intreaties obtained the Crown: And therefore, according to the Form of Antiquity, the Pope only hath the Power to take Notice of Matters of the Empire: And therefore the *German* Hereticks do very ill in ſaying, that the ſame belongeth to the College of the Prince Electors.

The 18th Article.

Since that *Frederick the Firſt*, by the Biſhop of *Bamberghen*, required the Crown of the Empire from Pope *Adrian the Fourth* (where the Words under-written are uſed and placed to expreſs the ſame Senſe) from whence very plainly appeareth, that he, that receiveth not the Crown out of the Pope's Hand, is in very Deed no Emperor: Therefore, moſt holy Father, fulfil, without any longer Delay, that which *Maximilian*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, wanteth in the Plenitude of the Dignity of his Prince Electorſhip, that the ſame may be accompliſhed by your Holineſs's Liberality, to the End the Empire may be reduced and brought into its old Faſhion again.

The

The 19th Article.

Since that, in the Diſpoſing and Ordering of the Affairs of the Empire, the Pope's Reſpect only extendeth ſo far, that it now and then hath been vexed, ſuppreſſed, nay, hath been wholly and totally circumvented and defrauded; like as many Hiſtories do teſtify, what hath paſſed between Pope *Gregory the Seventh*, and the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*, between Pope *Alexander* and the Emperor *Frederick the Firſt*, between Pope *Innocent the Third* and the Emperor *Ottoman the Fourth*, between Pope *Innocent the Fourth* and the Emperor *Frederick*, between Pope *John the Twenty-firſt* and the Emperor *Lodowick the Fourth*, between Pope *Boniface the Ninth* and the Emperor *Wenceſlaus*: By the ſame Reſpect hath the Pope that undoubted Right to take Notice of the Affairs of the Empire, and to diſcern thereof, and not the College of the Prince Electors.

The 20th Article.

Since that the Power of the Electing the Emperor was not purchaſed for Money by the Prince Electors, nor obtained by Force of Arms, nor enjoyed by Right of Inheritance, nor befallen unto them by the Hands of the Emperor, but is deſcended from the Authority of the Apoſtolical Seat: Therefore it is not lawful for the *German* Arch-hereticks *, now at this preſent to believe any otherwiſe, thereby to moleſt the Antiquity and Sanctity of the Empire.

The 21ſt Article.

Whenas for a long Time the Cuſtom of Electing the Emperor had been in Uſe, according to the Conſtitution of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*, by the Interceſſion of all the Chiefs and Princes of *Germany*, and that many Troubles and Diviſions aroſe by the great Diverſity of Voices in their Election, the Empire is at laſt come to nought; ſo that the Chiefs and Princes with one Accord, according to the Decree and Approbation of the Apoſtolical Seat, were agreed, that all the Power which was granted unto them, all of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*, ſhould deſcend unto ſix † Princes only, *viz. three Spiritual* and *three Temporal*, unto whom afterwards the *Seventh* was adjoined, and ſolemnly concluded, that of theſe alone, without admitting any other thereunto, from henceforth the Emperor ſhould be choſen, although they were of the Faculty, Power, and Authority.

The 22d Article.

Like as in former Time the Election was performed by Virtue of the Grant of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*: The ſame ſhall now at this preſent, by the ſame Power proceeding from the good Pleaſure of the Pope's Tranſport, be effected by the *Seven*. And like as, in old Time, the Popes commanded all the Chiefs and Princes of *Germany*, that they ſhould chuſe an Emperor, even ſo at this Time, when Need requireth, it ſhall be lawful for the Pope to command the ſeven Prince Electors, who do repreſent the Aſſembly of all the Princes there. And like as the ſeven Prince Electors do enjoy a like Power and Authority of Right, which in old Time the Princes of *Germany* enjoyed; in like Manner the Pope doth enjoy wholly that Authority, which they had in the Time of that Aſſembly, in Regard through Proceſs of Years, or Length of Time, the Vigour of the Church diminiſheth not, nor the Rights of the Apoſtolical Seat do wax decrepit: How great then is the Ignorance of thoſe Doctors and Counſellors of the *German* Arch-hereticks, which neither know the Antiquity nor the Rights; but, according to their malicious Conceit, are not aſhamed to pervert the Antiquity and Sanctity of the Empire into Novelty, and to bring Order into Confuſion?

The 23d Article.

Since then it hath been very amply proved, and ſhewed to his Holineſs, that the Power as well of the new as the old Prince Electors, to elect Emperors, hath been obtained by no other Means, but from the moſt high Apoſtolical Seat, which may be proved by the Writings of the moſt famous Authors, as *Jacob Winphilingus*, *Krantzius*, *Nauclerus*, *Carion*, *Aventinus*, *Cuſpinianus*, and other *Tranſmontanian* Writings, omitting the *Italian* Doctors, becauſe that they, in this Point of Controverſy, might peradventure come in Suſpicion to be corrupted, and by that Means might be rejected of the *German* Hereticks. Therefore it is, ‡ *&c.*

* The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, follow, muſt be taken from the former.

† Electors.

‡ The reſt, that ſhould

The

The 24th Article.

Since the ſeven Prince Electors, by the publick Proofs of Writings, ſubſcribed with their own Hands and Seals, do not deny that the Faculty of electing Emperors is deſcended unto them from the Apoſtolical Seat; and, if the ignorant Counſellors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* will not believe the ſame, the Writings themſelves ſhall be produced and laid open before them, which do approve the ſame, dated in the Year 1279, when *Nicholas the Third* was Pope, and *Rudolphus Habſpurgenſis* was Emperor, which are whole and good, in Parchment, remaining with the Secretary of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*; where the ſeven Prince Electors moſt of them uſe theſe Words:

'The Mother Church of *Rome*, in Times 'paſt, as with a natural Love embracing *Ger-* '*many*, hath as with a Preſent of Tempo- 'ral Dignities honoured the ſame, with that 'which is above all Names, only as tempo- 'rally upon the Earth, planting Princes there- 'in as godly Trees, and watering the ſame 'with a ſingular Grace, and hath given unto 'them that Growth of worldly Power; that 'they, being ſupported by the Authority of 'the ſame Church, as a choice and famous 'Plant, may cauſe to ſpring or grow up, by 'their Election, him who hath the Reins of 'the *Roman* Empire in his Hand. Therefore 'it is, * *&c.*'

The 25th Article.

The ſeven Prince Electors muſt confeſs to have this Power from the Apoſtolical Seat, like as ſufficiently is proved in the former Article. And contrarily, no Man can take away the ſame, without the Authority and Conſent of the ſame Apoſtolical Seat. If it be taken from any, as being robbed thereof, it muſt not be eſteemed as lawfully done, and that Dignity which after that Manner is ſo taken from one, and tranſported to another without the Pope's Conſent and Authority, hath no Vigour, in Regard the ſame is taken and given to them, to whom in all Right it is forbidden. Therefore, if it be beſtowed upon any Man after this Manner, in Proceſs of Time, taking the right Title, he ſhall not keep the ſame.

The 26th Article.

Since that the Tranſport of the Dignities of the Prince Electorſhip unto this preſent Line of *Saxony*, is not eſtabliſhed by the moſt holy Apoſtolical Seat; therefore, the Pope and the Emperor, for the Dealing of the Tranſport of the Electorſhip unto the Duke of *Bavaria*, ſhall not once be moved, but his Exception againſt the Tranſport ſhall be eſteemed for no Exception; for that which is lawfully done, and ſimply is not done, is all one.

The 27th Article.

Since that the Tranſport of the Dignities of the Prince Electorſhip is paſſed unto *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and is confirmed by the moſt Holy Father: Therefore it is no longer in the Emperor, nor in the King of *Spain*'s Power, to place that Arch-heretick the *Palſgrave*, or his Heirs, in that Dignity and Dominion out of which their Father is caſt, nor to place him again in the Electorſhip, in Regard that theſe Controverſies do belong to the moſt holy Apoſtolical Seat, and neither to the Emperor, nor the King of *Spain*.

The 28th Article.

Since that the Pope hath confirmed the Tranſport of the Electorſhip; ſo is that Demand (which the King of *England*, the King of *Denmark*, the *Saxon*, and the *Brandenburgher*, of the Reſtitution of the *Palſgrave* into his Dignities and Electorſhip, which they ſeek of the Emperor very unreaſonable; for the Requiring thereof is nothing elſe, but the Defrauding the Apoſtolical Seat) from the Right of her Majeſty, and to attribute unto the Emperor the fundamental Original, contrary to the Antiquity and Sanctity of the Church and Empire: And, therefore, the Holy Father ſhall be wary, that from ſuch like Connivance there ariſeth not a greater Diſcommodity to the farther Ruin of the Church.

The 29th Article.

To the End then that the Eſſence of the Church may be preſerved in her Antiquity and Sanctity: The moſt illuſtrious Prelates, the Cardinals, with one Conſent and Accord, have

* Here lacketh ſomething, which is to be conceived out of that which goeth before.

ſworn that the holy Father, having permitted the Confirmation on *Maximilian* the Duke of *Bavaria*, may not revoke the ſame, without Prejudice of the moſt holy Apoſtolical Seat, and are bound, by the Laws of God, ſimply to maintain the aforeſaid Duke of *Bavaria* with one common Hand, with conjoined Power of the whole Church, and with Force of Arms, in the Dignities of the Prince Electorſhip.

Here followeth the Cenſure, or Conſideration upon the aforeſaid Articles.

HERE are preſented unto us Twenty-nine Articles, from the Prelates of the *Romiſh* Church, whoſe Elegance is not much to be commended, and do tend to the Prejudice of *Germany*: For the better Examination whereof, we will courſe through all the Members or Particulars; and, to the End that no Man may be bewitched therewith, we will adminiſter unto the Simple an Antidote againſt this Poiſon.

The Beginning ſhall be of the three firſt Articles, wherein the Clergy of *Rome* do imagine unto themſelves a moſt excellent Growth, as well of the Juriſdiction, as of the Temporal Goods.

To ſpeak in Order of both theſe: I ſay the Pope, foraſmuch as he is Pope, hath no Juriſdiction at all, but, foraſmuch as he is inriched by the Liberality of Princes, he hath alſo his own Lands, and hath a certain Juriſdiction, which is well to be underſtood in his own Lands: But in the Empire, where he hath no Place amongſt the Princes of the Empire, no Juriſdiction may be allowed him, without Diminiſhing of the Imperial Majeſty: Let no Man ſuffer himſelf once to be moved, for that which hath been ſo long ſaid, 'That 'the Pope of *Rome* is in the Place of *Chriſt* 'here upon Earth:' *Chriſt* himſelf denied that *his Kingdom was of this World. The Diſciple is not mightier than his Maſter, nor the Servant greater than his Lord.*

What is more evident and plain, than that which *Chriſt* himſelf ſaith? Let the Kings of the Nations bear Rule, but with you it muſt not be ſo. Neither is that firmer, that they hope for the Victory, from the Triumph, and other Proofs, wherewith they have always defended their Cauſe, that *Chriſt* ſaid, *All Power is given me in Heaven and Earth. Maldonatus* † refuteth this with theſe Words, '*Chriſt* ſpeaketh not here of all Power, but 'of that which he gave to the Apoſtles, *that* 'is, of the Power to obtain and gather toge-'ther *his ſpiritual* Kingdom; for which Buſi-'neſs he ſent out the Apoſtles; like as tem-'poral Princes are careful of their temporal 'Goods, ſo are they alſo of their Juriſdicti-'ons.' Here availeth that which the old Father *Bernard* wrote to Pope *Eugenius*, in his *firſt* Book of *Obſervations*, 'Your Power is 'over Offences or Sins, and not over Poſſeſ-'ſions. Theſe baſe and earthly Things have 'their Judges, Kings, and Princes of the 'Earth: Wherefore doſt thou enter upon 'other Men's *Juriſdictions*? Wherefore doſt 'thou thruſt thy Sickle or Scythe into another 'Man's Harveſt?' Moreover, he ſaith in his *eleventh* Book, 'Dominion was forbidden 'the Apoſtles; Dareſt thou then uſe it (*A* '*Lord*) the Apoſtleſhip, or an Apoſtolical 'Perſon's Dominion, verily both theſe are 'forbidden you, if you will enjoy both theſe 'at once.' Therefore asketh *Hoſtienſis*, 'What ſhall we ſay of that which concerneth 'the Pope in *worldly* or *temporal* Affairs?' Whereunto he maketh Anſwer, with his Lord *Innocentius*, 'That unto him, *viz.* the Pope, 'it concerned nothing at all.' The ſame alſo 'may be read by *John Pariſienſis*, in the *tenth* Chapter of the *Power of Kings and Popes.* This is long ago told unto them, but they gave it no Audience; from hence ariſeth the *Engliſh* Complaint by *Mathew Paris*, where he treateth of *Henry the Third:* 'That it is 'ſufficiently known and found, that the 'Wrath of God is fallen upon the *Romiſh* 'Church, becauſe their Magiſtrates and Re-'gents do not diligently apply themſelves for 'the Devotion of the People, nor for the 'Gaining of Souls; but to purchaſe Revenues, 'and to ſcrape Money together.'

† A *Jeſuit* Commentator of great Note.

Other

Other Nations uſed very grievouſly to complain thereof, and that with good Reaſon, eſpecially *Germany*, whoſe Princes long ago, ſeeking Remedy hereof, were not very acceptable, who could never ſatisfy the *Romiſh* Clergy, with Riches and Dignities. From this unſatiable Gulph alſo ariſeth, that they, in the Third Article, deſire to cut off the Conditions for their Advantage, which, for the common Peace-ſake, were received above ſeventy Years ſince at *Paſſaw*. But it is not in the Pope's Power, nor in the Clergy, to break that which was concluded by a General Council of the States, where the Authority of * *Charles* was entertained.

Here followeth the Cenſure upon the *Second* Part, which extendeth itſelf larger than the *Firſt*, in regard that it not only ſheweth the Cardinaliſh Prince †, but that which lieth next under. This aforeſaid Part containeth twenty Articles, in which they, with the like Proofs, do proceed, as yet ſeemeth; yet their Object indeed is ſomething elſe, more than in the former. In which it ſeemeth to be ſufficient to *Michael Longius*: That, if the Duke of *Bavaria* could but be perſuaded, that he would ſeek for the Conſent of the Pope, in thoſe Dignities where he was honoured. In ſuch Manner the chiefeſt Cardinals do take the Reins of good Reaſon too long into their Hands; nay, as *Phaeton*, upon the Waggon of their Avarice, to the Danger of the World, and more eſpecially of *Germany*, do ride out of the common Route of the Popes; like as if it were of no Moment, to pronounce ſuch an horrible Sentence of the Tranſport of the Electorſhip of the *Palſgrave*, and the Occaſion thereof; whereof we will not now diſpute; and ſo they fall a-board the Prince Electors of *Saxon* and *Brandenburgh*, in the Behalf of the Rights of the Election: What is it elſe but, with the like Thunder-bolt, to daſh the Heads of the ſacred Empire? They ſay they are Hereticks: It is now no Time to enquire after Hereſy, but rather ſoundly to diſpute, Whether that a Biſhop, like as he, hath Right to excommunicate a Man for Hereſy? Whether therefore he hath the Power alſo to rob and ſpoil a Man of his Dignities and Means? Verily therein is great Difference: Chriſt commanded, that the Excommunicated ſhould be counted as an Heathen or Publican: But in no Place willeth he that Men ſhould rob the Heathens or Publicans of their Authority, or ſhould ſpoil them of their Goods. Chriſt himſelf paid Toll unto the Publicans, and, by his Example, hath ſhewed us the Way what we ſhould do. The Apoſtles lived under heatheniſh Emperors, and were obedient to their Laws; in like Manner alſo were all their Succeſſors; nay, the Apoſtles, being obedient, uſed to pray to God for them: Therefore, ſaith *Tertullian* in his Apology, in the thirtieth Chapter, 'We 'invoke the eternal God for the Proſperity of 'the Emperor, praying, that he may have a 'long Life, a peaceful Government, an eſta-'bliſhed Habitation, ſtrong Armies, faithful 'Counſellors, and a peaceful World.' When *Julian* left Chriſtianity, and betook himſelf to Heatheniſm, did the Chriſtians then detrude him forth of his Empire? When they hear of this, then they will contend with latter Examples, ſaying, Wherefore then may not the Pope, by the ſame Right for Hereſy, tranſport the Dignity of the Prince Electorſhip unto another, ſince that Pope *Leo the Third*, for the ſame Occaſion, tranſported the Empire from the *Grecians* upon the *Franks*. This is that *Achilles* which ſo boaſts in the College of the Cardinal, but yet he is not ſtrong enough to take in our City of *Elizeum*. They abuſe themſelves exceedingly with this Example; firſt, from the Act of the Pope, they conclude the Juſtneſs of the Act; if we may ſo drive our Arguments, there is no Act of any Man, but it may be found Fault withal; they err alſo herein, that they affirm that to be done, which was never done.

We know it all of us, that the Empire was tranſported, but withall, that it was done by the Council of ‡ *Rome*, as alſo all *Italy*, conſented thereunto, either privately or publickly. Of the Weſtern People I will paſs over in Silence. They ſay again, that we have many Writers, which make Repetition of that which *Leo* did. Who denieth that? But they commend *Leo*, as being one of the chiefeſt Citizens, and ſo had the greateſt Reſpect of any Man in the City: They commend him alſo, as being Biſhop of *Rome*, who, with his Hands, was to ſet up the Crown, as being a Sign or Repreſentation of the Empire: Therefore theſe Writers were in no Hereſy, becauſe

* The Emperor. † The Pope, being Prince of his Cardinals. ‡ The *State* and not *Church*.

they meant that either *Leo* did the ſame alone, or elſe principally could have done it. Many others, who are no leſs in Number, nor in Reſpect than theſe, do relate unto us the clean contrary: They ſay expreſly, that the ſame was done and performed, according to the Decree and Will, as is aforeſaid, of the Council of *Rome*. *Sigibertus* ſaith, in the Year 801: 'The *Romans* now, who long ago had with-'drawn their Affections from the *Conſtantino-'politan* Emperor, as then finding very good 'Opportunity, becauſe that a Woman, when 'the Emperor *Conſtantine* was deprived of his 'Sight, governed them by his Son: Then 'proclaimed they with one Accord the Em-'peror *Charles* for their Emperor, they crown-'ed him by the Hand of Pope *Leo*, they ſtiled 'him Emperor and *Auguſtus*.' A *Popiſh* Writer, *Theodoricus de Niem*, who afterwards was Biſhop of *Verden*, ſaith, 'About the very 'Time of the Coronation, the People of '*Rome* made a Law, according to the old 'Cuſtom, but it was very troubleſome to 'recollect all Things that happened ſo often: 'Therefore the Sentence, Right and Power of 'the Empire, was left unto the Emperor, as 'we find it written: Then the People of '*Rome* tranſported all this unto *Charles*, and 'gave unto him all that Right and Power.'

Blondus alſo, in his firſt Book, *Decad.* 2. and *Æneas Silvius*, or *Pius the Second*, in *Blondus*'s ſhort Relation; alſo *Jacobus Wymphelingius*, in his ſhort Relation of the Pope of *Rome*, in the eleventh Chapter, do affirm, that the Coronation by *Leo* was performed and done with the Knowledge and at the Intreaty of the People of *Rome*. Theſe are the Words of *Onuphrius Panvinus in Faſtis*: *Leo*, by the Conſent of the People of *Rome*, and at the Intreaty of the Clergy of *Rome*, proclaimeth *Charles* Emperor. So that from thoſe and others, who affirm, that it was done by the Council, and the People of *Rome*; muſt thoſe Writers be interpreted, that they do not confirm, nor yet deny the ſame.

How much more is it to believe that which is confirmed by Witneſſes, which is denied by none; than not to believe thoſe which do confirm the ſame, becauſe that all of them do not affirm, although there be no Body that do deny the ſame: For, after this Manner, writeth *Michael Coccimus* very well, in his Book of the Tranſport of the Empire: 'We 'muſt believe that the ſame Tranſport was 'performed, and had its Power or Ope-'ration from the Conſent and Authority of 'the *Romans*, and other People of *Italy*.' That which *Innocentius the Third* wrote unto *Barthold*, Duke of *Zaringe*, doth not contradict the ſame: 'That the Apoſtolical Seat of '*Rome* tranſported the *Roman* Empire unto 'the Perſon of the famous *Charles*, from the '*Grecians* unto the *Germans*, for in this we 'conſent: That the Apoſtolical Seat, upon 'no other Meaning, did tranſport the Em-'pire, but that they, who did tranſport the 'Empire, did conſent thereunto, or elſe 'made Declaration that they ſhould tranſport 'the ſame. But ſuch a Tranſport hath had 'its Power from the uniform Conſent of the 'People.'

Hence may very plainly appear, in what Manner the Tranſport which *Leo* performed was done, and by this Means that is very eaſily overthrown, which they ſay: That the Empire was tranſported for Hereſy: The Occaſion of the Tranſport is here formerly related out of *Sigibertus*. The true Cauſe thereof was, becauſe the Emperors of the *Eaſt* did neglect, or were careleſs of the *Weſtern* Empire and Authority; and ſo, as is aforeſaid, did let it paſs: This we can confirm and approve with very firm Teſtimony. *Lupoldus* ſaith, in his fourth Book of the Rights of the Authority of the Empire, in this Manner:

'The *Grecian* Emperor, in the Time of '*Carolus Magnus*, nay, before his Time alſo, '(*viz.* when his Father *Pepin*, and his 'Grandfather *Carolus Mertellus* lived) go-'verned only with the Name of the *Weſtern* 'Empire; ſo that neither the *Romiſh* Church, 'nor the other Chriſtian Congregations, nor 'thoſe of the *Longobards*, who were, con-'trary to all Law, ſuppreſſed, could either 'by the *Eaſtern* Emperor, nor by their Au-'thority, obtain any Right in the *Weſtern* 'Empire; ſo that the aforeſaid Emperor made 'no Account nor Reckoning of the *Weſtern* 'Empire, but held it looſely as a Derelict, 'only commanding therewith the Name, as 'appeareth in divers Chronicles.' Of the ſame Opinion is *Johannes Pariſienſis*, in his ſixteenth Chapter, writing of the *Kingly* and *Papal* Power: 'It was not done by the Pope '*only*, but that it was the People's *Deſire*, 'who may ſubject themſelves to whom they 'will, without Prejudice to any other; and 'therefore that was done for a neceſſary Rea-

ſon,

'ſon, for to defend them againſt the Heathens 'and Infidels, becauſe they could not be de- 'fended by any other; which rightly they 'might do, for the People make the King, 'and the Army the Emperor.' *Æneas Sylvius*, in his Book of the Riſing and Authority of the *Roman* Empire, ſaith, in the ninth Chapter: 'At the laſt, when the *Grecians* were careleſs 'of *Rome*, and leaving the ſame to be made 'a Prey, and to be ranſacked one While by 'the *Barbarians*, and alſo by others, the People 'of *Rome*, who with their Blood had got ſuch 'great Riches, who by their Valour had e- 'rected the Monarchy of the World, ſaluted, 'by the Name of *Emperor*, *Carolus Magnus*, 'then King of the *Franks*, being a *German* 'born, who delivered the City and the Holy 'Place from the Invaſion of Enemies, firſt 'greeting him with this Title, *Patricius*, and 'afterwards *Auguſtus*, the POPE's *Good-will* '*and Pleaſure hereunto concurring*.' Alſo, ſaith *Nauclerus*, in his twenty-ſeventh *Generat*. 'In the Year 800, upon the Day of 'the Birth of our Lord, good Deliberation 'preceding, *Leo* the Pope of *Rome*, conſi- 'dering that the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperors 'did very careleſly defend that Name, and 'held the *Weſtern* Empire as loſt, declared, 'with the *Conſent of the* PEOPLE of *Rome*, '*Charles* Emperor of the *Romans*, and crown- 'ed him with the Crown, when the *Com-* 'monalty of the *Romans* three Times cried out 'aloud, *Carolo Auguſto*, &c.' *Paulus Æmilius*, in his Hiſtory of the *Franks*, ſaith thus: 'The Majeſty of the Emperors was 'now at this Time, and before, very ſlight. And thereafter he ſaith: 'The Principalleſt of 'the *Romans*, being of another Courage and 'Audacity, gave their Voices, That the Seat 'of the Empire, being, as it were, void, and 'poſſeſſed of none (as if it had been God's 'Will, and had been ſo ordained) ſhould be 'inveſted with the King of the *Franks*, be- 'cauſe that he, by his Service which he had 'done for the Church, had well deſerved the 'ſame; and that they were obliged and bound 'to him, &c.

Michael Coccimus ſpeaks yet more plainly concerning the Tranſport of the Empire, ſaying: 'When the *Romans*, and almoſt all the 'People of *Italy*, by Proceſs of Time, and 'the Invaſion of many Nations, and Pil- 'lagings, as being ſubject to the *Goths*, *Vice-* '*Goths*, *Huns*, and *Longobards*, and being 'not able with their own Forces to defend 'themſelves, and the *Grecians* taking no Care 'at all of them, for the Performance thereof; 'nay (that which is more) they themſelves 'heaping Evil upon Evil, and uſing all Dili- 'gence to ſuppreſs and ſpoil them, uſing too 'great Avariciouſneſs and Deſire of Authority 'over them; they marking the exceſſive Co- 'vetouſneſs of the *Grecians*, and alſo their 'Careleſneſs; obſerving alſo the Worthineſs, 'Capacity, and Equity of the *Germans*, they 'tranſported the Empire from the *Grecians* 'unto the *Germans*, and recommended the 'ſame to *Carolus Magnus*. This Tranſport 'of the Empire, being effected by the *Romans* 'and other People of *Italy*, and that with the 'common Conſent and Authority of them all, 'without all Doubt, had full Power, and hath 'remained firm.'

Hence appeareth plain enough, that they are either Fools, or elſe are much deceived, which think, that the Empire was tranſported to the *Franks* for Hereſy.

This alſo is worthy Conſideration, That, although the *Eaſtern* Empire was tranſported by Pope *Leo* to the *Weſtern*, the Pope hath now the ſame Right to remove the Empire, according to his Will. In old Time it was otherwiſe than it is now. Let us grant, That the Pope of *Rome* had ſome Right, as the beſt qualified Citizen of the City; nay, that the City (which never yet was done) had tranſported all her Power unto him: What doth that concern theſe our preſent Times, ſince that the Pope hath driven the Emperor out of the Dominion of the City? After what Manner, ſay I, hereafter, ſhall either *Rome* itſelf, or the Pope of *Rome*, pretend any Right in the Electing of an Emperor, ſince they do not acknowledge the Emperor for their Lord? Yea, ſince it is acknowledged, that the Princes Electors are to be ordained by the Conſent and Voices of the States, and this is by the Approbation of *Gregory the Fifth*, Hath not the Pope loſt his Right, when he conſented hereunto? So that hereby that Authority, which the Pope aſcribeth to himſelf, is quite overthrown. What a Number of Proofs might be produced againſt this Power of the Pope! Yea, the Teſtimony of principal Perſonages, who, by Reaſon of their Learning, are exceeding famous.

Here followeth the third Part, which falleth very grievouſly, both with Tooth and Nail,

upon the Bodies of all thoſe that diſlike the Sentence of the Pope; and that conſiſteth in the three laſt Articles.

And, *firſt*, that is touched, which concerneth the Election, that is, the Right of Voice is taken from the Prince Elector, the Duke of *Saxony*, under this Pretext; becauſe, forſooth, the Pope of *Rome* hath not confirmed that Dignity, wherewith that Family, for theſe many Years, hath been inveſted; nor is it confirmed by the Pope, as if that illuſtrious Family had not been ſo wiſe, as never to have required the ſame of the Pope. It is but too well known unto them, that they, whom the Pope glorieth to have honoured with the Name of Empire or Authority, he taketh away from them the Majeſty of Authority; ſo that his Inveſting may well be called a *Diſrobing*, and his Crowning a *Dethroning*, or *Depoſing*. For, I pray you, Of what Conſequence is the Confirmation of the Pope unto thoſe, whom he drives into a bodily Fear, if he had no Temporal Power? It is ſuch, as *Origen* long ago underſtood it to be, which he taught, as appeareth by his Writings upon *Matthew*, in his twelfth Homily: 'Among you, which are 'mine, theſe Things ſhall not be, to the End 'that thoſe, which have any Power in the 'Church, do not ſeem to domineer over their 'Brethren, nor to uſe any Authority. For, 'like as a Neceſſity is impoſed upon Tempo-'ral Matters, and not left to the Will; and 'Spiritual Matters in Will, and not in Neceſ-'ſity; ſo ſhall the Dominion of Spiritual 'Princes be confirmed in Love, and not in 'bodily Fear.' If, therefore, the Power of the Princes Electors be from the Pope, becauſe that the Imperial Power is from him, as our Adverſaries affirm, How can they prove, that the Dignity of the Prince Elector muſt proceed from the Pope, if it be not needful that the Emperor be confirmed by the Pope? There is a Text that ſaith, The Army maketh an Emperor. The Gloſs ſaith thereby, He is a right Emperor, before he be confirmed by the Pope. This they of *Baſil* underſtood very well, who, after the Death of *Lodowick*, where the Lord of *Bamburgher* was chief Preſident, made this Anſwer: 'That Emperor, which the Princes 'Electors ſhall ordain for us, him will we ac-'cept of, although he have no Reſpect unto 'the Pope.' This appeareth *in Supplemento Urſpergenſi*. Nay, that which is more, the Pope himſelf confeſſeth, that not the Empire itſelf, but the Imperial Title reſted only in him. Pope *Adrian the Fourth*, in his Epiſtle to the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, ſaith: 'The Name of the Emperor is 'from the Pope, but the Empire and Autho-'rity cometh from the Princes Electors.' Hence, then, is confuted that which is ſaid in the twenty-ſeventh Article, ſince that the Pope hath confirmed the Duke of *Bavaria* in the Dignity of Prince Elector, That then not only the King of *Spain* (who is there mentioned) but alſo the Emperor is bereaved of the Power to reſtore again unto the *Palſgrave* his hereditary Poſſeſſions, and the Dignity of the Prince Electorſhip. For, if the Pope hath no Power in the Affairs of the Empire, then ſhall the Emperor, by his Doings, not loſe his Right, much leſs any other Prince, if he, before the Pope's Deed, had any Right of Suffrage.

I am forced to ſtop my Ears, by Reaſon of that extremely proud and ambitious Affront, which is ſet down in the twenty-eighth Article: That although the moſt Puiſſant Kings of *Great Britain* and *Denmark*, or the two Illuſtrious Princes Electors of *Saxon* and *Brandenburgh* ſhould require of the Emperor that the *Palſgrave* of the *Rhine* might be reſtored again unto his Hereditary Poſſeſſions and Dignity of Prince Elector, that they then robbed the State of *Rome* of the Right of its Majeſty, and did attribute the Power of the Princes Electors Dignity unto the Emperor. The Pope of *Rome* doth very falſly attribute that Majeſty unto himſelf, which appertaineth to the Emperor, and to the Princes of the Empire and the States. Very falſly is the Pope of *Rome* called, here, the Fountain and Source of the Princes Electors Dignities, becauſe that Power is ſprung out of the Council of the *German* Princes. Like as *Nauclerus* ſaith, *Generat.* 34. The Writer *Theodoricus Niemus* uſes theſe Words: The Princes of *Germany* have ordained it ſo. The very ſame alſo do other Writers affirm. Neither do I deny that it was with the Approbation of Pope *Gregory the Fifth*. Therefore the Temporal Dignity is not chiefly from the Pope, for not the Pope, but the Princes of the Empire do repreſent the whole Body and People of the Empire, in whom immediately, as in the Subject, the Temporal Power conſiſteth.

Nicholas Cuſanus, in his third Book of the *Catholick Concordance*, in the fourth Chapter, who in my Judgment judgeth very well thereof, writing in this Manner, ſaith, 'The Princes 'Electors, who elected in the Place of others, 'were (in the Time of Pope *Gregory the* 'Fifth, being a *German*) ordained of the natural Kindred of *Otho*: And therefore it is 'not tolerable that the Princes Electors ſhould 'have their Power of Electing from the Pope 'of *Rome*; (ſo that now, unleſs he conſented 'theſe ſhould not have it: Or, if he pleaſed, 'that he would take it from them.) I aſk, Who 'hath given the People of *Rome* Power to elect 'an Emperor, but the Law of God and Nature? For by Way of a voluntary Subjection, 'and Conſent in Precedency, all Sorts of Governments are well and holy inſtituted: And 'afterwards there he ſetteth down yet ſomething elſe: The Princes Electors that were 'conſtituted by the general Uniformity of 'Voices, of all *Germans* and others belonging to the Empire, in the Time of *Henry* 'the Second, had their fundamental Power 'from the general Conſent of Voices of all, 'who by the Law of Nature might chuſe 'themſelves an Emperor, not from the Pope 'of *Rome* himſelf, in whoſe Power it is not 'to give to every Province a King or an Emperor when it pleaſeth him, and when it 'doth not pleaſe him.'

Laſtly, the *Articles* were ſealed up with this Oath: That the Pope himſelf, without Prejudice to his Seat, may not revoke the Electorſhip from the Duke of *Bavaria*, ſince that he hath confirmed him in that Dignity; nay, that all the Prelates of the *Romiſh* Church are bound with Force of Arms to maintain the Duke of *Bavaria*: And yet more, that all thoſe that are of the *Romiſh* Church, are bound to bring all their Force together to maintain the ſame. So that the *Romiſh* Clergy, diſdaining the Prerogative of Kings and Princes, do very boldly determine and decide thoſe Controverſies which ariſe in the Empire, and threaten to force them by War, who are not content with the Pope's Sentence; how ill-favourly thoſe Things do ſuit and agree with the Pope and Clergy of *Rome*, is ſhewed unto us in that famous Place of *Peter Damianus*, who lived in the Year 1060; his Words in his Letter unto the Biſhop of *Firminus* are theſe:

'Like as the Son of God himſelf did 'overcome all Obſtacles of this raging World, 'not by any Proof of Vengeance, but by conſtant Patience, and invincible Majeſty: 'So fitteth it beſt that we rather ſuffer, and 'patiently endure the World's Raging, with 'Humility: Than either by taking Arms in 'Hand, or requiring Wounds with Wounds: 'Eſpecially ſince, that, between the *Empire* 'and the *Prieſthood*, the Offices are ſeveral; the King ſhall uſe the *Temporal* 'Arms, the Prieſt ſhall put on a *Spiritual* 'Sword, which is the Word of God; *Paul* 'ſaith of the Princes of this World, that *he* '*beareth not the Sword in vain, being a Miniſter of God, and his Revenger in Wrath, upon him that doth Evil.* King *Azarias*, becauſe he took upon him the Prieſt's Office, 'was ſtricken with Leproſy: So that Prieſt, 'which ſhall *take up Arms* (which is the Work 'of the Laity) what deſerveth he? If now any 'Man would object, that Pope *Leo* oftentimes 'thruſt himſelf into Wars, and yet for all 'that was a juſt Pope: I tell you my Opinion. '*Peter* never obtained the Apoſtleſhip, becauſe he forſook his Maſter; nor *David* the 'Gift of Propheſying, becauſe he defiled another Man's Bed. Here is not be conſidered 'of good and evil Things according to the 'Deſert of the Poſſeſſors, but they are to be 'judged according to their own Qualities. 'Do we read any where that Pope *Gregory*, 'who endured ſo many Robberies and Pillages of the *Longobards*, either did or wrote 'the like; do we read any where, that any 'of the holy and worthy Popes did ever 'take up Arms to make a War: No, never 'in no Place; grant then that the Laws of the 'Civil Magiſtrate may narrowly ſift, pry, and 'determine any certain Queſtion, which ariſes 'in the Church: Or elſe determine and judge 'of that, which concerns not the Judgment-Seat of the Civil Magiſtrate, by an Edict 'of the Council, or an Aſſembly of Divines: 'To the End that either by the Judgment of 'the Magiſtrate, or the Judicature of the Pope, 'there ariſe no War, which might be accounted to our Shame.'

The *Clergymen* of *Rome* are altogether of another Opinion, practiſing and endeavouring almoſt nothing elſe but War, not only with their Arms, but alſo threatening others; and, whilſt they are doing this, they are

not

not aſhamed to affirm, that they are bound thereunto by the Laws of God; let them obſerve what Chriſt commanded the Apoſtle *Peter*, to *put up the Sword into the Sheath*. Where hath ever God commanded the Clergy, that they ſhould intermeddle in Matters of Temporal Dignities, or ſhould undertake Wars, much leſs that they ſhould blow the Trumpet, or beat Alarms as they do now? (Have I the Deſire of Dominion, their God) Obſerve diligently I pray you, that bloody Oath intended by all the Prelates, to the End the Faſhion of the Ancient and Holy Church might be maintained intire, like as if the Faſhion of their Church now were, as it was wont to be in former Times; let us read that which *Tertullian*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, and other Writers, who ſubject the Clergy under the Power of the Temporal; Pope *Gregorius Magnus* writeth himſelf unto the Emperor *Mauritius* theſe Words: I, the unworthy Servant of your Piety: And a little after he ſaith yet farther, 'To this End Authority is given to me from 'Heaven above all Men, that belong to my 'Lord the Emperor, for Piety Cauſe.' Whenas the ſaid *Mauritius* would have that Pope *Gregory* ſhould publiſh a Law, which he had made: And this Pope adjudging the ſame to be unreaſonable, and oppoſing the Liberty of the Church: He therefore did not blaſpheme againſt the Empire, but was obedient unto the Command of the Emperor his Maſter, not diſſembling to ſpeak his Mind and Opinion of the Emperor's Laws: Theſe are the Pope's own Words: 'I, being ſubject to Authority, 'have ſent theſe Laws into ſeveral Quarters 'of the World, and, becauſe they are not a-'greeable to Almighty God, I have commu-'nicated the ſame unto the Illuſtrious Lords, 'by a Miſſive of my own Opinion, ſo that I 'have fully diſcharged my Duty on both Sides: 'Shewing, as I am bound, Obedience to the 'Emperor: And not concealing my Opinion 'in that which concerneth God.'

Here ought we to obſerve, how cunningly and craftily the College of Cardinals obſerve and aim at the Example of the ancient holy Church, chiefly in the Time of Pope *Gregory the Seventh*; under which this lurketh, that this Pope *Gregory* was the very firſt, who durſt aſcribe, and take upon himſelf, the Right of the Empire: At what Time, I pray you, lived this Pope? About the Year 1100, is the Antiquity whereof they boaſt: I may affirm, with *Tertullian*, that this is Novelty: What Holineſs was there in thoſe Days, when all Manner of Factions, Couſenings, Frauds, Deceits, and Villainies had their full Swing? And to write much thereof would be too dangerous, and be no Honour to *Chriſtendom*: Like as the Writer of thoſe Times affirmeth in the Days of the Emperor *Henry the Fourth*. It is very well known unto all Men, what Cardinal *Benno* hath written and tranſlated of the Pope (although Cardinal *Bellarmine* judged that the ſame was written by a *Lutheran*): In like Manner, it is alſo but too well known by other Writers, who have painted out [illegible]vely Colours this Pope *Gregory* even to the Life. A certain Man, named *Orthamus Gratioſus*, very much addicted to the *Romiſh* Church, was the firſt Publiſher thereof in a Book, wherein are contained very many remarkable Obſervations: Out of the Actions of this Pope *Gregory*, the College of Cardinals, in the nineteen Articles, do conclude the Pope's Authority, and not out of theſe Actions only, but alſo of other Popes, who have dealt moſt tyrannically with the Empire. One could alſo hit the Cardinals in the Teeth, with that which Cardinal *Bellarmine*, in his Second Book of the Popes of *Rome*, ſaith, in the twenty-ninth Chapter, upon the Fourth Argument, *viz.* 'That the Chriſtian 'Emperors have oftentimes been Judges of the 'Popes:' whereto, very ſubtly he inferred, or anſwered, 'That theſe Things have been done, 'but how well they have done the ſame, and 'by what Right, that they themſelves ſhall 'anſwer.'

It is indeed much to be wondered at, that the Clergymen are grown to that Paſs, that they ſo ſtoutly attempt that, which all the World hath in Abomination, and, with ſuch polluted Hands, to lay Hold upon the moſt famous State of the Empire. We obſerve alſo, how ſhameleſs the College of Cardinals are, willing that we, from the evil Lives and wicked Actions of deceaſed Popes, ſhould conclude how great the Authority of the Pope is; at leaſt, they need not be ſo contumelious and arrogant againſt thoſe Emperors, which, in former Times, the Popes have acknowledged to be themſelves Servants of the Emperors; the Pope alſo ought to have in Conſideration, that he, by Means of the Empire, hath obtained ſo great Riches, and now, by the Greatneſs of his Power, and all Manner of Senſualities, blindeth the Eyes of many temporal Princes.

How

How blind are the Men of this Age, when the Sun ſhineth ſo bright? How little do they know, or think, what will fall out in the End? He hath got ſo great Treaſures from thoſe of the Empire, to the End that, he wanting Nothing, might give the better Luſtre unto his Religion; now abuſeth he theſe Gifts, by driving the Empire into a great Fear. He is inriched with earthly Countries, to the End he ſhould inrich us with the heavenly, and now they ſerve him to take away our earthly; he is inriched, to the End, that, by his religious Care, he might live in great Security in the Empire: Now he careth not for that, although there be Trouble raiſed in the Empire, ſo he may live bravely and laſciviouſly: This is the Reward of perverted Liberality; ſo that for many Ages it has been very truly ſaid, 'Reli-'ligion brought forth Riches, and the Daugh-'ter hath devoured the Mother.'

You Props and Pillars of the Empire *(moſt illuſtrious Emperors, Princes Electors, and States)* tolerate no longer this Triumph, and Pride of the *Romiſh* Clergy: You ſee how boldly they violate the Laws of the Empire; they limit your eſtabliſhed Law, and prefer unto you that, which they do but think and invent; leaving unto you the bare Name of the Empire, but have drawn the Majeſty thereof long ago to themſelves.

What will this work in the End, if you be content any longer, with Patience, to behold or look upon the ſame? Never think that they will omit to increaſe theirs, and decreaſe yours: You have heard how they threaten you, and what they intend, as Enemies, to proſecute; and you know, that the abominable Deeds, which the Popes have performed againſt the Emperors, do ſerve them now for very fair Examples.

Since then it is not yet too late, take Counſel providently, that the *Romiſh* Cardinals, in the End, may be glad to leave their Affronts, and their proud Courage may quail; undertake firm and ſubſtantial Courſes, that their diſſolute and inſolent Deſire of Dominion may be reſtrained and bridled; then ſhall the Majeſty of the Empire be preſerved; whereunto Almighty God give you his Bleſſing in all your Conſultations, from whom you have received the Poſſeſſion and Government of the Empire.

A Viſion, concerning his late pretended Highneſs *Cromwell*, the Wicked: Containing a Diſcourſe in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the Confutation thereof, by the Author, *Abraham Cowley*.

—— *Sua cuique Deus fit dira Libido.* Virgil.

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Advertiſement.

THIS *Diſcourſe was written in the Time of the late Protector*, Richard the Little; *and was but the firſt Book of three, that were deſigned by the Author. The Second was to be a Diſcourſe with the Guardian-angel of* England, *concerning all the late Confuſions and Misfortunes of it. The Third, to denounce heavy Judgments againſt the*

three

three Kingdoms, and ſeveral Places and Parties in them, unleſs they preventea them ſpeedily by ſerious Repentance, and that greateſt and hardeſt Work of it, Reſtitution. There was to be upon this Subject the Burden of England, *the Burden of* Scotland, *the Burden of* Ireland, *the Burden of* London, *the Burden of the Army, the Burden of the Divines, the Burden of the Lawyers, and many others, after the Manner of Prophetical Threatenings in the Old Teſtament: But, by the extraordinary Mercy of God (for which we had no Pretence of Merit, nor the leaſt Glimpſe of Hope) in the ſudden Reſtoration of Reaſon, and Right, and Happineſs to us, it became not only unneceſſary, but unſeaſonable and impertinent to proſecute the Work. However, it ſeemed not ſo to the Author to publiſh this firſt Part, becauſe, though no Man can juſtify or approve the Actions of* Cromwell, *without having all the Seeds and Principles of Wickedneſs in his Heart, yet many there are, even honeſt and well-meaning People, who, [illegible] ding into any Depth of Conſideration in the Matter, and purely deceived by ſplendid Words, and the outward Appearances of Vanity, are apt to admire him as a great and eminent Perſon; which is a Fallacy, that extraordinary, and, eſpecially, ſucceſsful Villainies impoſe upon the World. It is the Corruption and Depravation of human Nature, that is the Root of this Opinion, though it lie ſometimes ſo deep under Ground, that we ourſelves are not able to perceive it; and, when we account any Man great, or brave, or wiſe, or of good Parts, who advances himſelf and his Family, by any other Ways but theſe of Virtue, we are certainly biaſſed to that Judgment by a ſecret Impulſe, or, at leaſt, Inclination of the Viciouſneſs of our own Spirit. It is ſo neceſſary for the Good and Peace of Mankind, that this Error (which grows almoſt every where, and is ſpontaneouſly generated by the Rankneſs of the Soil, ſhould be weeded out, and for ever extirpated, that the Author was content not to ſuppreſs this Diſcourſe, becauſe it may contribute ſomewhat to that End, though it be but a ſmall Piece of that which was his original Deſign.*

IT was the Funeral-day of the late Man who made himſelf to be called Protector, and though I bore but little Affection, either to the Memory of him, or to the Trouble and Folly of all publick Pageantry; yet I was forced, by the Importunity of my Company, to go along with them, and be a Spectator of that Solemnity, the Expectation of which had been ſo great, that it was ſaid to have brought ſome very curious Perſons, and no doubt ſingular Virtuoſo's, as far as from the Mount in *Cornwall*, and from the *Orcades*. I found there had been much more Coſt beſtowed than either the dead Man, or indeed Death itſelf could deſerve. There was a mighty Train of black Aſſiſtants, among which too divers Princes in the Perſons of their Ambaſſadors, being infinitely afflicted for the Loſs of their Brother, were pleaſed to attend; the Herſe was magnificent, the Idol crowned, and, not to mention all other Ceremonies which are practiſed at Royal Interments, and therefore by no Means could be omitted here, the vaſt Multitude of Spectators made up, as it uſes to do, no ſmall Part of the Spectacle itſelf. But yet, I know not how, the Whole was ſo managed, that, methought, it ſomewhat repreſented the Life of him for whom it was made; much Noiſe, much Tumult, much Expence, much Magnificence, much Vainglory; briefly, a great Show, and yet, after all this, but an ill Sight. At laſt, for it ſeemed long to me, and, like his ſhort Reign too, very tedious, the whole Scene paſſed by, and I retired back to my Chamber, weary, and, I think, more melancholy than any of the Mourners. Where I began to reflect upon the whole Life of this prodigious Man; and ſometimes I was filled with Horror and Deteſtation of his Actions, and ſometimes I inclined a little to Reverence and Admiration of his Courage, Conduct, and Succeſs; till, by theſe different Motions and Agitations of Mind, rocked, as it were aſleep, I fell at laſt into this Viſion, or, if you pleaſe to call it but a Dream, I ſhall not take it ill, becauſe the Father of Poets tells us, even Dreams too are from God.

But ſure it was no Dream; for I was ſuddenly tranſported afar off, whether in the Body, or out of the Body, like St. *Paul*, I know not, and found myſelf upon the Top of

that

that fa[illegible]ous Hill in the Iſland *Mona*, which has the Proſpect of three great, and, not-long-ſince, moſt happy Kingdoms: As ſoon as ever I looked upon them, the Not-long-ſince ſtruck upon my Memory, and called forth the ſad Repreſentation of all the Sins, and all the Miſeries that had overwhelmed them theſe twenty Years. And I wept bitterly for two or three Hours; and, when my preſent Stock of Moiſture was all waſted, I fell a Sighing for an Hour more; and as ſoon as I recovered, from my Paſſion, the Uſe of Speech and Reaſon, I broke forth, as I remember, looking upon *Eng*[illegible] into this Complaint;

I.

Ah, happy Iſle, how art thou chang'd and curſt,
Since I was born, and knew thee firſt!
When Peace, which had forſook the World around,
(Frighted with Noiſe, and the ſhrill Trumpet's Sound)
Thee for a private Place of Reſt,
And a ſecure Retirement choſe
Wherein to build her *Halcyon* Neſt;
No Wind durſt ſtir abroad the Air to diſcompoſe.

II.

When all the Riches of the Globe beſide
Flow'd in to thee with every Tide;
When all that Nature did thy Soil deny,
The Growth was of thy fruitful Induſtry;
When all the proud and dreadful Sea,
And all his tributary Streams,
A conſtant Tribute paid to thee;
When all the liquid World was one extended *Thames*.

III.

When Plenty in each Village did appear,
And Bounty was its Steward there;
When Gold walk'd free about in open View,
'Ere it one conquering Party's Priſoner grew;
When the Religion of our State
Had Face and Subſtance with her Voice,
'Ere ſhe by 'er fooliſh Loves of late,
Like Eccho (once a Nymph) turn'd only into Noiſe.

IV.

When Men to Men Reſpect and Friendſhip bore,
And [illegible] with Reverence did adore;
When upon Earth no Kingdom could have ſhown
A happier Monarch to us than our own,
And yet his Subjects by him were
(Which is a Truth will hardly be
Receiv'd by any vulgar Ear,
A Secret known to few) made happier ev'n than he.

V.

Thou doſt a Chaos, and Confuſion now,
A *Babel*, and a *Bedlam* grow,
And, like a frantick Perſon, thou doſt tear
The Ornaments and Cloaths which thou ſhould'ſt wear,
And cut thy Limbs; and if we ſee
(Juſt as thy barbarous *Britons* did)
Thy Body with Hypocriſy
Painted all o'er, thou think'ſt, thy naked Shame is hid.

VI.

The Nations, which envied thee 'ere while,
Now laugh (too little 'tis to ſmile)
They laugh, and would have pity'd thee (alas!)
But that thy Faults all Pity do ſurpaſs.
Art thou the Country which didſt hate,
And mock the *French* Inconſtancy?
And have we, have we ſeen of late
Leſs Change of Habits there, than Governments in Thee?

VII.

Unhappy Iſle! no Ship of thine at Sea
Was ever toſs'd and torn like thee.
Thy naked Hulk looſe on the Waves does beat,
The Rocks and Banks around her Ruin threat;
What did thy fooliſh Pilots ail,
To lay the Compaſs quite aſide?
Without a Law or Rule to ſail,
And rather take the Winds, than Heavens to be their Guide?

VIII.

Yet, mighty God, yet, yet, we humbly crave,
This floating Iſle from Shipwreck ſave;
And though to waſh that Blood which does it, ſtain,
It well deſerves to ſink into the Main;
Yet, for the Royal Martyr's Prayer,
(The Royal Martyr prays we know)
Hear but his Soul above, and not his Blood below.

I think I ſhould have gone on, but that I was interrupted by a ſtrange and terrible Apparition, for there appeared to me (ariſing out of the Earth, as I conceived) the Figure of a Man taller than a Giant, or indeed than the Shadow of any Giant in the Evening. His Body was naked, but that Nakedneſs adorned, or rather deformed all over with ſeveral Figures, after the Manner of the *Britons*, painted upon it; and I perceived that moſt of them were the Repreſentations of the late Battles in our Civil Wars, and, if I be not much miſtaken, it was the Battle of *Naſeby* that was drawn upon his Breaſt. His Eyes were like burning Braſs, and there were three Crowns of the ſame Metal, as I gueſſed, and that looked as Red-hot too, upon his Head. He held in his right-hand a Sword that was yet bloody, and nevertheleſs the Motto of it was *Pax quæritur bello*, and in his Left-hand a thick Book, upon the Back of which was written in Letters of Gold, Acts, Ordinances, Proteſtations, Covenants, Engagements, Declarations, Remonſtrances, *&c.* Though this ſudden, unuſual, and dreadful Object might have quelled a greater Courage than mine, yet ſo it pleaſed God, for there is nothing bolder than a Man in a Viſion, that I was not at all daunted, but aſked him reſolutely and briefly, What art thou? And he ſaid, I am called The North-weſt Principality, His Highneſs, the Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions belonging thereunto, for I am that Angel to whom the Almighty has committed the Government of thoſe three Kingdoms, which thou ſeeſt from this Place. And I anſwered and ſaid, If it be ſo, Sir, it ſeems to me, that for almoſt theſe twenty Years paſt your Highneſs has been abſent from your Charge; for not only if any Angel, but if any wiſe and honeſt Men had, ſince that Time, been our Governor, we ſhould not have wandered thus long in theſe laborious and endleſs Labyrinths of Confuſion, but either not have entered at all into them, or at leaſt have returned back, before we had abſolutely loſt our Way; but, inſtead of your Highneſs, we have had ſince ſuch a Protector as was his Predeceſſor *Richard the Third*, to the King his Nephew; for he preſently ſlew the Commonwealth, which he pretended to protect, and ſet up himſelf in the Place of it; a little leſs guilty indeed in one Reſpect, becauſe the other ſlew the Innocent, and this Man did but murder a Murtherer. Such a Protector we have had, as we would have been glad to have changed for any Enemy, and rather received a conſtant *Turk*, than his every Month's Apoſtate; ſuch a Protector as Man is to his Flocks, which he ſheers, and ſells, or devours himſelf; and I would fain know, what the Wolf, which he protects him from, could do more. Such a Protector——and, as I was proceeding, methought his Highneſs began to put on a diſpleaſed and threatening Countenance, as Men uſe to do when their deareſt Friends happen to be traduced in their Company. Then gave me the firſt Riſe of Jealouſy against him; for I did not believe that *Cromwell*, among all his foreign Correſpondences, had ever held any with Angels. However, I was not hardened enough yet to venture a Quarrel with him then; and therefore, as I had ſpoken to the Protector himſelf in *Whitehall*, I deſired him that his Highneſs would pleaſe to pardon me, if I had unwittingly ſpoken any thing to the Diſparagement of a Perſon, whoſe Relations to his Highneſs I had not the Honour to know. At which he told me, that he had no other Concernment for his late Highneſs, than as he took him to be the greateſt Man that ever was of the *Engliſh* Nation, if not, ſaid he, of the whole World; which gives me a juſt Title to the Defence of his Reputation, ſince I now account myſelf, as it were, a naturaliſed *Engliſh* Angel, by having had ſo long the Management of the Affairs of that Country. And pray, Countryman, ſaid he, very kindly and very flatteringly, for I would not have you fall into the general Error of the World, that deteſts and decries ſo extraordinary a Virtue; What can be more extraordinary than that a Perſon of mean Birth, no Fortune, no eminent Qualities of Body, which have ſometimes, or of Mind, which have often raiſed Men to the higheſt Dignities, ſhould have the Courage to attempt, and the Happineſs to ſucceed in ſo improbable a Deſign, as the Deſtruction of one of the moſt ancient, and, in all Appearance, moſt ſolidly founded Monarchies upon Earth? That he ſhould have the Power or Boldneſs to put his Prince and Maſter to an open and infamous Death? To baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied Family? To do all this under the Name and Wages of a Parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleaſed, and ſpurn them out of Doors when he grew weary of them; to raiſe up a new and unheard-of Monſter out of

them

their Aſhes; to ſtifle that in the very Infancy, and ſet up himſelf above all Things that ever were called Sovereign in *England*; to oppreſs all his Enemies by Arms, and all his Friends afterwards by Artifice; to ſerve all Parties patiently for a While, and to command them victoriouſly at laſt; to over-run each Corner of the three Nations, and overcome with equal Facility both the Riches of the South, and the Poverty of the North; to be feared and courted by all foreign Princes, and adopted a Brother to the Gods of the Earth; to call together Parliaments with a Word of his Pen, and ſcatter them again with the Breath of his Mouth; to be *humbly* and *daily* petitioned to, that he would pleaſe to be hired, at the Rate of two Millions a Year, to be the Maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their Servant; to have the Eſtates and Lives of three Kingdoms as much at his Diſpoſal, as was the little Inheritance of his Father, and to be as noble and liberal in the Spending of them; and, laſtly, for there is no End of all the Particulars of his Glory, to bequeath all this with one Word to his Poſterity; to die with Peace at Home, and Triumph Abroad; to be buried among Kings, and with more than regal Solemnity; and to leave a Name behind him, not to be extinguiſhed, but with the whole World, which, as it is now too little for his Praiſes, ſo might have been too for his Conqueſts, if the ſhort Line of his human Life could have been ſtretched out to the Extent of his immortal Deſigns?

By this Speech I began to underſtand perfectly well what Kind of Angel his pretended Highneſs was; and having fortified myſelf privately with a ſhort mental Prayer, and with the Sign of the Croſs, not out of any Superſtition to the Sign, but as a Recognition of my Baptiſm in Chriſt, I grew a little bolder, and replied in this Manner: I ſhould not venture to oppoſe what *you* are pleaſed to ſay in Commendation of the late great, and, I confeſs, extraordinary Perſon, but that I remember Chriſt forbids us to give Aſſent to any other Doctrine but what himſelf has taught us, even though it ſhould be delivered by an Angel; and if ſuch you be, Sir, it may be you have ſpoken all this rather to try than to tempt my Frailty. For ſure I am, that we muſt renounce or forget all the Laws of the New and Old Teſtament, and thoſe which are the Foundation of both, even the Laws of Moral and Natural Honeſty, if we approve of the Actions of that Man, whom, I ſuppoſe, you commend by Irony. There would be no End to inſtance in the Particulars of all his Wickedneſs; but to ſum up a Part of it briefly: What can be more extraordinarily wicked, than for a Perſon, ſuch as yourſelf qualify him rightly, to endeavour not only to exalt himſelf above, but to trample upon all his Equals and Betters? To pretend Freedom for all Men, and, under the Help of that Pretence, to make all Men his Servants? To take Arms againſt Taxes of ſcarce two-hundred-thouſand Pounds a Year, and to raiſe them himſelf to above two Millions? To quarrel for the Loſs of three or four Ears, and ſtrike off three or four hundred Heads? To fight againſt an imaginary Suſpicion of I know not what two-thouſand Guards to be fetched for the King, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himſelf no leſs than Forty-thouſand? To pretend the Defence of Parliaments, and violently to diſſolve all, even of his own Calling and almoſt Chuſing? To undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it even to the very Skin, and then to expoſe it naked to the Rage of all Sects and Hereſies? To ſet up Councils of Rapine and Courts of Murder? To fight againſt the King under a Commiſſion for him; to take him forceably out of the Hands of thoſe for whom he had conquered him; to draw him into his Net, with Proteſtations and Vows of Fidelity, and when he had caught him in it, to butcher him, with as little Shame as Conſcience or Humanity, in the open Face of the whole World? To receive a Commiſſion for King and Parliament, to murder, as I ſaid, the one, and deſtroy no leſs impudently the other? To fight againſt Monarchy when he declared for it, and declare againſt it, when he contrived for it in his own Perſon? To abaſe perfidiouſly and ſupplant ungratefully his own General firſt, and afterwards moſt of thoſe Officers, who with the Loſs of their Honour, and Hazard of their Souls, had lifted him up to the Top of his unreaſonable Ambitions? To break his Faith with all Enemies, and with all Friends equally; and to make no leſs frequent Uſe of the moſt ſolemn Perjuries than the looſer Sort of People do of cuſtomary Oaths? To uſurp three Kingdoms without any Shadow of the

leaſt

leaſt Pretenſions, and to govern them as unjuſtly as he got them? To ſet himſelf up as an Idol (which we know, as St. *Paul* ſays, in itſelf is nothing), and make the very Streets of *London*, like the Valley of *Hinnom*, by burning the Bowels of Men as a Sacrifice to his *Moloch-ſhip*? To ſeek to entail this Uſurpation upon his Poſterity, and with it an endleſs War upon the Nation; and laſtly, by the ſevereſt Judgment of Almighty God, to die hardened, and mad, and unrepentant, with the Curſes of the preſent Age, and the Deteſtation of all to ſucceed?

Though I had much more to ſay (for the Life of Man is ſo ſhort, that it allows not Time enough to ſpeak againſt a Tyrant) yet becauſe I had a Mind to hear how my ſtrange Adverſary would behave himſelf upon this Subject, and to give even the Devil, as they ſay, his Right, and fair Play in a Diſputation, I ſtopped here, and expected, not without the Frality of a little Fear, that he ſhould have broke into a violent Paſſion in Behalf of his Favourite; but he on the Contrary very calmly, and with the Dove-like Innocency of a Serpent that was not yet warmed enough to ſting, thus replied unto me:

It is not ſo much out of my Affection to that Perſon whom we diſcourſe of, whoſe Greatneſs is too ſolid to be ſhaken by the Breath of any Oratory, as for your own Sake, honeſt Countryman, whom I conceive to err, rather by Miſtake than out of Malice, that I ſhall endeavour to reform your uncharitable and unjuſt Opinion. And in the firſt Place I muſt needs put you in Mind of a Sentence of the moſt ancient of the Heathen Divines, that you Men are acquainted withall,

Οὐκ ὅσιον κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι,

'Tis wicked with inſulting Feet to tread
Upon the Monuments of the Dead.

And the Intention of the Reproof there is no leſs proper for this Subject; for it is ſpoken to a Perſon who was proud and inſolent againſt thoſe dead Men, to whom he had been humble and obedient whilſt they lived. Your Highneſs may pleaſe, ſaid I, to add the Verſe *that follows, as no leſs proper for this Subject:*

Whom God's juſt Doom and their own Sins have ſent
Already to their Puniſhment.

But I take this to be the Rule in the Caſe, that, when we fix any Infamy upon deceaſed Perſons, it ſhould not be done out of Hatred to the Dead, but out of Love and Charity to the Living, that the Curſes which only remain in Men's Thoughts, and dare not come forth againſt Tyrants, becauſe they are Tyrants, whilſt they are ſo, may at leaſt be for ever ſettled and engraven upon their Memories, to deter all others from the like Wickedneſs, which elſe, in the Time of their fooliſh Poſterity, the Flattery of their own Hearts, and other Men's Tongues, would not ſuffer them to perceive. Ambition is ſo ſubtle a Temper, and the Corruption of human Nature ſo ſuſceptible of the Temptation, that a Man can hardly reſiſt it, be he never ſo much forwarned of the evil Conſequences: much leſs if he find not only the Concurrence of the Preſent, but the Approbation too of following Ages, which have the Liberty to judge more freely. The Miſchief of Tyranny is too great, even in the ſhorteſt Time that it can continue; it is endleſs and inſupportable, if the Example be to reign too, and if a *Lambert* muſt be invited to follow the Steps of a *Cromwell*, as well by the Voice of Honour, as by the Sight of Power and Riches. Though it may ſeem to ſome fantaſtically, yet was it wiſely done of the *Syracuſians*, to implead with the Forms of their ordinary Juſtice, to condemn and deſtroy even the Statutes of all their Tyrants; if it were poſſible to cut them out of all Hiſtory, and to extinguiſh their very Names, I am of Opinion that it ought to be done; but, ſince they have left behind them too deep Wounds to be ever cloſed up without a Scar, at leaſt let ſet ſuch a Mark upon their Memory, that Men of the ſame wicked Inclinations may be no leſs affrighted with their laſting Ignominy, than enticed by their momentary Glories. And, that your Highneſs may perceive that I ſpeak not of this out of any private Animoſity againſt the Perſon of the late Protector, I aſſure you upon my Faith, that I bear no more Hatred to his Name, than I do to that of *Marius* or *Sylla*, who never did me or any Friend

of mine the leaſt Injury; and with that, tranſported by a holy Fury, I fell into this ſudden Rapture:

I.

Curs'd be the Man (what do I wiſh? As though
The Wretch already were not ſo;
But curs'd on let him be) who thinks it brave
And great his Country to enſlave.
Who ſeeks to overpoiſe alone
The Balance of a Nation;
Againſt the whole but naked State,
Who in his own light Scale makes up with Arms
[illegible]e Weight.

II.

Who of his Nation *loves to be the firſt*,
Though at the Rate of being worſt.
Who would be rather a great Monſter, than
A well-proportion'd Man.
The Son of Earth with hundred Hands
Upon this three-pil'd Mountain ſtands,
Till Thunder ſtrikes him from the Sky;
The Son of Earth again *in his Earth's Womb*
does lie.

III.

What Blood, Confuſion, Ruin, to obtain
A ſhort and miſerable Reign?
In what oblique and humble creeping Wiſe
Does the miſchievous Serpent riſe?
But even his forked Tongue ſtrikes dead,
When h'as rear'd up his wicked Head;
He murders with his mortal Frown,
A Baſiliſk he grows, if once he get a Crown.

IV.

But no Guards can oppoſe aſſaulting Ears,
Or undermining Tears.
No more than Doors, or cloſe-drawn Curtains keep
The ſwarming Dreams out when we ſleep.
That bloody Conſcience too of his
(For, oh, a Rebel Red-Coat 'tis)
Does here his early Hell begin,
He ſees his Slaves without, his Tyrant feels within.

V.

Let, gracious God, let never more thine Hand
Lift up this Rod againſt our Land.
A Tyrant is a Rod and Serpent too,
And brings worſe Plagues than *Egypt* knew.
What Rivers ſtain'd with Blood have been?
What Storm and Hail-ſhot have we ſeen?
What Sores deform'd the ulcerous State?
What Deaths to be felt ha[illegible] buried us of late?

VI.

How has it ſnatch'd our Flocks and Herds away?
And made even of our Sons a Prey?
What croaking Sects and Vermin has it ſent
The reſtleſs Nation to torment?
What greedy Troops, what armed Power,
Of Flies and Locuſts to devour
The Land which every where they fill?
Nor fly they, Lord, away; no, they devour it ſtill.

VII.

Come the eleventh Plague, rather than this ſhould be;
Come ſink us rather in the Sea.
Come rather Peſtilence, and reap us down;
Come God's Sword rather than our own.
Let rather *Roman* come again,
Or *Saxon*, *Norman*, or the *Dane*;
In all the Bonds we ever bore,
We griev'd, we ſigh'd, we wept; we never bluſh'd before.

VIII.

If by our Sins the Divine Juſtice be
Call'd to this laſt Extremity,
Let ſome denouncing *Jonas* firſt be ſent,
To try if *England* can repent.
Methinks at leaſt ſome Prodigy,
Some dreadful Comet from on high,
Sould terribly forewarn the Earth,
As of good Princes Deaths, ſo of a Tyrant's Birth.

Here the Spirit of Verſe beginning a little to fail, I ſtopped, and his Highneſs ſmiling ſaid, I was glad to ſee you engaged in the Incloſures of Meetre, for, if you had ſtaid in the open Plain of Declaiming againſt the Word Tyrant, I muſt have had Patience for half a dozen Hours, till you had tired yourſelf as well as me. But pray Countryman, to avoid this Sciomachy, or imaginary Combate with Words, let me know firſt what you mean by the Name Tyrant; for I remember that, among your ancient Authors, not only all Kings, but even *Jupiter* himſelf (your *Juvans Pater*) is ſo termed, and perhaps as it was uſed formerly in a good Senſe, ſo we ſhall find it upon better Conſideration to be ſtill a good Thing for the Benefit and Peace of Mankind; at leaſt it will appear whether your Interpretation of it may be juſtly applied to the Perſon who is now the Subject of our Diſcourſe. I call him, ſaid I, a Tyrant, who either intrudes himſelf forcibly into the Government of

his fellow Citizens without any legal Authority over them, or who, having a juſt Title to the Government of a People, abuſes it to the Deſtruction, or Tormenting of them. So that all Tyrants are at the ſame Time Uſurpers, either of the Whole or at leaſt of a Part of that Power which they aſſume to themſelves; and no leſs are they to be accounted Rebels, ſince no Man can uſurp Authority over others, but by rebelling againſt them who had it before, or at leaſt againſt thoſe Laws which were his Superiors: And in all theſe Senſes no Hiſtory can afford us a more evident Example of Tyranny, or more out of all Poſſibility of Excuſe, or Palliation, than that of the Perſon whom you are pleaſed to defend, whether we conſider his reiterated Rebellions againſt all his Superiors, or his Uſurpation of the Supreme Power to himſelf, or his Tyranny in the Exerciſe of it; and if lawful Princes have been eſteemed Tyrants, by not containing themſelves within the Bounds of thoſe Laws which have been left them as the Sphere of their Authority by their Forefathers, what ſhall we ſay of that Man, who, having by Right no Power at all in this Nation, could not content himſelf with that which had ſatisfied the moſt Ambitious of our Princes; nay, not with thoſe vaſtly extended Limits of Sovereignty, which he, diſdaining all that had been preſcribed and obſerved before, was pleaſed, but of great Modeſty, to ſet to himſelf; not abſtaining from Rebellion and Uſurpation even againſt his own Laws as well as thoſe of the Nation.

Hold, Friend, ſaid his Highneſs, pulling me by my Arm (for I ſee your Zeal is tranſporting you again) whether the Protector were a Tyrant in the exorbitant Exerciſe of his Power, we ſhall ſee anon; it is requiſite to examine, Firſt, Whether he was ſo in the Uſurpation of it. And I ſay, that not only he, but no Man elſe ever was, or can be ſo; and that for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe all Power belongs only to God, who is the Source and Fountain of it, as Kings are of all Honours in their Dominions. Princes are but his Viceroys in the little Provinces of this World, and to ſome he gives their Places for a few Years, to ſome for their Lives, and to others (upon Ends or Deſerts beſt known to himſelf, or merely for his indiſputable good Pleaſure) he beſtows, as it were, Leaſes upon them, and their Poſterity, for ſuch a Date of Time as is prefixed in that Patent of their Deſtiny, which is not legible to you Men below. Neither is it more unlawful for *Oliver* to ſucceed *Charles* in the Kingdom of *England*, when God ſo diſpoſes of it, than it had been for him to have ſucceeded the Lord *Strafford* in the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, if he had been appointed to it by the King then reigning. Men are in both the Caſes obliged to obey him whom they ſee actually inveſted with the Authority by that Sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without diſputing or examining the Cauſes, either of the Removal of the one, or the Preferment of the other. Secondly, Becauſe all Power is attained either by the Election and Conſent of the People, and that takes away your Objection of forcible Intruſion; or elſe by a Conqueſt of them, and that gives ſuch a legal Authority as you mention to be wanting in the Uſurpation of a Tyrant; ſo that either this Title is right, and then there are no Uſurpers, or elſe it is a wrong one, and then there are none elſe but Uſurpers, if you examine the original Pretences of the Princes of the World. Thirdly (which, quitting the Diſpute in general, is a particular Juſtification of his Highneſs) The Government of *England* was totally broken and diſſolved, and extinguiſhed by the Confuſions of a Civil War, ſo that his Highneſs could not be accuſed to have poſſeſſed himſelf violently of the ancient Building of the Commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the Ruins and Aſhes of the former; and he, who, after a deplorable Shipwreck, can, with extraordinary Induſtry, gather together the diſperſed and broken Planks and Pieces of it, and, with no leſs wonderful Art and Facility, ſo rejoin them, as to make a new Veſſel more tight and beautiful than the old one, deſerves, no Doubt, to have the Command of her, even as his Highneſs had, by the Deſire of the Seamen and Paſſengers themſelves. And, do but conſider, Laſtly, for I omit a Multitude of weighty Things that might be ſpoken on this noble Argument, Do but conſider ſeriouſly and impartially with yourſelf, what admirable Parts of Wit and Prudence, what indefatigable Diligence and invincible Courage muſt of Neceſſity have concurred in the Perſon of that Man, who, from [illegible] contemptible Beginnings, as I obſerved before, and through ſo many thouſand Difficulties, was able, not only to make himſelf the greateſt and [illegible] Monarch

Monarch of this Nation, but to add to it the intire Conqueſt of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, which the whole Force of the World, joined with the *Roman* Virtue, could never attain to, and to crown all this with illuſtrious and heroical Undertakings, and Succeſſes upon all our foreign Enemies; do but, I ſay again, conſider this, and you will confeſs, that his prodigious Merits were a better Title to Imperial Dignity, than the Blood of an hundred royal Progenitors; and will rather lament, that he lived not to overcome more Nations, than envy him the Conqueſt and Dominion of theſe. Whoever you are, ſaid I, my Indignation making me ſomewhat bolder, your Diſcourſe, methinks, becomes as little the Perſon of a tutelar Angel, as *Cromwell*'s Actions did that of a Protector. It is upon theſe Principles that all the great Crimes of the World have been committed, and moſt particularly thoſe which I have had the Misfortune to ſee in my own Time, and in my own Country. If theſe be to be allowed, we muſt break up human Society, retire into the Woods, and equally there ſtand upon our Guards againſt our Brethren Mankind, and our Rebels the Wild Beaſts. For, if there can be no Uſurpation upon the Rights of a whole Nation, there can be none, moſt certainly, upon thoſe of a private Perſon; and, if the Robbers of Countries be God's Vicegerents, there is no Doubt but the Thieves, and Banditti's, and Murderers are his Under-officers. It is true which you ſay, that God is the Source and Fountain of all Power; and it is no leſs true, that he is the Creator of Serpents as well as Angels, nor does his Goodneſs fail of its Ends, even in the Malice of his own Creatures. What Power he ſuffers the Devil to exerciſe in this World, is too apparent by our daily Experience, and by Nothing more than the late monſtrous Iniquities which you diſpute for, and patroniſe in *England*; but would you infer from thence, that the Power of the Devil is a juſt and lawful one, and that all Men ought, as well as moſt Men do, obey him? God is the Fountain of all Powers; but ſome flow from the Right-hand, as it were, of his Goodneſs, and others from the Left-hand of his Juſtice; and the World, like an Iſland between theſe two Rivers, is ſometimes refreſhed and nouriſhed by the one, and ſometimes over-run and ruined by the other; and to continue a little farther the Allegory, we are never overwhelmed with the latter, till either by our Malice or Negligence we have ſtopped and dammed up the former. But to come a little cloſer to your Argument, or rather the Image of an Argument, your Similitude: If *Cromwell* had come to command *Ireland* in the Place of the late Lord *Strafford*, I ſhould have yielded Obedience, not for the Equipage, and the Strength, and the Guards which he brought with him, but for the Commiſſion which he ſhould firſt have ſhewed me from our common Sovereign that ſent him; and, if he could have done that from God Almighty, I would have obeyed him too in *England*; but that he was ſo far from being able to do, that, on the Contrary, I read Nothing but Commands, and even publick Proclamations from God Almighty, not to admit him. Your Second Argument is, that he had the ſame Right for his Authority, that is the Foundation of all others, even the Right of Conqueſt. Are we then ſo unhappy as to be conquered by the Perſon, whom we hired at a daily Rate, like a Labourer, to conquer others for us? Did we furniſh him with Arms, only to draw and try upon our Enemies, as we, it ſeems, falſly thought them, and keep them for ever ſheathed in the Bowels of his Friends? Did we fight for Liberty againſt our Prince, that we might become Slaves to our Servant? This is ſuch an impudent Pretence, as neither he, nor any of his Flatterers for him, had ever the Face to mention. Though it can hardly be ſpoken or thought of without Paſſion, yet I ſhall, if you pleaſe, argue it more calmly than the Caſe deſerves. The Right, certainly, of Conqueſt can only be exerciſed upon thoſe, againſt whom the War is declared, and the Victory obtained. So that no whole Nation can be ſaid to be conquered but by foreign Force. In all Civil Wars, Men are ſo far from Stating the Quarrel againſt their Country, that they do it only againſt a Perſon, or Party, which they really believe, or at leaſt pretend to be pernicious to it; neither can there be any juſt Cauſe for the Deſtruction of a Part of the Body, but when it is done for the Preſervation and Safety of the Whole. It is our Country that raiſes Men in the Quarrel, our Country that arms, our Country that pays them, our Country that authoriſes the Undertaking, and by that diſtinguiſhes it from Rapine and Murder. Laſtly, It is our Country that directs and commands the Army, and is, indeed, their General. So that to ſay in Civil

Wars, that the prevailing Party conquers their Country, is to say, the Country conquers itself. And, if the General only of that Party be the Conqueror, the Army, by which he is made so, is no less conquered than the Army which is beaten, and have as little Reason to triumph in that Victory, by which they lose both their Honour and Liberty. So that, if *Cromwell* conquered any Party, it was only that against which he was sent, and what that was, must appear by his Commission. It was, says that, against a Company of evil Counsellors, and dissaffected Persons, who kept the King from a good Intelligence and Conjunction with his People. It was not then against the People. It is so far from being so, that, even of that Party which was beaten, the Conquest did not belong to *Cromwell*, but to the Parliament which employed him in their Service, or rather indeed to the King and Parliament, for whose Service, if there had been any Faith in Men's Vows and Protestations, the Wars were undertaken. Merciful God! did the Right of this miserable Conquest remain then in his Majesty, and didst thou suffer him to be destroyed with more Barbarity than if he had been conquered even by Savages and Cannibals? Was it for King and Parliament that we fought, and has it fared with them just as with the Army which we fought against, the one Part being slain, and the other fled? It appears therefore plainly, that *Cromwell* was not a Conqueror, but a Thief and Robber of the Rights of the King and Parliament, and an Usurper upon those of the People. I do not here deny Conquest to be sometimes, though it be very rarely, a true Title, but I deny this to be a true Conquest. Sure I am, that the Race of our Princes came not in by such a one. One Nation may conquer another sometimes justly; and, if it be unjustly, yet still it is a true Conquest, and they are to answer for the Injustice only to God Almighty, having nothing else in Authority above them, and not as particular Rebels to their Country, which is, and ought always to be their Superior and their Lord. If perhaps we find Usurpation instead of Conquest in the Original Titles of some Royal Families abroad, as no doubt there have been many Usurpers before ours, though none in so impudent and execrable a Manner, all I can say for them is, that their Title was very weak, till by Length of Time, and the Death of all juster Pretenders, it became to be the true, because it was the only one. Your third Defence of his Highness, as your Highness pleases to call him, enters in most seasonably after his Pretence of Conquest, for then a Man may say any thing. The Government was broken; Who broke it? It was dissolved; Who dissolved it? It was extinguished; Who was it but *Cromwell*, who not only put out the Light, but cast away even the very Snuff of it? As if a Man should murder a whole Family, and then possess himself of the House, because it is better that he than that only Rats should live there. *Jesus* God! (said I, and [illegible] Word. I perceived my pretended Angel to give a Start and trembled, but I took no Notice of it, and went on) this were a wicked Pretension, even though the whole Family were destroyed; but the Heirs, blessed be God, are yet surviving, and likely to outlive all Heirs of their Dispossessors, besides their Infamy. *Rode Caper vitem, &c.* There will be yet Wine enough left for the Sacrifice of those wild Beasts that have made so much Spoil in the Vineyard. But, did *Cromwell* think, like *Nero*, to set the City on Fire, only that he might have the Honour of being Founder of a new and a more beautiful one? He could not have such a Shadow of Virtue in his Wickedness; he meant only to rob more securely and more richly in the Midst of the Combustion; he little thought then that he should ever have been able to make himself Master of the Palace, as well as plunder the Goods of the Commonwealth. He was glad to see the publick Vessel, the Sovereign of the Seas, in as desperate a Condition as his own little Canoe; and thought only, with some scattered Planks of that great Shipwreck, to make a better Fisher-boat for himself. But, when he saw that by the Drowning of the Master, whom he himself treacherously knocked on the Head as he was swimming for his Life, by the Flight and Dispersion of others, and cowardly Patience of the remaining Company, that all was abandoned to his Pleasure, with the old Hulk and new mis-shapen and disagreeing Pieces of his own, he made up with much ad[illegible] that Piratical Vessel which we have seen hi[illegible]; and, which how tight indeed [illegible] may best be judged by its perpetual L[illegible] *First* then [illegible] more wicked than t[illegible] foolish Daughters [illegible]ble, who cu[illegible] their old Father into Pieces, in

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Hope by Charms and Witchcraft to make him young and luſty again) this Man endeavoured to deſtroy the Building, before he could imagine in what Manner, with what Materials, by what Workmen, of what Architect it was to be rebuilt. *Secondly*, If he had dreamed himſelf to be able to revive that Body which he had killed, yet it had been but the inſupportable Inſolence of an ignorant Mountebank; and *Thirdly* (which concerns us neareſt) That very new Thing, which he made out of the Ruins of the old, is no more like the Original, either for Beauty, Uſe, or Duration, than an Artificial Plant raiſed by the Fire of a Chymiſt is comparable to the true and natural one which he firſt burnt, that out of the Aſhes of it he might produce an imperfect Similitude of his own Making. Your laſt Argument is ſuch, when reduced to Syllogiſm, that the Major Propoſition of it would make ſtrange Work in the World, if it were received for Truth; to wit, that he, who has the beſt Parts in a Nation, has the Right of being King over it. We had enough to do here of old with the Contention between two Branches of the ſame Family, what would become of us when every Man in *England* ſhould lay his Claim to the Government? And truly, if *Cromwell* ſhould have commenced his Plea, when he ſeems to have begun his Ambition, there were few Perſons beſides that might not at the ſame Time have put in theirs too. But his Deſerts, I ſuppoſe, you will date from the ſame Term that I do his great Demerits, that is, from the Beginning of our late Calamities; (for, as for his private Faults before, I can only wiſh, and that with as much Charity to him as to the Publick, that he had continued in them till his Death, rather than changed them for thoſe of his latter Days) and therefore we muſt begin the Conſideration of his Greatneſs from the unlucky *Æra* of our own Misfortunes, which puts me in Mind of what was ſaid leſs truly of *Pompey the Great*, *Noſtra Miſeria Magnus es.* But, becauſe the general Ground of your Argumentation conſiſts in this, that all Men, who are the Effecters of extraordinary Mutations in the World, muſt needs have extraordinary Forces of Nature by which they are enabled to turn about, as they pleaſe, ſo great a Wheel; I ſhall ſpeak firſt a few Words upon this univerſal Propoſition, which ſeems ſo reaſonable, and is ſo popular, before I deſcend to the particular Examination of the Eminencies of that Perſon which is in Queſtion.

I have often obſerved, with all Submiſſion and Reſignation of Spirit to the inſcrutable Myſteries of Eternal Providence, that, when the Fulneſs and Maturity of Time is come that produces the great Confuſions and Changes in the World, it uſually pleaſes God to make it appear by the Manner of them, that they are not the Effects of Human Force or Policy, but of the Divine Juſtice and Predeſtination; and, though we ſee a Man, like that which we call *Jack* of the Clock-houſe, ſtriking, as it were, the Hour of that Fulneſs of Time, yet our Reaſon muſt needs be convinced, that his Hand is moved by ſome ſecret, and, to us who ſtand without, inviſible Direction. And the Stream of the Current is then ſo violent, that the ſtrongeſt Men in the World cannot draw up againſt it, and none are ſo weak, but they may ſail down with it. Theſe are the Spring-tides of publick Affairs which we ſee often happen, but ſeek in vain to diſcover any certain Cauſes,

‘ ——————Omnia Fluminis
‘ Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
‘ Cum pace delabentis Etruſcum
‘ In mare, nunc lapides adeſos,
‘ Stirpeſque raptas, & pecus & domos
‘ Volventis una, non ſine montium
‘ Clamore, vicinæque ſilvæ;
‘ Cum fera Diluvies quietos
‘ Irritat amnes, ——————

Hor. Carm. iii. 29.

and one Man then, by maliciouſly opening all the Sluices that he can come at, can never be the ſole Author of all this, though he may be as guilty as if really he were, by intending and imagining to be ſo; but it is God that breaks up the Flood-Gates of ſo general a Deluge, and all the Art then and Induſtry of Mankind is not ſufficient to raiſe up Dikes and Ramparts againſt it. In ſuch a Time it was as this, that not all the Wiſdom and Power of the *Roman* Senate, nor the Wit and Eloquence of *Cicero*, nor the Courage and Virtue of *Brutus*, was able to defend their Country or themſelves againſt the unexperienced Raſhneſs of a beardleſs Boy, and the looſe Rage of a voluptuous Madman. The Valour and prudent Counſels on the one Side are made fruitleſs, and the Errors and Cowardice on the other

other harmleſs, by unexpected Accidents. The one General ſaves his Life, and gains the whole World, by a very Dream; and the other loſes both at once by a little Miſtake of the Shortneſs of his Sight. And though this be not always ſo, for we ſee that, in the Tranſlation of the great Monarchies from one to another, it pleaſed God to make Choice of the moſt eminent Men in Nature, as *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Scipio*, and his Contemporaries, for his chief Inſtruments and Actors in ſo admirable a Work (the End of this being not only to deſtroy or puniſh one Nation, which may be done by the worſt of Mankind, but to exalt and bleſs another, which is only to be effected by great and virtuous Perſons) yet, when God only intends the temporary Chaſtiſement of a People, he does not raiſe up his Servant *Cyrus* (as he himſelf is pleaſed to call him) or an *Alexander* (who had as many Virtues to do Good, as Vices to do Harm) but he makes the *Maſſanello*'s, and the *John*'s of *Leyden*, the Inſtruments of his Vengeance, that the Power of the Almighty might be more evident by the Weakneſs of the Means which he chooſes to demonſtrate it. He did not aſſemble the Serpents and the Monſters of *Africa* to correct the Pride of the *Egyptians*, but called for his Armies of Locuſts out of *Æthiopia*, and formed new ones of Vermin out of the very Duſt; and, becauſe you ſee a whole Country deſtroyed by theſe, will you argue from thence that they muſt needs have had both the Craft of Foxes, and the Courage of Lions? It is eaſy to apply this general Obſervation to the particular Caſe of our Troubles in *England*, and that they ſeem only to be meant for a temporary Chaſtiſement of our Sins, and not for a total Aboliſhment of the old, and Introduction of a new Government, appears probable to me from theſe Conſiderations, as far as we may be bold to make a Judgment of the Will of God in future Events: Firſt, becauſe he has ſuffered nothing to ſettle or take Root in the Place of that which hath been ſo unwiſely and unjuſtly removed; that none of theſe untempered Mortars can hold out againſt the next Blaſt of Wind, nor any Stone ſtick to a Stone, till that which theſe fooliſh Builders have refuſed be made again the Head of the Corner. For, when the indiſpoſed and long tormented Commonwealth has wearied and ſpent itſelf almoſt to nothing, with the chargeable, various, and dangerous Experiments of ſeveral Mountebanks, it is to be ſuppoſed it will have the Wit at laſt to ſend for a true Phyſician; eſpecially when it ſees (which is the ſecond Conſideration) moſt evidently (as it now begins to do, and will do every Day more and more, and might have done perfectly long ſince) that no Uſurpation, under what Name or Pretext ſoever, can be kept up without open Force, nor Force without the Continuance of thoſe Oppreſſions upon the People, which will at laſt tire out their Patience, though it be great, even to Stupidity. They cannot be ſo dull, when Poverty and Hunger begin to whet their Underſtanding, as not to find out this no extraordinary Myſtery, that it is Madneſs in a Nation to pay three Millions a Year for the maintaining of their Servitude under Tyrants, when they might live free for nothing under their Princes. This, I ſay, will not always lie hid even to the ſloweſt Capacities; and the next Truth they will diſcover afterwards, is, that a whole People can never have the Will, without having at the ſame Time the Power to redeem themſelves. Thirdly, It does not look, methinks, as if God had forſaken the Family of that Man, from whom he has raiſed up five Children, of as eminent Virtue, and all other commendable Qualities, as ever lived, perhaps, for ſo many together, and ſo young, in any other Family in the whole World. Eſpecially if we add hereto this Conſideration, that by protecting and preſerving ſome of them already through as great Dangers as ever were paſſed with Safety, either by Prince or private Perſon, he has given them already, as we may reaſonably hope it to be meant, a Promiſe and Earneſt of his future Favours. And, laſtly, (to return cloſely to the Diſcourſe from which I have a little digreſſed) becauſe I ſee nothing of thoſe excellent Parts of Nature, and Mixture, of Merit with their Vices in the late Diſturbers of our Peace and Happineſs, that uſes to be found in the Perſons of thoſe who are born for the Erection of new Empires. And, I confeſs, I find nothing of that Kind, no not any Shadow (taking away the falſe Light of ſome Proſperity) in the Man whom you extol for the firſt Example of it. And certainly, all Virtues being rightly divided into Moral and Intellectual, I know not how we can better judge of the former than by Men's Actions, of the latter than by their Writings or Speeches. As for theſe latter, which are leaſt

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in Merit, or rather which are only the Inſtruments of Miſchief, where the other are wanting) I think you can hardly pick out the Name of a Man who ever was called Great, beſides him we are now ſpeaking of, who never left the Memory behind him of one wiſe or witty Apophthegm, even amongſt his Domeſtick Servants or greateſt Flatterers. That little in Print, which remains upon a ſad Record for him, is ſuch, as a Satire againſt him would not have made him ſay, for Fear of tranſgreſſing too much the Rules of Probability. I know not what you can produce for the Juſtification of his Parts in this Kind, but his having been able to deceive ſo many particular Perſons, and ſo many whole Parties; which, if you pleaſe to take Notice of for the Advantage of his Intellectuals, I deſire you to allow me the Liberty to do ſo too, when I am to ſpeak of his Morals. The Truth of the Thing is this, That if Craft be Wiſdom, and Diſſimulation Wit, aſſiſted both and improved with Hypocriſies and Perjuries, I muſt not deny him to have been ſingular in both; but ſo groſs was the Manner in which he made Uſe of them, that, as wiſe Men ought not to have believed him at firſt, ſo no Man was Fool enough to believe him at laſt; neither did any Man ſeem to do it, but thoſe who thought he gained as much by that Diſſembling, as he did by his. His very Actings of Godlineſs grew at laſt as ridiculous, as if a Player, by putting on a Gown, ſhould think he repreſented excellently a Woman, tho' his Beard, at the ſame Time, were ſeen by all the Spectators. If you aſk me, Why they did not hiſs and explode him off of the Stage? I can only anſwer, That they durſt not do ſo, becauſe the Actors and the Door-keepers were too ſtrong for the Company. I muſt confeſs, that by theſe Arts, how groſly ſoever managed, as by hypocritical Praying, and ſilly Preaching, by unmanly Tears and Whinings, by Falſhoods and Perjuries, even diabolical, he had, at firſt, the good Fortune, as Men call it, that is, the ill Fortune, to attain his Ends; but it was, becauſe his Ends were ſo unreaſonable, that no human Reaſon could foreſee them; which made them who had to do with him believe, that he was rather a well meaning and deluded Bigot, than a crafty and malicious Impoſtor; that theſe Arts were helped by an indefatigable Induſtry, as you ſay? I am ſo far from doubting, that I intended to object that Diligence was the worſt of his Crimes. It makes me almoſt mad, when I hear a Man commended for his Diligence in Wickedneſs. If I were his Son, I ſhould wiſh to God he had been a more lazy Perſon, and that we might have found him ſleeping at the Hours when other Men are ordinarily waking, rather than waking for thoſe Ends of his when other Men were ordinarily aſleep; how diligent the Wicked are the Scripture often tells us: *Their Feet run to Evil, and they make Haſte to ſhed innocent Blood*; Iſa. lix. 7. *He travels with Iniquity*, Pſal. vii. 14. *He deviſeth Miſchief upon his Bed*, Pſal. xxxiv. 4. *They ſearch out Iniquity, they accompliſh a diligent Search*, Pſal. lxiv. 6. and in a Multitude of other Places. And would it not ſeem ridiculous to praiſe a Wolf for his Watchfulneſs, and for his indefatigable Induſtry, in ranging all Night about the Country, whilſt the Sheep, and perhaps the Shepherd, and perhaps the very Dogs too, are all aſleep?

> The *Chartreux* wants the Warning of a Bell
> To call him to the Duties of his Cell;
> There needs no Noiſe at all t'awaken Sin,
> Th' Adulterer and the Thief his Larum has within.

And, if the Diligence of wicked Perſons be ſo much to be blamed, as that it is only an Emphaſis and Exaggeration of their Wickedneſs, I ſee not how their Courage can avoid the ſame Cenſure. If the Undertaking bold, and vaſt, and unreaſonable Deſigns can deſerve that honourable Name, I am ſure *Faux*, and his Fellow Gunpowder Fiends, will have Cauſe to pretend, though not an equal, yet at leaſt the next Place of Honour; neither can I doubt, but, if they too had ſucceeded, they would have found their Applauders and Admirers. It was bold unqueſtionably for a Man, in Defiance of all human and divine Laws, and with ſo little Probability of a long Impunity, ſo publickly and ſo outrageouſly, to murder his Maſter: It was bold, with ſo much Inſolence and Affront, to expel and diſperſe all the chief Partners of his Guilt, and Creators of his Power: It was bold to violate ſo openly and ſo ſcornfully all Acts and Conſtitutions of a Nation, and afterwards even of his own Making; it was bold to aſſume the Authority of Calling, and bolder yet of Breaking ſo many Parliaments; it was bold to trample upon the Patience of his own, and provoke that of all neighbouring Countries;

tries; it was bold, I ſay, above all Boldneſſes, to uſurp this Tyranny to himſelf, and impudent above all Impudences, to endeavour to tranſmit it to his Poſterity. But all this Boldneſs is ſo far from being a Sign of manly Courage (which dares not tranſgreſs the Rules of any other Virtue) that it is only a Demonſtration of brutiſh Madneſs, or diabolical Poſſeſſion. In both which laſt Caſes there uſe frequent Examples to appear of ſuch extraordinary Force, as may juſtly ſeem more wonderful and aſtoniſhing than the Actions of *Cromwell*; neither is it ſtranger to believe that a whole Nation ſhould not be able to govern him and a mad Army, than that five or ſix Men ſhould not be ſtrong enough to bind a diſtracted Girl. There is no Man ever ſucceeds in one Wickedneſs, but it gives him the Boldneſs to attempt a greater. It was boldly done of *Nero* to kill his Mother, and all the chief Nobility of the Empire; it was boldly done to ſet the Metropolis of the whole World on Fire, and undauntedly play upon his Harp, whilſt he ſaw it burning. I could reckon up five-hundred Boldneſſes of that great Perſon, for why ſhould not he too be called ſo? Who wanted, when he was to die, that Courage which could hardly have failed any Woman in the like Neceſſity. It would look, I muſt confeſs, like Envy or too much Partiality, if I ſhould ſay that perſonal Kind of Courage had been deficient in the Man we ſpeak of; I am confident it was not; and yet I may venture, I think, to affirm, that no Man ever bore the Honour of ſo many Victories, at the Rate of fewer Wounds or Dangers of his own Body; and, though his Valour might perhaps have given him a juſt Pretenſion to one of the firſt Charges in an Army, it could not certainly be a ſufficient Ground for a Title to the Command of three Nations. What then ſhall we ſay, That he did all this by Witchcraft? He did ſo indeed in a great Meaſure, by a Sin that is called like it in the Scriptures. But truly and unpaſſionately reflecting upon the Advantages of his Perſon, which might be thought to have produced thoſe of his Fortune, I can eſpy no other but extraordinary Diligence and infinite Diſſimulation; and believe he was exalted above his Nation, partly by his own Faults, but chiefly for ours. We have brought him thus briefly, not through all his Labyrinths, to the ſupreme uſurped Authority; and becauſe, you ſay, it was great Pity he did not live to command more Kingdoms, be pleaſed to let me repreſent to you in a few Words, how well I conceive he governed theſe. And we will divide the Conſideration into that of his foreign and domeſtick Actions. The firſt of his foreign was a Peace with our Brethren of *Holland*, who were the firſt of our Neighbours that God chaſtiſed for having had ſo great a Hand in the Encouraging and Abetting our Troubles at Home: Who would not imagine, at firſt Glympſe, that this had been the moſt virtuous and laudable Deed that this whole Life could make any Parade of? But Man can look upon all the Circumſtances without perceiving, that it was the Sale and Sacrificing of the greateſt Advantages that this Country could ever hope, and was ready to reap, from a foreign War, to the private Intereſts of his Covetouſneſs and Ambition, and the Security of his new and unſettled Uſurpation. No ſooner is that Danger paſt, but this *Beatus Pacificus* is kindling a Fire in the Northern World, and carrying a War two thouſand Miles off Weſtward. Two Millions a Year, beſides all the Vales of his Protectorſhip, is as little capable to ſuffice now either his Avarice or Prodigality, as the two-hundred Pounds were that he was born to. He muſt have his Prey of the whole *Indies*, both by Sea and Land, this great Alligator. To ſatisfy our Anti-*Solomon*, who has made Silver almoſt as rare as Gold, and Gold as precious Stones in his *New Jeruſalem*, we muſt go, ten-thouſand of his Slaves, to fetch him Riches from his fantaſtical *Ophir*. And, becauſe his Flatterers brag of him as the moſt fortunate Prince, the *Fauſtus* as well as *Sylla* of our Nation, whom God never forſook in any of his Undertakings, I deſire them to conſider, how, ſince the *Engliſh* Name was ever heard of, it never received ſo great and ſo infamous a Blow, as under the imprudent Conduct of this unlucky *Fauſtus*: And herein let me admire the Juſtice of God in this Circumſtance, that they who had enſlaved their Country, though a great Army, which, I wiſh, may be obſerved by ours with Trembling, ſhould be ſo ſhamefully defeated by the Hands of forty Slaves. It was very ridiculous to ſee, how prettily they endeavoured to hide this Ignominy under the great Name of the Conqueſt of *Jamaica*, as if a defeated Army ſhould have the Impudence to brag afterwards of the Victory, though they had fled out of the Field of Battle,

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yet they quartered that Night in a Village of the Enemies. The War with *Spain* was a necessary Consequence of this Folly, and how much we have gotten by it, let the Custom-house and Exchange inform you; and if he please to boast of the Taking a Part of the Silver Fleet (which indeed no Body else but he, who was the sole Gainer, has Cause to do) at least let him give Leave to the rest of the Nation, which is the only Loser, to complain of the Loss of twelve-hundred Ships. But because it may here perhaps be answered, that his Successes nearer Home have extinguished the Disgrace of so remote Miscarriages, and that *Dunkirk* ought more to be remembered for his Glory, than St. *Domingo* for his Disadvantage; I must confess, as to the Honour of the *English* Courage, that they were not wanting upon that Occasion, excepting only the Fault of serving at least indirectly against their Master, to the Upholding of the Renown of their warlike Ancestors. But for his particular Share of it, who sat still at Home, and exposed them so frankly Abroad, I can only say, that, for less Money than he in the short Time of his Reign exacted from his fellow Subjects, some of our former Princes (with the daily Hazard of their own Persons) have added to the Dominion of *England* not only one Town, but even a greater Kingdom than itself. And, this being all considerable as concerning his Enterprises Abroad, let us examine in the next Place, how much we owe him for Justice and good Government at Home. And first he found the Commonwealth, as they then called it in a ready Stock of about eight-hundred thousand Pounds; he left the Commonwealth, as he had the impudent Raillery still to call it, some Two-millions and an half in Debt. He found our Trade very much decayed indeed, in Comparison of the Golden Times of our late Princes; he left it as much again more decayed than he found it; and yet not only no Prince in *England*, but no Tyrant in the World ever sought out more base or infamous Means to raise Money. I shall only instance in one that he put in Practice, and another that he attempted, but was frighted from the Execution, even he, by the Infamy of it. That which he put in Practice was Decimation; which was the most impudent Breach of all publick Faith that the whole Nation had given, and all private Capitulations which himself had made, as the Nation's General and Servant, that can be found out, I believe, in all History from any of the most barbarous Generals of the most barbarous People. Which because it has been most excellently and most largely laid open by a whole Book written upon that Subject, I shall only desire you here to remember the Thing in general, and to be pleased to look upon that Author, when you would recollect all the Particulars and Circumstances of the Iniquity. The other Design of raising a present Sum of Money, which he violently pursued, but durst not put in Execution, was by the Calling in and Establishment of the *Jews* at *London*; from which he was rebutted by the universal Outcry of the Divines, and even of the Citizens too, who took it ill that a considerable Number at least amongst themselves were not thought *Jews* enough by their own *Herod*. And for this Design, they say, he invented (Oh Antichrist! πονηρὸν and ὁ πονηρὸς!) to sell St. *Paul's* to them for a Synagogue, if their Purses and Devotions could have reached to the Purchase. And this indeed if he had done only to reward that Nation which had given the first noble Example of crucifying their King, it might have had some Appearance of Gratitude, but he did it only for Love of their Mammon; and would have sold afterwards for as much more St. *Peter's* (even at his own *Westminster*) to the *Turks* for a *Mosquetto*. Such was his extraordinary Piety to God, that he desired he might be worshiped in all Manners, excepting only that heathenish Way of the Common-Prayer Book. But what do I speak of his wicked Inventions for Getting of Money? When every Penny, that for almost five Years he took every Day from every Man living in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was as much Robbery as if it had been taken by a Thief upon the Highways. Was it not so? Or, can any Man think that *Cromwell* with the Assistance of his Forces and Moss Troopers, had more Right to the Command of all Men's Purses, than he might have had to any one's whom he had met and been too strong for upon a Road? And yet when this came, in the Case of Mr. *Coney*, to be disputed by a legal Trial, he, which was the highest Act of Tyranny that ever was seen in *England*, not only discouraged and threatened, but violently imprisoned the Council of the Plaintiff; that is, he shut up the Law itself close Prisoner, that no Man might have Relief from, or Access to it. And it ought to be remembered, that this

was done by thoſe Men, who a few Years before had ſo bitterly decried, and openly oppoſed the King's regular and formal Way of Proceeding in the Trial of a little Ship Money. But, though we loſt the Benefit of our old Courts of Juſtice, it cannot be denied that he ſet up new ones; and ſuch they were, that, as no virtuous Prince before would, ſo no ill one durſt erect. What, have we lived ſo many hundred Years under ſuch a Form of Juſtice as has been able regularly to puniſh all Men that offended againſt it? and is it ſo deficient juſt now, that we muſt ſeek out new Ways how to proceed againſt Offenders? The Reaſon, which can only be given in Nature for a Neceſſity of this, is, becauſe thoſe Things are now made Crimes, which were never eſteemed ſo in former Ages; and there muſt needs be a new Court ſet up to puniſh that, which all the old ones were bound to protect and reward. But I am ſo far from Declaiming, as you call it, againſt theſe Wickedneſſes (which if I ſhould undertake to do, I ſhould never get to the Peroration) that you ſee I only give a Hint of ſome few, and paſs over the reſt as Things that are too many to be numbered, and muſt only be weighed in groſs. Let any Man ſhew me, for, though I pretend not to much Reading, I will defy him in all Hiſtory; let any Man ſhew me, I ſay, an Example of any Nation in the World, though much greater than ours, where there have in the Space of four Years been made ſo many *Priſoners* only out of the endleſs Jealouſies of one Tyrant's guilty Imagination. I grant you that *Marius* and *Sylla*, and the accurſed Triumvirate after them, put more People to Death; but the Reaſon I think partly was, becauſe, in thoſe Times that had a Mixture of ſome Honour with their Madneſs, they thought it a more civil Revenge againſt a *Roman* to take away his Life, than to take away his Liberty. But truly, in the Point of Murder too, we have little Reaſon to think that our late Tyranny has been deficient to the Examples that have ever been ſet it in other Countries. Our Judges and our Courts of Juſtice have not been idle; and to omit the whole Reign of our late King, till the Beginning of the War, in which no Drop of Blood was ever drawn but from two or three Ears, I think the longeſt Time of our worſt Princes ſcarce ſaw many more Executions than the ſhort one of our bleſſed Reformer. And we ſaw, and ſmelt in our open Streets, as I marked to you at firſt, the Broiling of human Bowels as a Burnt-offering of a ſweet Savour to our Idol; but all Murdering, and all Torturing, though after the ſubtleſt Invention of his Predeceſſors of *Sicily*, is more human and more ſupportable, than his Selling of *Chriſtians*, *Engliſhmen*, *Gentlemen*; his Selling of them, oh monſtrous! oh incredible! to be Slaves in *America*. If his whole Life could be reproached with no other Action, yet this alone would weigh down all the Multiplicity of Crimes in any of our Tyrants; and I dare only touch, without ſtanding or inſiſting upon ſo inſolent and ſo execrable a Cruelty, for Fear of falling into ſo violent, though a juſt Paſſion, as would make me exceed that Temper and Moderation which I reſolve to obſerve in this Diſcourſe with you. Theſe are great Calamities; but even theſe are not the moſt inſupportable that we have endured; for ſo it is, that the Scorn and Mockery, and Inſultings of an Enemy, are more painful than the deepeſt Wounds of his ſerious Fury. This Man was wanton and merry, unwittily and ungracefully merry, with our Sufferings; he loved to ſay and do ſenſeleſs and fantaſtical Things, only to ſhew his Power of doing or ſaying any Thing. It would ill befit mine, or any civil Mouth, to repeat thoſe Words which he ſpoke concerning the moſt Sacred of our *Engliſh* Laws, the Petition of Right, and *Magna Charta*. To-day you ſhould ſee him ranting ſo wildly, that no Body durſt come near him; the Morrow flinging of Cuſhions, and playing at Snow-balls, with his Servants. This Month he aſſembles a Parliament, and profeſſes himſelf with humble Tears to be only their Servant and their Miniſter; the next Month he ſwears by the Living God, that he will turn them out of Doors, and he does ſo, in his Princely Way of threatening, bidding them turn the Buckles of their Girdles behind them. The Repreſentative of a Whole, nay of three whole Nations, was in his Eſteem ſo contemptible a Meeting, that he thought the Affronting and Expelling of them to be a Thing of ſo little Conſequence, as not to deſerve that he ſhould adviſe with any mortal Man about it. What ſhall we call this? Boldneſs, or Brutiſhneſs; Raſhneſs, or Phrenſy; there is no Name can come up to it; and therefore we muſt leave it without one. Now a Parliament muſt be choſen in the new Manner, next Time in the old Form, but all cathiered ſtill after the neweſt Mode.

Mode. Now he will govern by Major-Generals, now by one Houſe, now by another Houſe, now by no Houſe; now the Freak takes him, and he makes ſeventy Peers of the Land at one Clap (*Extempore*, and *ſtans pede in uno*) and, to manifeſt the abſolute Power of the Potter, he choſe not only the worſt Clay he could find, but picks up even the Dirt and Mire, to form out of it his Veſſels of Honour. It was ſaid anciently of Fortune, that, when ſhe had a Mind to be merry and to divert herſelf, ſhe was wont to raiſe up ſuch Kind of People to the higheſt Dignities. This Son of Fortune, *Cromwell*, who was himſelf one of the Primeſt of her *Jeſts*, found out the true Hautgouſt of this Pleaſure, and rejoiced in the Extravagance of his Ways as the fulleſt Demonſtration of his uncontroulable Sovereignty. Good God! what have we ſeen? And what have we ſuffered? What do all theſe Actions ſignify, what do they ſay aloud to the whole Nation, but this, even as plainly as if it were proclaimed by Heralds through the Streets of *London*, You are Slaves and Fools, and ſo I will uſe you? Theſe are briefly a Part of thoſe Merits which you lament to have wanted the Reward of more Kingdoms, and ſuppoſe that, if he had lived longer, he might have had them; which I am ſo far from concurring to, that I believe his ſeaſonable Dying to have been a greater good Fortune to him than all the Victories and Proſperities of his Life. For he ſeemed evidently, methinks, to be near the End of his deceitful Glories; his own Army grew at leaſt as weary of him as the reſt of the People; and I never paſſed of late before his Palace? His, do I call it (I aſk God and the King Pardon) but I never paſſed of late before *Whitehall* without reading upon the Gate of it, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharſin*. But it pleaſed God to take him from the ordinary Courts of Men, and Juries of his Peers, to his own High Court of Juſtice, which being more merciful than ours below, there is a little Room yet left for the Hope of his Friends, if he have any; though the outward Unrepentance of his Death afford but ſmall Materials for the Work of Charity, eſpecially if he deſigned even then to entail his own Injuſtice upon his Children, and by it inextricable Confuſions and Civil Wars upon the Nation. But there's at laſt an End of him; and [illegible]ow the Fruit of all that Blood and Calamity which his Ambition has coſt the World? Where is it? Why, his Son (you'll ſay) has the whole Crop; I doubt he will find it quickly blaſted. I have nothing to ſay againſt the Gentleman, or any living of his Family; on the contrary I wiſh him better Fortune than to have a long and unquiet Poſſeſſion of his Maſter's Inheritance. Whatſoever I have ſpoken againſt his Father, is that which I ſhould have thought, though Decency perhaps might have hindered me from ſaying it, even againſt mine own, if I had been ſo unhappy, as that mine by the ſame Ways ſhould have left me three Kingdoms.

Here I ſtopped, and my pretended Protector, who, I expected, ſhould have been very angry, fell a Laughing; it ſeems at the Simplicity of my Diſcourſe, for thus he replied: You ſeem to pretend extremely to the old obſolete Rules of Virtue and Conſcience, which makes me doubt very much whether from this vaſt Proſpect of three Kingdoms you can ſhew me any Acres of your own. But theſe are ſo far from making you a Prince, that I am afraid your Friends will never have the Contentment to ſee you ſo much as a Juſtice of Peace in your own Country. For this I perceive, which you call Virtue, is nothing elſe but either the Frowardneſs of a *Cynick*, or the Lazineſs of an *Epicurean*. I am glad you allow me at leaſt artful Diſſimulation, and unwearied Diligence in my Hero; and I aſſure you that he, whoſe Life is conſtantly drawn by thoſe two, ſhall never be miſled out of the Way of Greatneſs. But I ſee you are a Pedant, and Platonical Stateſman, a Theoretical Commonwealth's-Man, an Utopial Dreamer. Was ever Riches gotten by your Golden Mediocrities, or the ſupreme Place attained to by Virtues that muſt not ſtir out of the Middle? Do you ſtudy *Ariſtotle*'s Politicks, and write, if you pleaſe, Comments upon them, and let another but practiſe *Machiavel*, and let us ſee, then which of you two will come to the greateſt Preferments. If the Deſire of Rule and Superiority be a Virtue, as ſure I am it is more imprinted in human Nature than any of your lethargical Morals; and what is the Virtue of any Creature but the Exerciſe of thoſe Powers and Inclinations which God has infuſed into it? If that, I ſay, be Virtue, we ought not to eſteem any thing Vice, which is the moſt proper, if not the only Means of attaining of it.

It is a Truth ſo certain, and ſo clear,
That to the firſt-born Man it did appear;
Did not the mighty Heir, the noble *Cain*,
By the freſh Laws of Nature taught, diſdain
That (though a Brother) any one ſhould be
A greater Favourite to God than he?
He ſtruck him down; and, ſo (ſaid he) ſo fell
The Sheep which thou did'ſt ſacrifice ſo well.
Since all the fulleſt Sheaves which I could bring,
Since all were blaſted in the Offering,
Leſt God ſhould my next Victim too deſpiſe,
The acceptable Prieſt I'll ſacrifice.
Hence Coward Fears; for the firſt Blood ſo ſpilt,
As a Reward, he the firſt City built.
'Twas a Beginning generous and high,
Fit for a Grand-Child of the Deity.
So well advanc'd, 'twas Pity there he ſtaid;
One Step of Glory more he ſhould have made;
And to the utmoſt Bounds of Greatneſs gone;
Had *Adam* too been kill'd, he might have reign'd alone.
One Brother's Death what do I mean to name?
A ſmall Oblation to Revenge and Fame.
The mighty-ſoul'd *Abimelech*, to ſhew
What, for high Place, a higher Spirit can do,
An Hecatomb almoſt of Brethren ſlew;
And ſeventy Times in neareſt Blood he dy'd,
To make it hold, his Royal Purple Pride.
Why do I name the lordly Creature, Man?
The weak, the mild, the Coward, Woman, can,
When to a Crown ſhe cuts her ſacred Way,
All, that oppoſe, with manlike Courage ſlay:
So *Athaliah*, when ſhe ſaw her Son,
And, with his Life, her dearer Greatneſs gone,
With a majeſtick Fury ſlaughter'd all,
Whom high Birth might to high Pretences call;
Since he was dead, who all her Power ſuſtain'd,
Reſolv'd to reign alone; reſolv'd, and reign'd.
In vain her Sex, in vain the Laws withſtood,
In vain the ſacred Plea of *David*'s Blood;
A noble and a bold Contention! ſhe,
One Woman, undertook with Deſtiny;
She to pluck down, Deſtiny to uphold
(Oblig'd by holy Oracles of old)
The great *Jeſſæan* Race on *Judah*'s Throne,
Till 'twas at laſt an equal Wager grown;
Scarce Fate, with much ado, the better got by One.
Tell me not ſhe herſelf at laſt was ſlain;
Did ſhe not firſt ſeven Years, a Life-time, reign?
Seven Royal Years, t' a publick Spirit, will ſeem
More than the private Life of a *Methuſalem*.
'Tis Godlike to be Great; and as, they ſay,
A thouſand Years, to God, are but a Day;
So, to a Man, when once a Crown he wears,
The Coronation-Day's more than a thouſand Years.

He would have gone on, I perceived, in his Blaſphemies, but that, by God's Grace, I became ſo bold as *thus to interrupt him:* I underſtand now perfectly, which I gueſſed at long before, what Kind of Angel and Protector you are; and, though your Stile in Verſe be very much mended, ſince you were wont to deliver Oracles, yet your Doctrine is much worſe, than ever you had formerly (that I heard of) the Face to publiſh; whether your long Practice with Mankind has increaſed and improved your Malice, or whether you think us in this Age to be grown ſo impudently wicked, that there needs no more Art or Diſguiſes to draw us to your Party. My Dominion, ſaid he haſtily, and with a dreadful furious Look, is ſo great in this World, and I am ſo powerful a Monarch of it, that I need not be aſhamed that you ſhould know me; and, that you may ſee I know you too, I know you to be an obſtinate and inveterate Malignant, and for that Reaſon I ſhall take you along with me to the next Gariſon of ours; from whence you ſhall go to the *Tower*, and from thence to the Court of Juſtice, and from thence you know whither. I was almoſt in the very Pounces of the great Bird of Prey,

When, lo! e're the laſt Words were fully ſpoke,
From a fair Cloud, which rather ope'd, than broke,
A Flaſh of Light, rather than Lightning, came;
So ſwift, and yet ſo gentle was the Flame
Upon it rode, and, in his full Career,
Seem'd, to my Eyes, no ſooner there than here,
The comelieſt Youth of all th' Angelick Race;
Lovely his Shape, ineffable his Face,
The Frowns, with which he ſtruck the trembling Fiend,
All Smiles of human Beauty did transcend.

His Beams of Locks fell, Part diſhevell'd down,
Part upwards curl'd, and form'd a nat'ral Crown,
Such as the *Britiſh* Monarchs us'd to wear;
If Gold might be compar'd with Angels Hair;
His Coat and flowing Mantle were ſo bright,
They ſeem'd both made of woven ſilver Light;
A-croſs his Breaſt an azure Ruban went,
At which a Medal hung, that did preſent,
In wond'rous, living Figures, to the Sight
The myſtick Champion's, and old Dragon's Fight;
And, from his Mantle's Side, there ſhone afar
A fix'd and, I believe, a real Star.
In his fair Hand (What Need was there of more?)
No Arms, but th' *Engliſh* bloody Croſs he bore;
Which when he tow'rds th' affrighted Tyrant bent,
And ſome few Words pronounc'd (but what they meant,
Or were, could not, alas! by me be known;
Only, I well perceiv'd, *Jeſus* was one)
He trembled, and he roar'd, and fled away,
Mad to quit thus his more than hop'd-for Prey.
Such Rage inflames the Wolf's wild Heart and Eyes,
(Robb'd, as he thinks, unjuſtly of his Prize)
Whom unawares the Shepherd ſpies, and draws
The bleating Lamb from out his ravenous Jaws;
The Shepherd fain himſelf would he aſſail,
But Fear above his Hunger does prevail;
He knows his Foe too ſtrong, and muſt be gone;
He grins as he looks back, and howls as he goes on.

The Marquis of *Huntley*'s Reply to certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Miniſters, Covenanters of *Scotland*: Sent from their Aſſociates, to ſignify unto him, that it behoved him either to aſſiſt their Deſigns, or to be carried to Priſon in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the 20th of *April*, 1639. Now publiſhed, becauſe of a falſe Copy thereof lately Printed without Authority, or his own Conſent. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

TO be your Priſoner is by much the leſs diſpleaſing to me, that my Accuſation is for nothing elſe but Loyalty; and that I have been brought into this Eſtate by ſuch unfair Means, as can never be made to appear honourable in thoſe who uſed them.

Whereas you offer Liberty, upon Condition of my Entering into your Covenant, I am not ſo bad a Merchant, as to buy it with the Loſs of my Conſcience, Fidelity, and Honour; which, in ſo doing, I ſhould make Account to be wholly periſhed.

I have already given my Faith to my Prince, upon [illegible] by all Law of Nature and Nations is juſtly fallen, and will not falſify that Faith by joining with any in a Pretence of Religion, which my own Judgment cannot excuſe from Rebellion; for it is well known, that, in the Primitive Church, no Arms were held lawful, being lifted by Subjects againſt their lawful Prince, though the whole Frame of *Chriſtianity* was then in Queſtion.

Whereas you would encourage me to be a Partaker with you by your Hopes of Supply from *France* and other foreign Nations, together with your ſo good Intelligence in *England*, as that no Danger will come from thence, let me tell you, That, in my Opinion,

nion, the Reaſons are but vain, the *French* being now more ſtrictly tied, than before, to uphold the Authority of our ſacred Sovereign, by a new-cemented League of Marriage, whereby their Intereſt in his Majeſty's Progeny will over-balance you, though your Cauſe were better. Other Foreigners are merely unable by their own Diſtractions, and the *Engliſh* have been ever ſtrong enough for us, when only their own King, and not our's did lead them.

For my own Part, I am in your Power, and reſolved not to leave that foul Title of *Traitor* as an Inheritance upon my Poſterity; you may take my Head from my Shoulders, but not my Heart from my Sovereign.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower*'s Speech * and Repentance, at the Time of his Death, who was executed upon *Tower-hill*, on the 20th Day of *November*, 1615, for the Murder of Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

Mors mihi Lucrum.

London, printed by *G. Eld* for *Na. Butter*, and are to be ſold at his Shop near St. *Auſtin*'s Gate. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſix Pages.

To the Reader.

TO ſatisfy the World, which, in a Cauſe of this Nature, is commonly diſtracted into various Opinions, adding or detracting from the Truth, according to the humorous Diſpoſition with which it meets; and to do Right to the dead Gentleman, who (albeit his Offence was foul to GOD and Man, and hateful to himſelf) deſerved both Love and Pity, for the Chriſtian *End he made, have I, Reader, for thy Sake, collected the Subſtance of that Speech, delivered by him before his Execution, though I may fail in Circumſtance perhaps in his Order. Many falſe Copies of it paſs from Hand to Hand, and many untrue Rumours of him: This, if thou art not too much given over to Miſbelief, will ſtay both, as being with much Labour gotten together, and confirmed by Approbation of ſuch Judgments as were then preſent, and neareſt and beſt underſtood him. Though I confeſs it falls ſhort of that Grace and Life wherewith he delivered it, who, I muſt needs ſay, did it more exactly, even beyond ordinary Report: And ſo praying unto Almighty GOD, that thou mayeſt make that good Uſe of this Diſcourſe, as he meant thee that made it, and as I do that relate it, I commit thee to GOD.*

I See many Faces in this Place, which I know right well, both Lords and Gentlemen, whom I have honoured, and do ſtill love, with many others of ſeveral Diſpoſitions. All you being thus aſſembled to ſee me finiſh my Days, the Number of which I ſummed up, for the very Minutes of my Life may now be reckoned. Your Expectation is to have me ſay ſomething, to give Satisfaction to the World, and I will do it ſo far as I can, albeit, in that Speech of mine, I ſhall, as it was ſpoken unto me the laſt Night, but chatter like a Crow. But, whatſoever I deliver, I beſeech you to take from a wounded Boſom, for my Purpoſe is to rip up my very Heart, and to leave Nothing there, which may prove any Clog to my Conſcience.

* This is the 21ſt Number of the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Hither

Hither am I come to perform a Work, which, of all others, is to Man the moſt eaſy, and yet to Fleſh and Blood is the hardeſt, and that is, to die. To hide, therefore, any Thing for any worldly Reſpect, were to leave a Blot upon my own Soul, which I truſt ſhall be preſented, through the Mercies of my Maker, and Merits of my Saviour, acceptable before God's high Tribunal.

And, Firſt, I will labour to ſatisfy ſome, who, before my Apprehenſion, were well conceited of me, but ſince my Arraignment, as I underſtand, carried of me but hard Opinions; for that, at the Bar, I ſtood ſtiffly upon the *Juſtice of my Innocence*; and this they impute as a great Fault, ſeeing afterwards that I was found Guilty of the Crime: To which I anſwer, That I did it ignorantly: Nay, I was ſo far from thinking myſelf foul in the Fact, that until theſe two Gentlemen, Doctor *Felton* and Doctor *Whiting*, the Phyſicians for my Soul, told me how deeply I had imbrewed my Hands in the Blood of that Gentleman, making me, by God's Law, as guilty in the Concealing, as if I had been a perſonal Actor in it: Till then, I ſay, I held myſelf ſo ignorant of the Deed, and my Conſcience ſo clear, that I did never aſk God Forgiveneſs, nor once repent me of the Fact, ſuch was my Blindneſs. So that it was not only an Error, or rather a horrible Sin, in me to conſent, but a worſe, to deny it, ſo bloody, ſo treacherous, ſo foul, ſo filthy a Fact as that was; for which, I muſt confeſs the King, and the State, have dealt honourably, roundly, and juſtly, with me, in condemning me unto this Death. And thus I have laboured, and done my beſt, to clear this Point, being willing, by all good Means, to reduce your firſt Opinions of me; that, as formerly you conceited well of me, ſo you would now, with a charitable Affection, perform the laſt Duty of your Chriſtian Loves towards me, praying to God, both with me, that this Cup, whereof I am to drink, may not be grievous unto me, but that and for me, to the Intent, that it may be a joyful Conveyance to a better and more bleſſed Comfort.

Some, perhaps, will think it to be a Rigour of the State, or Aggravation of my Judgment, that I ſhould die in this Place; but this do I take as an Honour unto me, and herein do I acknowledge myſelf to ſtand much bound to the State, in that I have this Favour vouchſafed me, to ſuffer Death in Sight of my Charge, even where I had ſinned, on the *Tower-hill*, rather than in the Place of common Execution, where every baſe Malefactor dieth.

Many do I ſee here whom I know well, and of whom I am likewiſe well known: And now am I a Spectacle for them to be looked on, whom, in former Times, and in all Men's Accounts, they held never likely to come to ſuch an End. But herein behold the Juſtice of God, who is ſo oppoſed againſt Sin, becauſe, that, if we forget to ſeek him whilſt he may, he will find us out when we would not be found of him.

It is expected I ſhould ſay ſomething of the Fact which I have committed: And hither am I come, reſolved to clear my Conſcience, before I depart this World, of all Matters which I either know, or can now remember. And ſo much I have already delivered in Writing to my Lord Chief Juſtice; and, to prove that which I wrote is true, I Yeſterday confirmed it with the Receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament, wiſhing unto you all as much Comfort by thoſe holy Myſteries, as I took by them. And I do here, though not with ſuch a Blood, yet with my own Blood, ſeal that which I have written. For myſelf, I will hide Nothing to make my Fault ſeem leſs, but will rip open this very Heart of mine, and confeſs before God mine own Uncleanneſs.

I have ſinned exceedingly againſt thee, O my Maker, and in this am I moſt faulty, that I did not reveal it to the King, ſo ſoon as I myſelf had Knowledge of the Buſineſs. But, alas! Fear to loſe theſe worldly Pleaſures, and the Love to Promotion, made me forget my Duty to my Sovereign, and not to regard my God, who is a ſwift Avenger of Blood; and, would to Heaven I had truſted to his Providence, and ſet the Things of this World at Nought, for Heaven's Sake, and a good Conſcience. You ſee, Gentlemen, Promotion cannot reſcue us from the Juſtice of God, which always purſues after Sin; and therefore I exhort you not to truſt in Men, how great ſoever, for they cannot hide themſelves, when God is angry; neither can they protect you from Shame, when God will conſume you: He that ſitteth in Heaven will deride and ſcorn their fooliſh Inventions. As for me, I will not ſpare to lay open my own Shame: Think you I care for the Reputation of this World? No, I weigh it not. Thus my Soul ſhall receive more Comfort from God in my upright Dealing.

My

My Sin, in this foul Fact, was great, for upon me lay all the Blood, ſhed, and to be ſhed: I have made many Children Fatherleſs, many Wives Huſbandleſs, many Parents Childleſs, and I myſelf leave a comfortleſs Wife, and eight Children behind me for it too; for, if I had revealed it when I might, I had freed much Blood from being ſpilled, inſomuch as I could wiſh, God's Juſtice and Charity reſerved, I might hang in Chains, till I rot away by Piecemeal; nor cared I what Tortures my Body were put unto, ſo I might expiate, or free the Blood of ſo many, ſome in one Place, and ſome in another, which is both like to be ſhed, and is already ſhed, and the Lord knows when it will have an End.

Concerning myſelf, I will aggravate the Crime, by ſpeaking of every Circumſtance I can remember. And now it comes into my Mind, what Truſt that Gentleman put into me: He reputed me to be moſt faithful unto him, O the Vileneſs of my Heart! I proved unfaithful, and was his deadly deceitful Friend.

And here, Gentlemen, I exhort you all, that you would take Notice of this, ever to be faithful to thoſe who put you in Truſt.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* truſted me, and I was unfaithful and treacherous to him, in drawing Tickets for him to his Diſadvantage. I promiſed him Secrecy, yet betrayed him, only to ſatisfy Greatneſs: But God, who ſees the ſecret Thoughts of Man's Heart, will diſcloſe all unjuſt Actions at laſt: Nay, I am perſuaded that whoſoever they be that commit Sin in their Childhood, at one Time or other it will be revealed.

In this Place it cometh to my Mind, that in my younger Days, as well beyond the Seas as here, I was much addicted to that idle Vein of Gaming, I was bewitched with it indeed: And I played not for little or for ſmall Sums neither; but for great ones, yet ever haunted with ill Luck: And, upon a Time, being much diſpleaſed at my Loſs, I ſaid, not in a careleſs Manner, Would I might be hanged; but ſeriouſly, and adviſedly, between God and myſelf, clapping my Hands upon my Breaſt, I ſpake thus, If ever I play again, then let me be hanged. Now, Gentlemen, here you may behold the Juſtice of God, paying me my Wiſh and Imprecation Home. Be careful, therefore, I exhort you, that you vow Nothing but that unto which you will give all Diligence to perform; for the powerful God, before whom you make ſuch Vows, will otherwiſe be avenged.'

In this Place, Doctor Whiting *putting him in Mind to ſatisfy the World, touching his Religion, thus he went on:*

The Matter you ſpeak to me of, ſaith he, is well thought upon; for I hear that Abroad have been ſome Murmuring and Queſtions made about me for my Religion; ſome giving out, that I was infected with Anabaptiſm; a fond, ridiculous, fooliſh, and phantaſtical Opinion, which I never affected, but rather deſpiſed.

Many may think, that the Manner of my Death doth much diſcourage me, that I ſhould die in a Halter: I would have you all to think, that I ſcorn all ſuch worldly Thoughts: I care not for it, I value not any earthly Shame at all, ſo as I may have Honour and Glory anon in Heaven: And I make no Doubt, but I ſhall ſuddenly be more happy than you all, and that I ſhall ſee God Face to Face; and, if there be any Point of Innocency in me at all, I do utterly caſt it from me, and I do commit it wholly to God.

And, for any Matter of Glory, I do, with the Saints of God, expect it through the Merits of Chriſt, at the Reſurrection; yea, it is my Glory to die thus. I might have died in my Bed, or ſhooting the Bridge, or elſe have fallen down ſuddenly, in which Death I ſhould have wanted this Space to repent, being the ſweet Comfort, and aſſured Hope of God's Favour, which, of his Mercy, he hath vouchſafed me; ſo that it ſwalloweth up all Fear of Death, or Reproach of the World; wiſhing unto all you, Gentlemen, who now behold me, that, whereſoever you ſhall die, either in your Beds, or elſewhere howſoever, you may feel ſuch Comfort and Reſolution, as God in his Mercy hath beſtowed upon me and my wounded Soul for this and the reſt of my grievous Sins.

But, methinks I hear ſome of you conjecture and ſay, that I expreſs no great Arguments or Signs of Sorrow: You think my Heart ſhould rather diſſolve and melt into Tears, than to appear ſo inſenſible of Fear as I may ſeem; but I muſt tell you, Tears were never common in me; I may therefore fear, though I do not weep. I have been courageous both beyond the Seas and here in my own Country; but, Gentlemen, that was where there was no Peril

Peril before me: But now the Stroke of Death is upon me; it affrights me, and there is Cauſe to fear; yet, notwithſtanding, my Heart ſeemeth unto you to be rather of Stone than of Fleſh. But I would have you underſtand, that this Boldneſs doth not proceed from any manly Fortitude, for I am a Man, frail as you are, and dare as little look Death in the Face as any other: The Terrors of Death do as much trouble my human Senſe, as any Man's whatſoever; but that, which ſwalloweth up all Manner of Fear in me, and maketh me to glory and to rejoice, is, the full Aſſurance which I conceive of the unſpeakable Love of God to thoſe who are his, of which Number I perſuade myſelf to be one, and that I ſhall preſently enjoy it.

I confeſs I have ſinned exceedingly, againſt thee, Oh God! many Ways, in prophaning thy holy Sabbaths, in taking thy glorious Name in vain, in my Concupiſcence, in turning all thy Graces into Wantonneſs, in my riotous Waſting ſo many of thy good Creatures, as would have relieved many poor People, whoſe Prayers I might have had this Day.

I have ſinned againſt thee in my Childhood; but Children's Sins are childiſhly performed; but I confirmed them in my Manhood, there was my Sin. I am perſuaded, there is no Sin, that a Man committeth in his Life, knowing it to be a Sin, and not repenting of it, but the Lord will judge it.

I admoniſh you, therefore, that are here aſſembled, to take good Notice of your Sins, and let none eſcape you unrepented: And yet, when you have done the beſt you can, there will lie buried ſome one Sin or other ſufficient to condemn you.

O Lord, cleanſe me from my ſecret Sins, which are in me ſo rife. I abuſed the tender Education of my Parents. You, perhaps, that knew me will ſay no; I lived in an honeſt Form, and was not bad in my Life.

But I know beſt myſelf what I was; and if I, who was ſo eſteemed of amongſt Men, ſhall ſcarcely be ſaved, What will become of thoſe whom you point at for notorious Livers?

The laſt Night God put into my Mind the Remembrance of one Sin of mine, which here I will lay open that others may take heed. I took a vain Pride in my Pen, and ſome of my Friends would tell me I had ſome Endowment, and ſpecial Gift that Way, though I ſay not ſo myſelf; but mark the Judgment of God in this; that Pen, which I was ſo proud of, hath ſtruck me dead, and like *Abſalom*'s Hair hath hanged me: For there hath dropped a Word or two from my Pen, in a Letter of mine, which, upon my Salvation, I am not able to anſwer, or to give any good Account of. At my Arraignment I pleaded hard for Life, and proteſted my Innocency; but, when my own Pen came againſt me, I was forthwith not able to ſpeak any Thing for myſelf; for I ſtood as one amazed, or that had no Tongue.

See, Gentlemen, the juſt Judgment of God, who made that Thing, of which I was moſt proud, to be my Bane: Take Notice how ſtrangely Sin is puniſhed, and learn every one to ſtrive againſt it.

I have heard the Word of God, and often read it, but without Uſe, for I muſt tell you theſe two worthy Gentlemen (to whom I am ſo much bounden, God reward them for their Love) even they begot me very lately, for I am not aſhamed to confeſs that I was to be begotten unto Chriſt within theſe three Days; yea, I have often prayed againſt Sin, and made many Vows to forſake it, but, upon the next Occaſion, my foul Heart hath been ready to run with the Wicked.

Had I learned but this one Leſſon in the Hundred and nineteenth *Pſalm*, (*Depart from me, ye wicked, I will keep the Commandments of my God*, &c.) I had been likely to have enjoyed many Days here on Earth; whereas now you all ſee me ready to be cut ſhort by Reaſon of my Sin.

But, O Lord, albeit thou ſlayeſt me, yet will I put my Truſt in thee; let the Lord do to me what he will, I will die upon this Hand of truſting in him; if I fail, many a Soul hath miſſed, but I have ſure Hope of Mercy in him; he hath ſufficed and ſuccoured me, I am ſure, ever ſince the Sentence of Death hath paſſed upon me; ſuch Comfort flowing from the godly Endeavours of theſe Gentlemen, the Divines, that neither the Reproach of this Death, nor the Torment of it, hath any whit diſcouraged me; nay, let me tell you, the laſt Night when I heard the Time was appointed, and ſaw the Warrant in Maſter Sheriff's Hand for my Death, it no whit daunted me: But what put this Courage into me? Only the Hope which I had in God's Mercies.

This Hope was a Seed, and this Seed muſt

come from a Root; I looked upon myſelf, and there was rather Cauſe to deſpair; and juſt Cauſe that I ſhould not approach God's Preſence. Thus then I diſputed with God: This Hope being a Seed muſt have a Root, and this Root is not any Thing in Man, no, it is *Præſcientia*, thy Foreknowledge, O God, who haſt elected me from Eternity.

I will tell you, I received more Comfort this Morning coming along the Streets, than ever I did in all my Life. I ſaw much People gathered together, all the Way as I came, to ſee me brought to this ſhameful End; who, with their hearty Prayers and Well-wiſhings, gladded and comforted my very Soul; inſomuch as I could wiſh that I had come from *Weſtminſter* hither. I proteſt unto you, I think I could never have died ſo happily in my Bed.

But you will ſay theſe are but Speeches, and that, I being ſo near Death, my Heart cannot be ſo free, as I ſeem in my Speech. I confeſs, there are in my Breaſt Frailties which do terrify me, and will ſtill be buſy with me; but I beſeech you, when I am at the Stroke of Death, that you will pray to God, with me, that neither Satan's Power, nor my Weakneſs, may hinder my Confidence. And I beſeech God, that, amongſt all who this Day hear me, ſome may profit by my End: If I get but one Soul, I ſhall have much Comfort in that; for that one Soul may beget another, and that other another.

I have held you too long, but I will draw to an End; intreating you all to join in Prayer to God for me.

The Sum of his Prayer.

O Lord God omnipotent, who ſitteſt in Heaven, and ſeeſt all Things which are done on Earth; to whom are known all Occaſions of Men, and who doſt deride and laugh to Scorn their fooliſh Inventions; thou, Lord, who art powerful to ſave at an Inſtant, bow down the Heavens, and behold me (wretched Sinner!) unworthy to look up, or lift up my Hands unto thee. Remember not, O Lord, the Sins which I have committed. Drive away this Miſt which is before me; and break thoſe thick Clouds which my Sins have made, and may hinder my Requeſt to come into thy Preſence. Strengthen me in the Midſt of Death, in the Aſſurance of thy Mercies; and give me a joyful Paſſage into thy heavenly Reſt, now and for ever. Amen.

After he had thus prayed, he took his Leave of all with theſe Words:

Gentlemen, I ſhall ſee your Faces now no more; and, pulling down his Cap on his Eyes, ſaid ſome private Prayer; in which Time the Doctors prayed, and called to him, that he would remember his Aſſurance, and not be diſmayed at the Cup he was to drink of: He anſwered, *I will drink it up, and never look what is in it.* And, after a little Time more ſpent in private Prayer, he ſaid, *Lord receive my Soul*; and ſo yielded up the Ghoſt.

His Meditation and Vow, not long before his Death.

WHEN I conſidered *Herod's* State, who, though he heard *John Baptiſt* gladly, yet was he intangled with *Herodias*; and how *Agrippa* liked ſo well of *Paul*, as he was perſuaded almoſt to become a Chriſtian; and, how the young Man's Will was good to follow *Chriſt*, yet there was one Thing wanting; methought the State of a ſinful Man was not unlike. So alſo how the Angler, though having caught a Fiſh but by the Chaps, accounts it as his own; the Bird taken but by the Heel is a Prey unto the Fowler; the Jailer alſo holds his Priſoner by one Joint as ſafe as caſt in Iron Chains; then did I think, what do theſe Motions good, if not effected to the Full? What though not notorioufly evil, one Sin ſufficeth to condemn; and, is he guilty of all that is guilty of one? Then ſaid I unto the Lord, I will freely cleanſe my Ways and waſh my Hands in Innocency; I will take heed that I offend not with my Tongue. Lord, let my Thoughts be ſuch as I may always ſay, Try and examine me if there be any Unrighteouſneſs in me.

Sir *Gervaſe Elwis.*

A Diſcourſe touching *Tangier*. In a Letter to a Perſon of Quality. To which is added, The Intereſt of *Tangier*. By another Hand. *London*, printed in the Year 1680. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

Honoured Sir,

I Remember at our Parting I made you a Promiſe to gratify your Curioſity, the beſt I could, with an Abſtract of my Judgment and Obſervations touching his Majeſty's City and Port of *Tangier*; and had obeyed you long ſince, had not my Head been rather oppreſſed than employed, by the unexpected Difficulties of my toilſome Charge; which, to this Day, render me ſo little Maſter of my Reſolutions, that the few Minutes I borrow, like broken Slumbers, ſcarce afford me Leave to reflect ſeriouſly on any other Subject. Be pleaſed therefore to take this ſhort Account only, as an Earneſt of what you may farther expect, when with more Freedom of Thought I ſhall be enabled to ſend you a Preſent of the ſame Kind, better worth your Acceptance.

Tangier, according to remoteſt Accounts, I find to have been a Colony of the *Romans*; which conquering People did from thence lead their Armies, by which they ſubdued all that Part of *Africa*. They called a great Province by that Name; and thought it ſo well worth their Labour, that they planted, peopled, and built it to the Magnitude of the greateſt Cities; as we find by the Fragments of their Structures, where-ever we have Occaſion to break Ground in the Fields; and by the noble Aquæducts, ſome whereof to this Day ſupply the Town with Water, ſaid to be the beſt in the World. But, by the Declenſion of that Monarchy, it ſhrunk by Degrees to the Dimenſion it now bears.

It was here the *Moors* formed, and from hence proſecuted, their great Deſign of conquering *Spain*; the advantageous Situation whereof is thought to have not only encouraged thoſe Infidels to the Attempt, but lent them ſuch Aids as mainly conduced to their Succeſs.

At length, about the Year 1474, while the Princes of *Barbary* were at War amongſt themſelves, this, with other Towns upon the Coaſt, fell into the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, *&c.*

Upon his Majeſty's Marriage with our preſent Queen, *Tangier* was given in Part of her Dowry: A Capitulation much oppoſed by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and gave that Government ſo much Apprehenſion, that, upon his Majeſty's Sending ſo great a Gariſon as he did upon our firſt Poſſeſſing it, jealous what Deſign there might be, withdrew a great Part of their Army from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, and quartered them along the Coaſt of *Andaluſia*, to have an Eye upon our Motions: By which State-contrivance, as is thought, of the *Portugueſe*, they got the Reſpite of one whole Campaign from the Incurſions of the *Spaniard*. This I the rather mention to excite our own Value for *Tangier*, which barely our Poſſeſſion of gives other Princes ſo much Caution.

This ſufficing for the Hiſtorical Part of *Tangier*, to the Time of his Majeſty's poſſeſſing it; I will now proceed, with the Brevity of Letter, to treat upon the Four following Heads, *viz.*

The Service *Tangier* has already rendered the Crown.

What Service it may render it, if improved.

The Miſchief it may do us, if poſſeſſed by any other powerful Prince.

Some general Obſervations touching Trade.

Tangier is, as I have obſerved, ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that it ſurveys the greateſt Thorough-fare of Commerce in the World; having in one View almoſt the whole Sea comprehended between the four Capes of *Travalgar*, *Gibraltar*, *Spartel*, and *Ceuta*; thoſe on the *European*, theſe on the *African* Shore: So that no Ship or Veſſel can paſs in or out of the *Mediterranean*, unobſerved from thence.

It comes therefore to paſs, by Means of this narrow Gap or Inlet, that Men of War, Pirates and Corſairs of all Nations, covet to ply and cruiſe in and about that Station, where they are ſure to ſpeak with all Ships that paſs.

Here it was, that a Squadron of the *Dutch* on two ſeveral Occaſions, during that War, lay in Wait for our *Newfound-land* Fleet, who had no Recourſe for Safety but to *Tangier*, where they were protected and ſecured, till the Danger was over: The greateſt Part whereof had otherwiſe demonſtrably fallen into the Enemy's Hands.

It was on this Station that Sir *Thomas Allen*, during the firſt *Dutch* War, encountered their *Smyrna* Fleet; and here, in the laſt War with *Algier*, a whole Squadron of *Turks* fell into our Hands at once, and were all deſtroyed: And both then, and ſince by Sir *John Narbrough*, there has been by a manifold Degree more Miſchief done to that Enemy on this Station, than in all the Ocean beſides; and we have frequent Examples of ſingle Ships being chaced into this Port for Shelter.

To this Port, upon the Breaking out of the laſt *Dutch* War, was ſent us Advice of a Squadron of their Merchant-ſhips, that were bound from *Malaga* Homeward, but ill guarded, with an exact Account when they were to depart: Which Squadron we encountered; and, had the Affair been more fortunately managed, they had all fallen into our Hands; though, as it was, the greateſt Part were deſtroyed and taken.

To this Place, on divers Occaſions, both by Sea and Land, we have received Notice from *Sallee*, and other Places on the Coaſt, of proper Seaſons wherein to attack that Enemy, and have often ſucceeded in our Attempts upon thoſe Intimations: And, I think, I may with good Aſſurance aver, that, by the Advantage of this Place, we have deſtroyed more of thoſe Pirates, than all Nations beſides put together, who have been induſtrious, to their Power, to prejudice them; eſpecially the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueſe*.

And yet, farther to ſhew you how this Place has been already uſeful, let it be remembered, that during the Plague in *England*, when it was penal in the higheſt Degree in *Spain*, to hold the leaſt Commerce with us; notwithſtanding the Hazard they ran, the *Spaniards* themſelves came over by Stealth, and, by Degrees, did here ſupply their Wants, without paying Cuſtom either here or there; this Place being the general Magazine to all the Coaſt along.

What Quantities of *French* Commodities were lodged here, during their War with *Spain*, and were by little and little in *Spaniſh* Veſſels fetched over, and put on Board their Galleons when they were ready to receive them, without ever landing them?

With what Eaſe and Expedition did Sir *John Narbrough*, the laſt Year, careen and refit the Ships under his Command within the Mole; where we had neither Hulk, nor any Sort of Proviſion for that Service? When I often heard him ſay, with great Satisfaction, That he would undertake to refit a Squadron in half the Time, and with half the Charge, that it could be done any where elſe out of *England*: And I think I do not give him more than his Due, if I preſume to ſay, he is as qualified for Credit in that Particular, as any Man whatever of his Profeſſion.

How many Merchant-ſhips, in Peril by Diſtreſs of Weather, have been relieved and preſerved by the Aſſiſtance they have received from hence?

I could alſo inſiſt on the Damages done on the *French*, from this Place, during our War with them.

Nor have the Advantages been ſmall, ariſing from conſiderable Quantities of *Engliſh* Merchandiſe, Manufactures, &c. diſpoſed of hence into *Barbary*; but, having an Eye to my Promiſe of writing you only a Letter, I ſhall, in a Word, as to this firſt Head, only ſay, That *Tangier* may be juſtly reckoned to have gone far towards the Recompenſing to the Government the Charge, his Majeſty has been at, in its Preſervation and Improvement: And if, while in its Infancy, when there could be no juſt Regulation of the Charge, nor the Place framed and cultivated fully up to the Uſes and Ends of the Government, we can demonſtrably make ſuch a Calculation, What may be hoped from it, when, beſides the large Retrenchment, it has already admitted in its Charge to the King, we ſhall be able to demonſtrate ſo many farther extraordinary Services, it is capable of rendering the Crown, as I doubt not to prove in the following Section?

Which

Which is to ſhew wherein, and to what Degree, *Tangier* is applicable to the Ends and Uſes of the Government.

I think I may challenge Mankind to point me out, in the whole Globe of the Earth, a Spot of Ground ſo improveable of the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, as *Tangier*.

What is it has rendered *England* ſo formidable, ſo rich, and ſo renowned a Kingdom, but the Strength of our Navies, and Univerſality of our Commerce? For our Fleets might grow till they rot, and our Mines remain in the Bowels of their Mother; our People ruſt into the Barbarity of their Anceſtors, and our Nation become a Prey to every aſpiring Monarch, did not this mighty Machine ſet all Heads and Hands at Work, quicken our Underſtandings, and poliſh our Manners, and, from an Object otherwiſe of Pity, or Contempt, render us the greateſt Pattern in the World of the Power of Induſtry, the Fountain of all the Bleſſings we enjoy; and, becauſe there are many various Wheels and Motions therein, Why ſhould not *Tangier* be eſteemed among the principal of thoſe Movements, which keep this vaſt Engine going?

Firſt, In Reſpect of *Spain*, in Caſe of a War with that People: He, who knows any Thing, is not ignorant, that the Damages, we ſuſtain by ſuch a War, are more through the Embargo of a free and open Commerce with them, ſo uſeful and profitable to this Nation, that it becomes a Doubt, whether it be not of more Account, than one Half of the Trade we have with all *Europe* beſides; I ſay, the Miſchief, in ſuch Caſe, will be more by a Suſpenſion of our Commerce, than any great Damage can accrue to us by their Hoſtilities. If ſo, then I undertake to ſay, That *Tangier* is able in a good Degree, if not totally, to anſwer this great Objection: For, by Vertue of our Vicinity with *Spain*, eſpecially the five principal Ports of *Seville*, *Cadiz*, *St. Lucar*, *Port St. Mary's*, and *Malaga*; and, by the Convenience of a good Harbour here (which, by the Succeſs of the Mole, is now well-nigh effected) our Nation there, in Caſe of a War, may remove and ſettle their Factories here; which, both for the Safety of their Perſons, as well as Eſtates, they need not be invited to do, having, to my certain Knowledge, ſundry Times been upon the Point of taking that Reſolution, like one Man, by ſome Jealouſies they have had of Miſunderſtandings likely to enſue betwixt us and that People; and, Affairs being once ſo ſettled, the *Spaniards* themſelves, as their Occaſions preſs them, will take Care to be ſupplied from hence; as in the Inſtance I have given, during the Plague in *England*. By this Means our Eſtates run no Hazard of Seizure, or Confiſcation; we ſhall be able to put off our Commodities at better Rates, and the King of *Spain* wholly deprived of his Cuſtoms; *Tangier* itſelf becomes a proportionable Gainer by the Bargain, and his Majeſty's Subjects reſt under the Protection of their own Country Laws and Government, and in the Liberty of the Exerciſe of their own Religion.

Thus, as, on the one Hand, *Tangier* renders a War with *Spain* leſs burdenſome to us, by ſo preſerving the Commerce unbroken; ſo, by its advantageous Situation, and Improvement to a good Port, it would prove ſo great a Thorn in their Sides, by the inceſſant Hoſtilities we ſhould commit upon them (for it is not two Hours Sail from *Tangier* to the Coaſt of *Spain*) the Hazard and Obſtruction of their *Weſt-India* Trade, the Ruining their Commerce one with another all along the Coaſt of *Andaluſia*, which would certainly enſue; and the ſundry other Damages, by the Help of *Tangier*, too long to enumerate, or not at preſent occurring to my Obſervation: All this, I ſay, put together, ſeems to me to yield Matter ſufficient to furniſh us with the higheſt Sentiments of Eſtimation for *Tangier*, though no other Conſideration were put into the Scale. For, if this whole Theory, or *Poſtulata*, be true (as a good Deal is proved by Matter of Fact, and the reſt not to be diſproved, but as Time muſt try) then I may undertake to ſay, That our Nation ſeems, by *Tangier*, to have gained this great Point, which is, That if, heretofore, the Reaſons touching the Importance of preſerving our Commerce with *Spain* have, for the moſt Part, been found ſuperior to the Motives, though great, which that People may, by their Affronts and Injuries, have given his Majeſty of Reſentment; thoſe Arguments, I ſay, are, by Means of *Tangier*, removed, and his Majeſty in a better State of demanding Satisfaction, or doing himſelf Right; or the *Spaniard*, hereby become conſcious of the Diſadvantage, deterred from thoſe Provocations. And, that they are apprehenſive of the Benefits thus accruing by our

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*, is every Day viſible from the Pains they take to diſcourage its Proſperity, by obſtructing, by all Ways poſſible, our Supplies of whatever Kind from thence, eſpecially of Materials for Carrying on the Mole, *&c.* whereof they are in great Fear; ſo that, if poſitive Arguments in our Favour were leſs cogent, the bare Opinion they have, of the Uſe that may be made of *Tangier* to their Prejudice, ought to beget in any reaſonable Man, who loves, and has any Regard to the Honour and Welfare of his Country, proportionable Wiſhes for its Encouragement.

But, leaving *Spain*, let us proceed to obſerve what may be of Remark touching *Tangier*, with Reſpect to *France*.

The *French* Commerce with *Spain*, and their Intereſt in the *Spaniſh* Galleons and Flota, has been univerſally concluded equivalent to Half the Nations of *Europe* beſide; and they have more Buſineſs in and about this Station, and frequent the *Streights* Mouth with more Shipping, of one Sort or another, than any two Nations in *Chriſtendom*; from whence our Ships, riding at Anchor, may weigh, or ſlip, and ſpeak with all that paſs in, or out. Now, What an Awe will *Tangier* bear on ſuch a People? And what greater Bleſſing can a maritime Nation, as *England* is, ſo juſtly jealous of their Honour and Authority Abroad, aſk of God Almighty, than to be Poſſeſſors of a Place productive of ſo many eminent Services? A Place capable of yielding ſo many good Offices to ourſelves and Friends, and ſo much Annoyance to its moſt powerful Enemy? This I mean, who, in our Age, has ſucceeded ſo far in its Deſign of rivalling us in the darling Privilege and Prerogative of our Dominion upon the Sea; and, how far it behoves us to cheriſh the Means, that Providence affords, and Nature ſeems to mark out for our Improvement, towards the Attaining of ſo important an End, let every honeſt *Engliſhman* judge. And, from *France*, let us proceed to *Holland*.

During the firſt *Dutch* War, *Tangier* was in its Infancy, the Mole of little Benefit, nor were the Miniſters then ſo much enlightened in its Uſefulneſs; inſomuch that, during that War, the *Hollanders*, eſpecially towards the latter End of the War, did, with a ſmall Squadron of Ships, ſcour the whole *Mediterranean*; and, what with that, and the Preference they then found in the *Spaniſh* Ports, they gained much upon us in thoſe Parts. But in the laſt War it was quite otherwiſe; for, upon the Damage we did their *Malaga* Fleet from *Tangier*, as I have already obſerved, and the Care then taken to have Ships upon that Station, it is obſervable, they ſcarce had any Trade within the *Mediterranean* afterwards, during the War; for the *Dutch* are a frugal and wiſe People, and, when the Charge of their Convoys grows in any Degree burdenſome, they chuſe rather to ſuſpend their Trade, than proſecute it with any extraordinary Expence, or Hazard, eſpecially that of the *Mediterranean*.

Now, if *Tangier* can produce ſuch Effects in our Favour, in Caſe of a War with *Holland*, as it has done, and may yet do in a much greater Degree; and if it can be in the like Manner of Uſe to the *Dutch*, in Caſe of a War betwixt them and *Spain*, as it has been to *France* during that War, then let us allow it an additional Share in our Praiſe and Eſtimation, and cheriſh it in Proportion to theſe farther Benefits. And now for *Algier*:

Algier is a Den of ſturdy Thieves formed into a Body, by which, after a tumultuary Sort, they govern, having the Grand Signior for their Protector, who ſupplies them with native *Turks* for their Soldiery, which is the greateſt Part of their Militia; and they, in Acknowledgment, lend him their Ships, when his Affairs require it. They are grown a rich and powerful People, and, by a long Practice of Piracy, become good Seamen; and, when preſſed by our Men of War, as of late we have experimented, they fight and defend themſelves like brave Men, inferior, I am perſuaded, to no People whatever. They have no Commerce, and ſo are without any Taſte of the Benefits of Peace; whence their Life becomes a continual Practice of Robbery, and, like Beaſts of the Deſart, they only forbear to worry, where by Fear, not Honeſty, they are deterred; and yet, when Hunger pinches, and a good Morſel lies in their Way, they will venture hard for their Prey, as may appear by the Occaſions given by them for this and the laſt Wars.

The *Algerines*, I ſay, having no Merchantſhips, nor any Trade of their own with other Nations, know nothing of the Motives, Chriſtian Princes generally have, of War and Peace; ſo that their Polity and Rule is, Whom and how they may rob and plunder with

with greateſt Impunity. Therefore with ſome Nations they will have no Peace at all, becauſe they can deſpoil them without Hazard; with others, as ourſelves, they will ſometimes liſten to Propoſals of Peace, but not ſo long as they can reimburſe themſelves upon our Merchant-men what they ſuffer by our Men of War. Now it is worth one's While to conſider how this wild Beaſt may be tamed, ſo pernicious to the Trade of the Kingdom; and how far *Tangier* may lend a helping Hand in the Bringing it to paſs.

I have already given you an Account of the Advantage we have of Situation, and how improvable towards the obtaining Dominion in and about theſe Seas; and of the Damage the Ships of *Algier* have already received on this Station, by the Help of *Tangier*.

The *Algerines*, above all others, when at Peace with us, do infeſt theſe Seas; this Station being ſeldom without ſome or other of them cruiſing in Sight of the Port; where they frequently come to an Anchor, and water, and ſupply themſelves with Neceſſaries, ſell their Prizes, and reap great Benefits by the Place.

They have it alſo in their Inſtructions from the Government, to call here, and obſerve how the Mole advances, and the Place thrives; and I have been told by the Captains themſelves, who proteſt, that nothing gives them ſo much Dread, as the Apprehenſion they have of the Uſe we may make of *Tangier* againſt them. Inſomuch, that, when the Galley arrived that was preſented to his Majeſty, the *Algerines* looked upon themſelves as half undone; as the Captain of the *Mary-gold*, the laſt *Turks* Prize, who was taken off of *Tangier* this War, aſſured me. Our Galley-Frigates likewiſe gave them great Awe, as they ſtill do; being a Sort of Veſſels which, by the Help of *Tangier*, may be much improved to their Annoyance. And, if his Majeſty would pleaſe farther to order the Building of Veſſels of War proper and peculiar to this Service and theſe Seas, he would quickly ſee the good Effect it would produce, in bringing that People to know themſelves: For though ſome of our *Engliſh* Veſſels ſail as well as the *Algerines*, when clean; yet ſuch are yet but a few, and we muſt alſo ſail a good deal better than they, to do our Buſineſs upon them. Nor is it leſs demonſtrable to me than a Problem in Geometry, however it may ſeem not ſo much our preſent Subject, that we may build Ships that ſhall in a manifold Degree out-ſail our beſt Sailers: Theſe Ships need be but few, and of little Charge, and ſhould be always kept in thoſe Seas, both in War and Peace. For it is the Occaſion makes the Thief; and a Coaſt or Place unguarded is neglected: What ſignify the ſtrongeſt Walls unmanned; or all the Advantages of Nature, if Induſtry be wanting in their Application?

Tangier well-managed may be rendered the greateſt Scourge in the *Algerines* in the World; and may afford them the beſt Effects of Friendſhip. For if in Time of War we can force them from this ſo beloved Station, and attack them or their Prizes bound in or out; and in Time of Peace, which we cannot refuſe them, they can be admitted to make Uſe of *Tangier*, and the Port, as their Occaſions require; they may perform their Voyages in half the Time, and with half the Trouble of returning Home to refit and victual. For theſe Foxes prey remote from their Holes; and, for one Prize they take in the *Mediterranean*, take ten in the wide Ocean. So that in their Return Homewards, if they can diſpoſe of their Purchaſe at better Rates here than they can have there, and refit again cheaper; What ſhould diſcourage their Embracing the Advantage, which will be great to them, and proportionably ſo to us, by the Sale of their Purchaſe amongſt us, *&c.*?

But, ſays an honeſt Man, and a good Chriſtian, This would be a Scandal to *Chriſtendom*. To which I reply, It is not thought ſo by the moſt Chriſtian King; nor muſt we think ſo, if we conſider them a Government, qualified to treat with Chriſtian Princes, as we do; for do not we enter into Articles of Peace with them, which are formally agreed to, and mutually ratified? If ſo, how can we refuſe them any thing to which Friendſhip may give them a Title?

Now, if what I have obſerved, touching the Government of *Algier*, bear any Weight; then this muſt follow, that, upon Conviction of the Premiſſes, they will always eſteem Peace with *England* more eligible than War; and no Temptation whatſoever, as heretofore, can be believed will ſuperſede Arguments of ſo much Force as thoſe we have noted. If ſo, then upon this ſingle Bottom, ſeparate from any of the foregoing Remarks, we may build

Reaſon

Reaſon ſufficient to fortify my Poſition, for the Cheriſhing and Encouraging of this important Place by all Means poſſible. For, if *Tangier* ſhall appear ſo materially inſtrumental in preſerving a perpetual Peace with *Algier*; then hence alone the Expence of keeping it is abundantly defrayed to the Government.

For the Charge of one *Algier* War, abſtracted from the Conſideration of the Spoils they commit upon our Commerce during ſuch War; I ſay, the Money expended for carrying on, and ſupporting of one ſuch War, being put into Bank, would at 6 *per Cent.* produce more than the annual Charge of maintaining the Place. If ſo, how may we then reckon of *Tangier*, conſidered conjunctively of all the foregoing Calculations of Benefit that have been produced in its Favour? Then, as for *Sallee:*

Sallee is a Government depending on the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*. They have but ſmall Ships; the Bar before the Port not affording Depth for Veſſels of above ten or twelve Feet Draught of Water. All the Winter they lie ſtill. For, after the South-weſt Winds have blown, there comes in ſo great a Swell of a Sea upon the Bar, that it is not paſſable: So that this is a Summer Enemy, and a very poor one too, if we would be perſuaded to have an Eye to them, as we ought. For I'll undertake, with three or four ſmall Frigates, ſuch as the *Drake*, *Lark*, &c. which on Occaſion of Neap Tides, when they (I mean the *Sallee-men*) have not Water to go in and out, ſhould clean and re-victual at *Tangier*, and ſo return upon that Station; thoſe inconſiderable Rogues would by ſuch Care be ſoon reduced to nothing; and yet, when left to their Liberty, they do a great deal of Miſchief to ſmall Merchant-men.

The Benefit ariſing by thus awing thoſe People, beſides that of our ſmall Craft, will be, that it will in two or three Years bring the greateſt Part of the Trade of *Barbary* to *Tangier*; as by reaſon of the Plague has been already made good: For, while the Infection of thoſe Countries kept People from Trading thither, all, or the greateſt Part of their Commerce was by *Tangier*; and a War, diligently managed by thoſe ſmall Frigates, may produce the ſame Effect. Beſides, it will teach them to value our Friendſhip, and help us to a better Underſtanding with them at *Tangier*, and in all Likelihood gain us a Point of great Advantage; which is, to treat and conclude a Peace with them on equal Terms. For, to buy a Peace, as hath been the Practice hitherto, is ſo mean and diſhonourable, and gives them ſo much Contempt for our Friendſhip, that it is not to be ſupported.

Now, if theſe Ends are to be obtained, as I am truly convinced they may, it will be wholly owing to *Tangier*. Which having ſaid, I proceed to my third and laſt Head.

If *Tangier* be a Jewel of ſo many extraordinary Virtues, and ſo peculiar to the Uſe and Service of the *Engliſh* Nation, it were a great Deal of Pity it ſhould adorn any Prince's Crown but his who wears it: For, it is but inverting the Argument, and the Artillery is traverſed upon ourſelves, and all theſe Cordials become ſo many Corroſives. For, though the bare Loſs, or Want of theſe Benefits, to a Nation in our Circumſtances, would be Misfortune enough; yet, when out of this Privation of Good, which is a conſequential Damage, ſhall be propagated ſo many more and greater poſitive Evils to us, than its Poſſeſſion promiſes of Service (for ſuch will be the Conſequence, if *Tangier*, which God forbid, ſhould come into the Poſſeſſion of the *French*) With what Care and Tenderneſs ought the Government to cheriſh it, and labour to ſecure it and the Nation, againſt ſuch a Hazard? The Trade of *England* into the *Mediterranean* is equal, if not exceeding all other Nations put together. Can any Thing then challenge a greater Share in our Eſteem, than the Means which inſure this mighty Benefit to us? Shall Princes war one upon another for the Sake of a paltry Town, upon the Paſs of a ſimple River; and ſhall not we think it worth our While to preſerve a Place of this Importance; ſo productive of Good on the one Hand, or Evil on the other? A Place ſo improveable of the ambitious Purpoſes of the *French*, that, were it in their Hands, it would wound us in ſo many tender Places, that, as we ſhould be always groaning under the Weight, ſo we ſhould never wipe off the Imputation ſuch a Loſs would faſten upon us. We are juſt now alarmed with the News of *Tangier*'s being to be ſold to the *French*. But we have a wiſe Prince, learned beyond his Predeceſſors in the Intereſts and Advantages of Navigation and Commerce, and a great Promoter thereof: Nor is his Royal Highneſs, who has ſignaliſed himſelf ſo much, to the Nation's, and his own Glory, by his ſingular Applications

Applications to the like Study, ſo ill-poſſeſſed of the Value of this Place, to concur in any Deliberations of that Kind. So that I reckon this Rumour but amongſt the other Libels againſt the Government.

How clamorous was our Nation upon the Diſpoſing of *Dunkirk* to the *French*, though the Charge of Keeping it was ſcarce ſupportable; and, in caſe of a War with that People, hardly tenable? Though the Uſe of it was only, in ſome Degree, privative of Benefit to an Enemy in caſe of War, but of no poſitive Profit to us in Time of Peace; and yet, whenſoever a Privateer or two, ſailing out of that Port, ſhall annoy us but never ſo little in Time of War, the Complaint is renewed, and that Proceeding cenſured a-freſh: How would that Miniſter then be abſolved with the People, who ſhould adviſe the Parting with *Tangier*, where our little Finger would be more felt, than our Loins here?

But I have heard grave Men ſay, *Tangier* is a great Charge to the Nation. It is a Charge, it is true; but I ſhew what it has already done towards the Defraying it; and, to what an abundant Degree it will hereafter come to diſcount the Expence. A firſt Rate Ship, in Time of War, is as great a Charge to the King, as *Tangier* is; and yet, Did ever any Body complain that our Ships were a Burthen, or our Fleets too numerous, when there was Occaſion for their Service? Does not *Tangier* live principally upon the Growth and Product of *England*, and the Money, for the moſt Part, circulate amongſt ourſelves? Is the King's Treaſure miſemployed there? Do not we ſee every Day the Place improve; the Mole in a good Forwardneſs? Which Expence too will ſoon be at an End. Are there not many uſeful Proviſions made, for the Encouraging of Shipping and Commerce? And, Are we not ſenſible of it, by the Increaſe and Improvement thereof? For I remember the Time, when a Boat from *Spain* would draw down half the Town to the Water-ſide; whereas, now, a Squadron of Ships ſcarce excites that Curioſity.

Leghorn, now a famous Port, and Scale of Trade, was, in this Duke of *Florence*'s Grandfather's Time, a poor Fiſher-Town. Maturity is the Child of Time; and, though God Almighty may blaſt the beſt formed Purpoſes, yet Nothing, humanly ſpeaking, can prevent our Fruition of the great Benefits I have enumerated, if we but apply the Means; which in a few Words, are theſe:

To proſecute vigorouſly the Works of the Mole; which, in two or three Years, may render it a noble and ſafe Port.

To fortify the Town to the Landward; which Work ſhould go Hand in Hand with the Mole; leſt, when it ſhall appear worth a Conqueſt, our Weakneſs ſhould betray us.

To have a Gariſon conſiſting of two-thouſand Foot, in two Regiments, and three hundred Horſe, to be well and duly paid, and to be recruited once in three or four Years, by Draughts out of the Guards: By which Means we ſhould always have a ſtrong, orderly, and well-diſciplined Soldiery; and not Vagabonds, and raw, miſerable, ſhiftleſs Wretches, ſuch as raiſed Men, for the moſt Part, prove; whereof, ſcarce the one Half ſurvive their Seaſoning.

The Punctuality of Relieving the Gariſon, as has been of late reſolved, will alſo keep them in Heart, chearful in their Duty, and not put them upon ſuch deſperate Courſes, as many of them, in melancholy drunken Fits, have taken, by running to the *Moors*, where, to the Scandal of our Religion, they either turn Renegadoes, or remain in perpetual Slavery. The Health of the Gariſon will alſo, by this Practice, be preſerved; for the Soldiers Diet, being ſalt Meat, diſpoſes them, in two or three Years, to inveterate ill Habits of Body, Obſtructions, Scurvies, Fluxes, *&c.* Whereof, by Reaſon of returning to the ſame Diet again, when a little mended by the Care of the Phyſician, they relapſe; and Nothing, but Removing them to a better, can recover them.

By this Courſe, I ſay, *Tangier* would be the deſirableſt Place, for a Soldier, in the World, where they neither feel Hunger, or Cold, nor Exceſs of Heat; the Duty eaſy, unleſs now and then, when the Gariſon is thin of Men; where an induſtrious Man can never want Work, and is no where better rewarded: In brief, it is a Place that, inſtead of a Sepulchre, as ſome call it, will, by this Method, become a Nurſery of brave Men; where, if they die in the Field, as ſome now and then do, they have their Reward in Heaven: If they ſurvive to ſee their Country, they will be cheriſhed and conſidered at Home, as Men of Honour and Merit, who have drawn their Swords, and ſerved their King and Country, againſt the

Enemies of our Religion, and of God himſelf.

The Uſe of Horſe is of ſo great Importance, to the Safety and Tranquillity of the Place, that I take it for granted we ſhall never be free from the Inſults of the *Moors*, till our Horſe ſhall be augmented to the aforeſaid Number.

The Strength of all the Chriſtian Garriſons upon this Coaſt, principally conſiſts in Horſe: Which Example alone might ſuffice for our Inſtruction, for we are but of Yeſterday; and their Practice the Reſult of ſome Ages of Experience, which is the beſt Guide.

This Town was once preſerved, or rather recovered, by the Bravery and opportune Service of the Horſe; for, the Caſtle being ſurpriſed in the Night, by the Enemies privately getting in over a low and defective Part of the Wall, the Horſe, taking the Alarm in the Town, mounted, and, before they could get Poſſeſſion of the Draw-bridge, got in, attacked, and defeated them; who had otherwiſe demonſtrably remained with Victory.

I am bold alſo to ſay, and it is the Opinion of others, who were upon the Place, That, had our Horſe, the Day the Earl of *Tiviot* was loſt, performed their Duty, that great Man, and the major Part of thoſe with him, had eſcaped the fatal Slaughter.

With ſuch a Strength of Horſe as this I propoſe, we ſhall not be only able to perform with Eaſe what is yet wanting for the fortifying and ſecuring the Ground we have gained, but deprive the Enemy of the Profit they make by the Tillage and Paſture of the Country round about us: For they will be neceſſitated either to keep an Army conſtantly in the Field, which we know they cannot; to loſe the Benefit and Fruits of one of the fertileſt Spots of Ground in the World; or allot us ſuch Conditions, as ſhall render us in a ſafe, eaſy, and plentiful Eſtate; which I take Aſſurance to affirm we ſhall, in ſuch Caſe, eaſily obtain.

As the Benefits we ſhall reap by ſuch a Number of Horſe, prudently managed, will be very great; ſo the Hardſhips we ſhall ſuffer, without them, will be inſuperable: For the Ground about *Tangier* being uneven, broken, and proper for Ambuſhes; our Foot will never be able to do any thing to the Purpoſe, but in Conjunction of a proportionable Number of Horſe, to diſcover and clear the Ground, relieve and ſuccour them when preſſed, and ſecure their Retreat when out-numbered, and forced to retire.

Our Fortifications alſo, relieving our Forts, and many other eminent Services, will be but very imperfectly performed, without the Aſſiſtance of a good Body of Horſe.

The Fruits of this Care and Charge will be reaped, in the Benefits reſulting by the Trade and Commerce it will beget and eſtabliſh here; for, upon a ſecure Proſpect of Safety to Goods and Merchandiſe, both by Sea and Land, Exemption from publick Charges and Duties, and a general Concurrence of all Circumſtances of Eaſe and Expedition in importing and exporting of Goods, it will, in Time, render *Tangier* the general Magazine of all the Merchandiſe from the *Levant* appointed for the Trade of the *Spaniſh Indies*, as it will of our *Northern* Commodities of greateſt Value: For the exorbitant, or rather inſupportable Duties upon Goods in *Spain* puts all People upon By-ways, and ſecret hazardous Practices, in the ſhipping and diſpoſing of their Commodities; and while *Tangier* can yield ſo good Encouragement, conſidered with the Benefits of its Vicinity with *Spain*, all People will covet to lodge their Eſtates there, where the whole Charge (beſides their being out of the Reach of Danger of Seizure) of Regiſter-money, which is our Quarter *per Cent.* there collected, Commiſſion, Porterage, Freight to *Cadiz*, *&c.* will not amount to the Charge of half Freight, Guard-money, National Duties, and Warehouſe-room for two Months.

But there occurs one great and dangerous Impediment to the eſtabliſhing this Benefit at *Tangier*; and that is, the Diſputes that may ariſe, betwixt the *Engliſh* Conſuls in the *Spaniſh* Ports, and ſuch as ſhall ſo tranſport Goods from *Tangier*, upon which they may expect a Benefit: But this muſt be forbidden by all Means poſſible, by the ſtricteſt Significations of his Majeſty's Pleaſure in that Behalf, to his reſpective Conſuls upon the Coaſt; for there are ſo many Inconveniences accompanying ſuch a Permiſſion, as would quite deſtroy all Hopes of Succeſs in this Affair: And indeed, it is to be feared, this very Objection, or rather Impoſition, has already adminiſtered no ſmall Diſcouragement. But, as the Intereſt of private Men muſt ſubmit and give Place to publick Utility; ſo, in caſe it appear that this Proceeding ſhall, in any conſiderable Degree, affect

fect the Conſuls in the reſpective Profits and Emoluments of their Office, it may be recompenſed to them ſome other Way: But I do humbly propoſe it, as fundamental and irrevocable, that no Conſul whatſoever, of the *Engliſh* Nation, be permitted to exact or demand a Penny for any Goods exported from *Tangier*, to any of the *Spaniſh* Ports; but that a bare Certificate from the Government there, of ſuch Goods ſhipped either in *Engliſh* or foreign Veſſels, ſhall ſerve as an ample Acquitment, and intitle them to Exemption from all Scrutinies and Demands of the Conſuls, of any Kind whatſoever.

It is alſo humbly propoſed, That all Ships and Veſſels of War, as ſhall by Appointment attend the Gariſon and Port of *Tangier*, may have ſpecial Leave and Permiſſion from the Lord High Admiral of *England*, to receive on Board, and tranſport ſuch Goods to *Cadiz*, or any where in the Neighbourhood, as the Merchants ſhall have Occaſion to imbark; but not unleſs ſuch Ship or Veſſel be bound to ſuch and ſuch a Place for his Majeſty's Service. By this Means, Merchandiſe will go ſafer and cheaper, and obtain quicker Diſpatch; and the Trader, conſequently, another good Encouragement to proſecute this Way of Commerce.

It is farther humbly propoſed, That all Convoys outward-bound, which touch not at *Cadiz*, as the *Turkey* Ships, *&c.* may have Order to call at *Tangier*; as alſo all ſuch as are homeward-bound: Which being once become an eſtabliſhed Practice, People, as well Foreigners, as others, will lodge their Money there, to be imbarked for *Turkey*, *&c.* And, from the *Levant*, Merchants will load their Commodities deſigned for *Cadiz*, or the *Spaniſh Indies*, in *Engliſh* Bottoms, to be depoſited in *Tangier*, from whence they may require them as their Affairs ſhall govern: By which Means our Shipping alſo will be much encouraged. This I urge not but with Submiſſion to the Senſe of the *Turkey* Company, who are the fitteſt Judges how far ſuch a Practice may influence their Trade. And thus much touching Trade in general, with reſpect to *Tangier*.

There is no Poſition, as I have obſerved, that bears more of the Evidence of a Demonſtration, than that of the Reduceableneſs and Extirpation (by the Help of *Tangier*) of the Piracy of *Sallee*, and all the Coaſt of *Barbary*: Which, beſides the main Benefit of relieving the general Commerce, will bring, as a Conſequence, the greateſt Part of that Trade to *Tangier*. For thoſe ſmall Frigates as ſhall be employed againſt *Sallee* (with whom it is preſumed we are never to have a Peace, upon no Conſideration whatſoever) ſhall have it in their Inſtructions (as the *French* proceeded during their War with *Tunis*) to obſtruct all Commerce with that People, but by Way of *Tangier*; which may be done without any great Offence, by compelling ſuch as they find trading upon the Coaſt, to go to *Tangier*, there to unload, in order to the Searching after Contraband Goods; where, if they are found Guilty, as moſt Traders thither are, the Forfeiture of their Goods, and the Trouble that in ſuch Caſe will be given them, will be ſure to deter them from a ſecond Attempt: If they are Innocent, the Vexation of being carried out of their Way, their Detention at *Tangier*, the incident Charge, Expence of Time, Hazard, and one Incumbrance or another, will incline them either to forbear Trading to *Barbary* at all, or by Way of *Tangier*; where they will not fail of Encouragement: For, by thus obſtructing the Trade of *Sallee*, the *Moors*, pinched through the Want of our Commodities, will make their next Recourſe to *Tangier*, where finding good Reception and Diſpatch, the Commodities of the Country which were wont to be carried to *Sallee*, having no Vent there, will fail; and the Stream of Commerce of Courſe be diverted hither: And when once the Road is beaten, it will not be eaſily broken. This too, as it brings the *Moors* to ſeek us, will conſequently draw ſuch as were wont to trade to *Sallee*, to *Tangier*.

But it muſt be the Care of the Government here, to diſcourage to the utmoſt the Reſidence of *Engliſh* Factories any where upon the Coaſt, but at *Tangier*: By which Means Men's Perſons and Eſtates are ſecure againſt the Inſolence and Caprice of that barbarous People; who, upon trivial and unjuſt Pretences, make Seizure of all; whereof we have recent Inſtances, the Effect whereof we yet feel, and we at *Tangier* often become as it were Hoſtages, and compelled (neither to the Praiſe of our Honour, or Politicks) to make ſuch Conceſſions as are both dangerous and ſcandalous, and all out of a Tenderneſs to a ſtubborn, opinionative People, who, like

ſome Animals, rather than make a Step out of their Way, will go over a Houſe.

And here I may not omit to obſerve, that, as generous a People as we are, there are yet among us a Sort of Men of the moſt degenerate abandoned Principles, who continue that ſordid, or rather impious Practice of ſupplying theſe Infidels with Powder, Guns, and all Sorts of Warlike Stores, even while we are in effectual War with them both by Sea and Land; againſt not only the Law of Nations, but even Humanity itſelf: Which guilty, ſcandalous, and unchriſtian Proceeding I truſt to ſee puniſhed, as it deſerves; and if our Laws prove defective, in that Particular, our Legiſlators may be humbly moved to find Expedients in this Behalf.

The next uſeful Conſideration, towards the Improvement of the Place, is to encourage, by all Means poſſible, the Magiſtracy and Civil Government; and this will invite People of Subſtance to ſettle and abide here: The Reputation of our Juſtice and Probity will be a Means of ſupplying us with a greater Number of able and honeſt Citizens; and thoſe will ſupport the Honour of our Courts, and maintain the Dignity of a Corporation. This is very eſſential to the Eſtabliſhment of new Beginners, as we are; and, of all Points, the hardeſt to compaſs.

In the next Place, it is my humble Opinion, that his Majeſty might be prevailed with to let Leaſes to the Inhabitants, for ſuch a Term of Years as might encourage them to rebuild their Dwellings, which are much decayed, and will fall to the Ground, unleſs ſome ſuch Proviſion be made to prevent it: And this, in Time, will alſo much increaſe the publick Revenue.

I do farthermore humbly obſerve, That the Want of a poſitive Deciſion, touching the Freedom of the Port, has occaſioned much Contention and Inconvenience amongſt us; and great Hurt to the Place: For unleſs it be underſtood to be a free Port, as *Leghorn*, *Marſeilles*, *&c.* which Places ought to be our Rule and Example in that Particular; we ſhall be rather a Trap and a Snare to People, than an Encouragement and Protection. For many an honeſt Man's Misfortunes have reduced him to Poverty; and when invited hither, by a Notion of that Freedom and Liberty which other Ports, bearing that Title, yield to ſuch as put themſelves under their Protection, in Hopes of a peaceable Application to the repairing their broken Fortunes, they ſhall be here vexed and moleſted with Suits and Impriſonment; People will ſhun us, as an infected Place: And that great Benefit which other Ports of this Sort reap, and is ſo eſſential to the Growth and Proſperity of this, is forfeited. I would not here be underſtood to make *Tangier* a Den of Thieves, where *Barataria*, and other Enfamous Practices of ill Men, ſhould have incouragement; but humbly propoſe only, that our Superiors would pleaſe to inform themſelves, wherein thoſe Ports which are called Free differ from others, and what thoſe Exemptions and Privileges are which give them that Name; and from thence form and eſtabliſh ſuch a Conſtitution, as may for ever put us out of Pain: For this conſtructive, or rather equivocal Freedom, as I may call it, which we have hitherto been under, can never turn the Place to Account.

I might farther multiply Inſtances, wherein, in Time, by the Wiſdom and Favour of Authority, and the Care and Induſtry of the People, this Place may be rendered productive of ſundry profitable Improvements, touching Trade, Manufactures, Fiſheries of Tunny, Anchovies, *&c.* which in the End would ſupport the Government: But I here put an End to your Trouble, ſumming up all in this ſhort Animadverſion:

That *Tangier*, like the uſefulleſt Elements, as it may be made an admirable Servant; ſo it may be rendered a ſevere Maſter. 'Tis an Outwork of the Nation, which you know is a principal Strength of a Fortreſs; 'tis a ſafe Port, a Magazine, a Scale of Trade, and a Community of brave and loyal Men, where there is no Appearance of Faction againſt either Church or State. 'Tis a Place improveable to the utmoſt Degree of the Intereſt and Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, of Vexation and Damage to our Enemies, and Service to our Friends; and conſequently of influencing our Treaties and Alliances, with the moſt Powerful of our Neighbours. I have often heard the Earl of *Sandwich* obſerve all this, and more of *Tangier*; with whom it had ſo ſuperlative an Eſteem, that he was wont to ſay, if it could be walled and fortified with Braſs, it would repay the Charge: And I doubt not,

if our Misfortunes or Sins do not prevent it, but Poſterity, in the Annals of our Hiſtory, ſhall read the Acquiſition and Improvement of *Tangier* among the Felicities of his Majeſty's Reign; whom God Almighty proſper, and ſend us a happy Meeting; which is the conſtant Prayer of,

Tangier, *October*, 20, 1679.

Honoured Sir, *Your moſt humbleva and faithful Servant.*

The Intereſt of TANGIER.

TANGIER is as pleaſant a City as any in the World, in a moſt wholeſome Air, pure and free from all Infection, ſituate in a moſt rich and fruitful Soil, able to yield all Things needful to the Life of Man. There is no Pleaſure or Delight, but this Country, if open, would afford to the Inhabitants, without the Aſſiſtance of Foreign Nations. The Air is temperate, and cooled with the annual Breeſes in the Summer, called *Eteſian* Winds; and often purged from the Diſtempers, which might otherwiſe reign there, by the Eaſterly and Weſterly Winds. By this Means it happens that it is neither very hot in the Summer, nor exceſſive cold in the Winter, but temperate, and agreeable with the Diſpoſition of our human Bodies. The *Moors* thereabouts live commonly to a great Age: I have ſeen many amongſt them about Eighty or Ninety Years of Age, very luſty. And, ſince *Tangier* belonged to *England*, none can ſay that ever the Plague hath been in that City, or that there hath been any Infection to carry away the Inhabitants, proceeding from the Air or Country. I confeſs many have died in this Place, but moſt through their own Follies, Debaucheries, and Luſt; which have deſtroyed here many of his Majeſty's good Subjects. If we could beg ſuch a Wind from Almighty God, as to drive from thence theſe Infections, our *Engliſh* Bodies would be very healthy, and *Tangier* would not be ſo odious to the Nation.

It was built by the *Phœnicians*, if *Procopius* may be believed: For he tells us of a Pillar near *Tingi*, where theſe Words were engraven in the *Phœnician* Language: *Nos fugimus à facie Joſuæ filii Nun.* They were then the greateſt Traders of the World; they choſe this Place for that Purpoſe, to inrich themſelves by that Art. Of all the Cities of the World, I know none better ſituate for Command and Trade than this: It lies at the Mouth and Paſſage of all the *Levant* Trade: No Ship can go in or out of the *Streights*, but *Tangier* muſt ſee it in the Day; and in the Night four or five Men of War cruiſing to and fro, ſome in, others out of the *Mediterranean*, may take all the Ships that ſail that Way: None can eſcape, without a ſtrong Convoy, which would be too chargeable for the *Dutch*, *French*, and other Northern Merchants. If *Algier* were ſituate where *Tangier* is now, all its Enemies muſt forbear Trading: And if *Tangier* were in the Hands of the *Moors*, or of the *French*, or ſome other Prince ſtrong at Sea, our Nation were undone, and our Merchants muſt bid Farewel to the *Streights* in Time of War. It is an eaſy Matter for the Prince of *Tangier* therefore to command our Northern World, and to give Laws to *Europe* and *Africa*. The Situation of *Rome*, of *Carthage*, of *Conſtantinople*, of *London*, *Paris*, and other Imperial Cities, is nothing near ſo advantageous for that Purpoſe as *Tangier*, if all Things be conſidered.

The Country and Soil is fruitful in Corn, Honey, Cattle, Beef, Sheep, Goats, Camels, Horſes, and Buffles. The Woods are full of Bees, and wild Beaſts that have excellent Furs. The Earth would bear good Wines of all Sorts; for there are the ſweeteſt Grapes of the World.

Here are all Manner of Eaſtern Fruits, Pomegranates, Oranges, Melons, Lemons, Figs, *&c.* So that, if our *Engliſh* did husband the Ground about *Tangier*, there is nothing that we fetch from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Greece*, or *France*, but we might have it there. It is the neareſt Plantation that belongs to *England*, within a Fortnight or three Weeks Sailing from the *Downs*. So that, if all Things be conſidered, it ſeems no little Wonder that *Tangier* hath not flouriſhed, ſince it is in the Hands of ſuch a powerful Nation as the *Engliſh*. But our Unhappineſs there is not to be aſcribed to the Place, the Air, or Country, but to ſeveral other Things, which I ſhall here ſet down, not only for the publick Satisfaction, but

but that we may underſtand the true Cauſes of the People's Averſion for *Tangier*, and be better able to remove them for the Future.

First, I ſhall begin with Religion. It was never there truly encouraged, but in the ſhort Governments of the Earl of *Tiviot* and Colonel *Norwood*. We can never expect a City will flouriſh, when all manner of Debaucheries, Profaneneſs, Irreligion, and Idolatry, ſhall have the Liberty to appear without a Check; when the Governors themſelves have been the Examples to encourage the Contempt of Virtue and Piety; when either openly or privately they have made it their Buſineſs to ruin the Proteſtant Intereſt, and to call thoſe Perſons in queſtion for their Lives, who have been the greateſt Supporters of it. Let profane Men think what they will, there was never yet a City or a Nation that ever proſpered ſince the Beginning of the World, that ſlighted the Religion of the Country. The *Romans* Proſperity is aſcribed by St. *Auſtin* to their ſincere Profeſſion of their Idolatries. In *Tangier* too many have caſt off all Reſpects due to the God that hath made them, and mind nothing but Debauchery and Lewdneſs: Others have hearkened to the Sollicitations of ſome Popiſh Prieſts, and make Profeſſion of that Religion, that they might, by the Means of their Abſolutions, enjoy their Vices and Filthineſs without Remorſe of Conſcience. For the Benefit of Trade, and the Encouragement of Strangers, all Sorts of Religions ſhould be allowed; but it is againſt all Policy, that the *Engliſh* Subjects and Officers, that receive from the King their Livelihood, ſhould be ſuffered to change their Religions as often as their Garments, and want only to profeſs which they pleaſe. Not only from hence but from ſeveral other Paſſages, Religion hath received great Diſcouragement, to the open Scandal of the Proteſtant Profeſſion, and the Diſhonour of the Church of *England* in the Eyes of the Nations round about.

The ſecond Cauſe of *Tangier*'s Unhappineſs is, that moſt of the Perſons, that have been ſent thither, have never intended to inhabit there, but have been needy, and greedy, and have only deſigned to live there a While to fill their Purſes, and then to return for *England* with their Gains. By this Means the ſober Inhabitants of *Tangier*, from whoſe Induſtry and good Behaviour only we can reaſonably expect Proſperity, impoveriſh the City, and diſcourage the reſt. And many other Inconveniencies proceed from hence, to his Majeſty's Prejudice, and of the Place. To remedy this Inconveniency, ſuch Laws ſhould be enacted as might encourage Men to live there, and diſcourage their Departure upon ſuch unhandſome Terms as they commonly leave the Gariſon.

The third Cauſe is, the Difference and Variance between Traders and Soldiers, encouraged too much by the Rulers Covetouſneſs, and the Citizens Poverty and Wants; and the Unreaſonableneſs of both, unwilling to comply with one another: For this diſcourageth all wealthy Perſons from Inhabiting there, becauſe they are not countenanced, nor have thoſe Liberties which it hath pleaſed his Majeſty to grant them. Some in a late Governor's Time, for frivolous Accounts, have been called in Queſtion for their Lives, condemned contrary to all Law and Reaſon to gratify his Diſpleaſure, and others of the Female Sex. Theſe, and ſuch like Proceedings, ruin *Tangier*, and hinder it from that Proſperity and Wealth which it might eaſily attain to.

Fourthly, *Tangier*'s ill Fate, ſince it is in the *Engliſh* Hands, is due to the ill Reports ſpread abroad of the Place by the Vulgar Sort, encouraged by the many Perſons dead there through their own Miſcarriages, and the ill Uſages of *Popiſh* Officers, who to my Knowledge have valued more ten or twelve Shillings at Pay-day, than the Lives of their Soldiers; and have not treated them like Men, much leſs like Chriſtians. I have ſaved the Lives of a great many of my Neighbours, when they have wanted Neceſſaries. For which good Deeds I have been reproved by ſome *Iriſh* Officers, who expected their Pay between their Death and the following Muſter. The meaneſt Soldier muſt be encouraged, and not ſuffered to want when fallen into a Sickneſs, though moſt Times through his own Intemperance. I dare affirm, and will offer to prove, that the Unmercifulneſs of the Officers, and the Neglect of Phyſicians and Apothecaries, who, though paid for that Purpoſe by his Majeſty, have killed three Parts of thoſe that are dead in *Tangier*. I have ſometimes buried three or four in a Day, dead for Want of that which his Majeſty hath provided for them in Caſe of Sickneſs.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Another Cauſe of *Tangier*'s Unhappineſs; is the ſtrange Victories of the *Moors*, and the ſad Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*, when they have gone out againſt them in the open Field; with the vaſt Opinion of Valour they have gained amongſt us, through our Unadviſedneſs, and their Succeſſes. The Defeat of *Fines*'s Party on the Firſt and Third of *May*, and of my Lord *Tiviot*, and his Company, on the Second, have ſtruck a great Terror into our *Engliſh* Hearts, and cauſed us to look upon a *Moor* as an excellent Soldier: But truly we are miſtaken; I know their Valour, and the Strength of their Country, more than any that hath yet been in *Tangier*; for, when I have been amongſt the *Moors*, I have enquired many Things concerning their Order, Militia, Numbers, *&c.* which I perceive we are ignorant of.

The greateſt Strength of the *Moors* Army, is in the Horſe and Lance Foot they have, armed partly with Guns, and partly with Lances; but they have no great Guns, neither do they know how to manage them, nor carry them into the Field. They fight in Diſorder, without Rank or Files, the Horſe by themſelves, and the Foot by themſelves. In ſet Battles, which have ſeldom been ſeen in this Country, the Horſe make up the Van and the Rear, and the Foot the main Body; ſo that many Times the Foot have Nothing for them to do, but to deſtroy the defeated Enemy, when the Horſe hath routed and terrified them. But they are for Ambuſhes and Surpriſes, becauſe their Country is very proper for that Purpoſe. *Muley Arxid* overcame *Gayland* in this Manner, as he had before ruined *Bembouka*. In this Country they have but little or no ſtanding Army; all is made up of their ſeveral Diviſions, or Companies of *Arabs* ſcattered about, who know their diſtinct *Monkadems*, or Colonels, under whom they are to fight, and to whom they are to repair in all Alarms. But they cannot ſubſiſt long in one Place, becauſe they have no Purveyors, nor other Proviſions, but what every Man brings with him, unleſs it be ſome ſmall Quantity, which the Place where they lie may afford them, in Caſe of Neceſſity. They fight in the ſame Manner, as the *Roman* Authors have repreſented the ancient *Mauri*; neither are they better ſkilled in Marſhalling an Army, or Fighting. Let any Man, that knows the Art of War, compare them with us, and judge whether we may not be able to encounter them. If they have had Succeſſes againſt us, it is through our Weakneſs and Unpreparedneſs: We have marched againſt them only with Muſkets and Swords, and they have come againſt us with Horſe and Lance: Before our Men had Time to diſcharge their Muſkets, the Horſe and the Lance had diſordered our Men, broken their Ranks, and cut them all to Pieces on a ſudden. Had we a Wall of Pikes to oppoſe againſt them, lined with Muſkets, all the Horſe of *Barbary* could do us no Miſchief, and we might ſafely march through their whole Country. An Example we have lately had of a worthy Commander, Sir *Palmes Fairbourne*, who made his Retreat with his Party without any conſiderable Loſs, only with the Aſſiſtance of a Stand of Pikes, which kept off the *Moors* Horſe, whilſt his Foot fired upon them. Their Foot ſignify Nothing, their Horſe have no Guns, or very few, only Piſtols. For their Infantry, they are unſkilful in the Managing of a Gun, neither have they the Courage to ſtand a Shot. The *Portugueſe* ſeldom encountered with the *Moors*, but they had the Victory; therefore, we muſt aſcribe all our Loſſes to the Unadviſedneſs of our Commanders, and the Diſorder of our Men, and their Want of thoſe defenſive Weapons, which were able to keep off the Fury of the *Moors* Horſe. I dare engage with five or ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, againſt above twenty-thouſand *Moors*, if the *Engliſh* may have thoſe Arms and Proviſions that become them. Such is the Weakneſs of this Country, that they can ſcarce bring together, under one Commander, twenty-thouſand Men; for they are all divided under ſeveral Heads of Families, ſince the Death of the laſt Emperor of *Morocco*, and will not conſent to ſet up a Monarch again. He, therefore, that hath the longeſt Sword, gets the Victory, and the chief Command. In this Caſe, it is an eaſy Matter for us to make an Intereſt for ourſelves, by encouraging ſome Party, and imitating the *Roman* Policy, who never ventured againſt a Nation, or People, but with the Aſſiſtance of ſome of their own Soldiers. But it is our Unhappineſs, that we know not what is done amongſt the *Moors*; we live in *Tangier* within the Walls and Lines, and, unleſs we ſend a Flag of Truce for ſome pitiful Buſineſs, we ſcarce ſee the Face of a *Moor* in a Year's Time, but at a Diſtance, unleſs ſome of them come to bring Proviſions to us. But we have never

ſent any to underſtand their Country, to ſearch into their Strength and Dependencies, to examine their Intereſts, their Inclinations, and thoſe other Things which we might improve to the Advantage of *Tangier*. If any be ſent for that Purpoſe, he muſt not be a Nobleman, for they care not to ſee any greater State amongſt them than they obſerve. Their greateſt Princes live as King *Evander* in *Virgil*. As they have a great Reſpect for Clergymen, I think ſuch a one, if ingenious, and acquainted with the Language of the Country, might do much Good, either to perſuade them to a Peace and Trade with us, or to underſtand thoſe Particulars, which might cauſe us to ſecure the Intereſt of *Tangier*; that may be done either by Peace or War. But let us be well aſſured of this, that, whilſt we keep only the Walls of *Tangier*, we ſhall only ſpend Money; it will never bring any Profit to our King, unleſs the Country be opened for us, which may be eaſily done, with little or no Expence; and, inſtead of ſeveral thouſand Pounds which his Majeſty ſpends in the Maintaining of *Tangier*, it ſhall not only maintain itſelf, but yield a conſiderable Revenue to the Crown of *England*. For the Future, it may be rendered a dreadful City to the *Moors*, *Spaniards*, *Turks*, and *French*, and keep in the Incurſions of thoſe of *Algier*.

If *Tangier* were in that Condition, Men would deſire to go over and inhabit there, for the Conveniency of Trade; ſome neighbour Factories would ſettle there, and we ſhould vend all Commodities [illegible] which lie upon our Hands, amongſt the *Africans*, for now the *Dutch* and *French* furniſh them. We ſhould ſecure our Merchants from the Pirates of *Algier*, for then they would not dare to break with us upon every ſlight Occaſion. When the *Vandals* conquered *Africa*, it was ſtronger than it is now, and they had not the Advantage of Guns as we have, yet they found but little Difficulty to ſubdue the Inhabitants, who were then aſſiſted by the *Romans* and *Grecians*.

I could offer many Things for the Good of *Tangier*, from my Knowledge of the Country ſince the Beginning of the World; but I know not how acceptable theſe Things will be. I am certain, if a right Courſe was taken, the Mole, which hath been long building, might be ſpeedily finiſhed; *Tangier* might be made the moſt proſperous and hopeful City that belongs to *England*; and it ſhould repay to his Majeſty all that has been expended in the Keeping of it ſince it was ours. If I be required, I ſhall be willing, not only to give a further Account, but alſo to be inſtrumental in the Promoting of the Good of *Tangier*.

The Accuſation and Impeachment of *John* Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, by the Houſe of Commons. Printed *Anno Domini* 1640. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

IMPRIMIS,

THAT the ſaid *John* Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper, *&c.* hath traiterouſly and wickedly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws, and eſtabliſhed Government of the Realm of *England*, and, inſtead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary tyrannical Government againſt Law; which he hath declared by traiterous and wicked Words, Counſels, Opinions, Judgments, Practices, and Actions.

II. That, in Purſuance of thoſe his traiterous and wicked Purpoſes, he did, in the third and fourth Years of his Majeſty's Reign, or one of them, being then Speaker of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, contrary to the Commands of the Houſe then aſſembled and ſitting, deny and hinder the Reading of ſome Things, which the ſaid Houſe of Commons required to be read for the Safety of the King and Kingdom, and Preſervation of the Religion of this Realm; and did forbid all the Members of the Houſe to ſpeak; and ſaid, that, if any did offer to ſpeak, he would riſe and go away; and ſaid, nothing ſhould be then

then done in the Houſe; and did offer to riſe and go away; and did thereby, and otherwiſe, as much as in him lay, endeavour to ſubvert the ancient and undoubted Rights and Courſe of Parliaments.

III. That he, being of his Majeſty's Council, at the Juſtice-ſeat held for the County of Eſſex, in the Month of *October*, in the tenth Year of his now Majeſty's Reign, at *Straford-Langton* in the ſame County, being then of his Majeſty's Council, in that Service did practiſe, by unlawful Means, to enlarge the Foreſt of that County many Miles beyond the known Bounds thereof, as they had been enjoyed near three-hundred Years, contrary to the Law, and to the Charter of the Liberties of the Foreſt, and other Charters, and divers Acts of Parliament; and, for Effecting the ſame, did unlawfully cauſe and procure undue Returns to be made of Jurors, and great Numbers of other Perſons, who were unſworn, to be joined to them of the Jury; and threatened and awed the ſaid Jurors to give a Verdict for the King; and by unlawful Means did ſurpriſe the County, that they might not make Defence; and did uſe ſeveral menacing wicked Speeches and Actions to the Jury, and others, for Obtaining his unjuſt Purpoſe aforeſaid; and, after a Verdict obtained for the King in the Month of *April* following (at which Time the ſaid Juſtice-ſeat was called by Adjournment) the ſaid *John* Lord *Finch*, then Lord Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of *Common-Pleas*, was one of the Judges Aſſiſtants for them, and continued, by further unlawful and unjuſt Practices, to maintain and confirm the ſaid Verdict; and did then and there, being Aſſiſtant to the Juſtice in Eyre, adviſe the Refuſal of the Traverſe offered by the County, and all their Evidences, but only what they ſhould verbally deliver; which was refuſed accordingly.

IV. That he, about the Month of *November*, 1635, being then Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, and having taken an Oath for the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice to his Majeſty's liege People, according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, contrived an Opinion *in hæc verba*: 'When 'the Good and Safety, *&c.*' and did ſubſcribe his Name to that Opinion, and by Perſuaſions, Threats, and falſe Suggeſtions, did ſolicit and procure Sir *John Bramſton*, then and now Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*; Sir *Humfrey Davenport*, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of his Majeſty's Court of *Exchequer*; Sir *Richard Hutton*, Knight, late one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of *Common-Pleas*; Sir *John Denham*, Knight, late one of the Barons of his Majeſty's Court of *Exchequer*; Sir *William Jones*, Knight, late one of the Juſtices of the ſaid Court of *King's-Bench*; Sir *George Crooke*, then and now one of the Judges of the ſaid Court of *King's-Bench*; Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Knight, then and now one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; Sir *George Vernon*, Knight, late one of the Juſtices of the ſaid Court of *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Robert Barkley*, Knight, then and now one of the Juſtices of the ſaid Court of *King's-Bench*; Sir *Francis Crawley*, Knight, then and now one of the Juſtices of the ſaid Court of *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Richard Weſton*, Knight, then and now one of the Barons of the ſaid Court of *Exchequer*, ſome or one of them to ſubſcribe with their Names the ſaid Opinion preſently, and injoined them ſeverally, ſome or one of them, Secrecy upon their Allegiance.

V. That he the Day of then being Lord Chief Juſtice of the ſaid Court of *Common-Pleas*, ſubſcribed an extra-judicial Opinion in Anſwer to Queſtions in a Letter from his Majeſty, *in hæc verba*, *&c.*

And that he contrived the ſaid Queſtions, and procured the ſaid Letter from his Majeſty; and, whereas the ſaid Juſtice *Hutton* and Juſtice *Crooke* declared to him their Opinions to the contrary; yet he required and preſſed them to ſubſcribe, upon his Promiſe that he would let his Majeſty know the Truth of their Opinions, notwithſtanding ſuch Subſcriptions, which nevertheleſs he did not make known to his Majeſty, but delivered the ſame to his Majeſty as the Opinion of all the Judges.

VI. That he, being Lord Chief Juſtice of the ſaid Court of *Common-Pleas*, delivered his Opinion in the *Exchequer-Chamber* againſt Maſter *Hampden* in the Caſe of Ship-Money; that he the ſaid Maſter *Hampden* upon the Matter and Subſtance of the Caſe was chargeable with the Money then in Queſtion; a Copy of which Proceedings the Commons will deliver to your Lordſhips, and did ſollicit and threaten the ſaid Judges, ſome or one of them, to deliver their Opinions in like Manner againſt Maſter *Hampden*; and, after the ſaid Baron *Denham* had delivered his Opi-

nion for Maſter *Hampden*, the ſaid Lord *Finch* repaired purpoſely to the ſaid Baron *Denham*'s Chamber, in *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and, after the ſaid Maſter Baron *Denham* had declared and expreſſed his Opinion, urged him to retract the ſaid Opinion; which he refuſing, was threatened by the ſaid Lord *Finch*, becauſe he refuſed.

VII. That he, then being Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, declared and publiſhed in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, and Weſtern Circuit where he went Judge, that the King's Right to Ship-Money, as aforeſaid, was ſo inherent a Right to the Crown, as an Act of Parliament could not take away; and with divers malicious Speeches inveighed againſt and threatened all ſuch as refuſed to pay Ship-Money; all which Opinions contained in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Articles, are againſt the Law of the Realm, the Subjects Right of Property, and contrary to former Reſolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of Right; which ſaid Reſolutions and Petition of Right were well known to him, and reſolved and enacted in Parliament when he was Speaker of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

VIII. That he, being Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, did take the general Practice of that Court to his private Chamber; and that he ſent Warrants into all or many Shires of *England* to ſeveral Men, as to *Francis Giles* of the County of *Devon*, *Robert Benſon* of the County of *York*, Attornies of that Court, and to divers others, to releaſe all Perſons arreſted on any Outlawry about forty Shillings Fees, whereas none by Law ſo arreſted can be bailed or releaſed, without a *Superſedeas* under Seal, or Reverſal.

IX. That he, being Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, upon a pretended Suit begun in *Michaelmas* Term in the eleventh Year of his Majeſty's Reign, although there was no Plaint or Declaration againſt him, did notoriouſly and contrary to all Law and Juſtice, by Threats, Menaces, and Impriſonment, compel *Thomas Laurence*, an Executor, to pay nineteen Pounds twelve Shillings; and likewiſe cauſed *Richard Barnard*, being only Overſeer of the laſt Will of that Teſtator, to be arreſted for the Payment of the ſaid Money, contrary to the Advice of the reſt of the Judges of that Court, and againſt the known and ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, and his ſaid Oath and Knowledge, and denied his Majeſty's Subjects the common and ordinary Juſtice of this Realm, as Maſter *Limericke*, and others; and, for his private Benefit, endamaged and ruined the Eſtates of very many of his Majeſty's Subjects, contrary to his Oath and Knowledge.

X. That he, being Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, and ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy Council, did, by falſe and malicious Slanders, labour to incenſe his Majeſty againſt Parliaments, and did frame and adviſe the Publiſhing the Declaration, after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament.

All which Treaſons and Miſdemeanors, abovementioned, were done and committed by the ſaid *John* Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*; and thereby he, the ſaid Lord *Finch*, hath traitorouſly, and contrary to his Allegiance, laboured to lay Imputations and Scandals upon his Majeſty's Government, and to alienate the Hearts of his Majeſty's liege People from his Majeſty, and to ſet a Diviſion between them, and to ruin and deſtroy his Majeſty's Realm of *England*; for which they do impeach him, the ſaid Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, of High Treaſon, againſt our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown, and Dignity, of the Miſdemeanors abovementioned. And the ſaid Commons by Proteſtation, ſaving to themſelves the Liberty of exhibiting at any Time hereafter, any other Accuſation, or Impeachment, againſt the ſaid Lord *Finch*, and alſo of replying to the Anſwer; that the ſaid *John*, Lord *Finch*, ſhall make unto the ſaid Articles, or to any of them, and of offering Proof of the Premiſſes, or any of their Impeachments or Accuſations that ſhall be exhibited by them, as the Caſe ſhall, according to the Courſe of Parliaments, require, do pray, That the ſaid *John*, Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, may be put to anſwer all, and every the Premiſſes, and ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Trials, and Judgments, as may be upon every of them had, and uſed, as is agreeable to Law and Juſtice.

The

The true Copy of a Letter, ſent from the moſt Reverend *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, when he reſigned his Office of Chancellor. Publiſhed, by Occaſion of a baſe Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And alſo the Anſwer of the Univerſity to the ſaid Letter. *Oxford*, Printed by *Leonard Lichfield*, Printer to the Univerſity, *Anno Dom.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

To my very loving Friends, the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the reſt of the Convocation of the Univerſity of Oxford.

AFTER my hearty Commendations, &c. theſe are to remember my Love to that whole Body: That Love, than which never any Chancellor bore greater, or with more Ferventneſs and Zeal to the publick Good and Happineſs of that Place. And I do heartily pray all, and every of you to believe me, for moſt true it is, that the Unfortunateneſs of my great Affliction doth not trouble me for any one Thing more, than that I can be no farther uſeful or beneficial to that Place, which I ſo much love and honour.

I was once reſolved not to reſign my Place of Chancellor, till I ſaw the Iſſue of my Troubles one Way or other. And this Reſolution I took, partly becauſe I had no Reaſon to deſert myſelf, and occaſion the World to think me guilty: And partly, becauſe I have found ſo much Love from the Univerſity, that I could not make myſelf willing to leave it, till ſome greater Cauſe ſhould take me off from that which I ſo reſolved on.

That Cauſe, if I be not much miſtaken, doth now preſent itſelf: For I ſee the Univerſity hath great Need of Friends, great and daily Need. I ſee my Trial not haſtened; ſo that I am neither able to aſſiſt your great Occaſions myſelf, nor procure Friends for them: I ſee that, if you had another Chancellor, you could not want the Help which now you do. And I cannot but know that, were your Love never ſo great to me, it muſt needs cool, when you ſee me able to give no Aſſiſtance, and yet fill the Place which ſhould afford it to you. And I ſhould hardly ſatisfy myſelf, that I love you ſo well as I do, if I did not further your Good and Happineſs by all the Means I can, and even by this my Reſignation.

The ſerious Conſideration of theſe Things, and the Foreſight which I have, that I ſhall never be able to ſerve you as I have done, have prevailed with me at this Time, to ſend the Reſignation of the Chancellorſhip, to your Body met in Convocation. And I do hereby pray you, that it may be publickly read and accepted, the Time being now moſt fit, that ſo your Honourable ſucceeding Chancellor may preſently appoint an able Deputy for the Government according to his own Judgment.

And now I do earneſtly deſire of you all, either to remember, or to know, that I never ſought, or thought of the Honour of this Place to myſelf: And yet, that, ſince it was by the great Favour and Love of that Univerſity laid upon me, I have diſcharged it, by God's Grace and Goodneſs to me, with great Pains and Care, and, God's Bleſſing, I humbly thank him, hath not been wanting. And I profeſs ſingly, and from my Heart, if there be any Good which I ought to have done to that Place, and have not done it, it proceeded from Want of Underſtanding or Ability, not Will or Affection. And though I do, for the Cauſes aforeſaid, reſign this Place, yet I ſhall ſerve it ſtill with my Prayers, ſo long as God continues my Life.

And as I doubt not, but God will bleſs you with an honourable Chancellor, and one able to do more for that Place, than I have been; ſo I pray God, to give you a peaceable and quiet Election, and to direct it to the Good of this his Church, and the Honour and Happineſs of that famous Univerſity: That you may have no Miſs in the leaſt of me, who, after your Prayers heartily deſired, now writes himſelf the laſt Time,

From the Tower,
June 25, 1641.

Your very loving [illegible] *Friend and* CHANCELLOR,
W. CANT.

Ampliſſimo et Reverendiſſimo Domino Gulielmo *Archi-Præſuli* Cantuarienſi.

Reverendiſſime Archi-Præſul—*Hoc enim ſolum Tibi* (ſic *voluiſti*) *Nomen relictum eſt*—

NOviſſimæ literæ tuæ, amoris, ſed & doloris, plenæ, fecerunt ut dehinc nos planè ære dirutos diruptoſque profiteri debeamus. Cum effuſiſſimo amori tuo, verbis (quod unicum nobis ſuppetit peculium) ut paria faceremus, nunquam ſperandum fuit; nedum dolori noſtro verba nos reperturos paria; ne ſi paſſis quidem eloquentiæ velis vehi, & totâ doloris prærogativâ frui liceret. Hodie verò, ut ſunt tempora, ad juſtiſſimum dolorem noſtrum non levis hic acceſſit cumulus, quòd eum in ſinu premere & quaſi ſtrangulare neceſſe habeamus; quibus ne illud quidem tutò queri licet, in ea nos tempora incidiſſe, in quibus ſingulari tuæ prudentiæ & erga nos amori conſultiſſimum viſum ſit, noſtraque quàm maximè intereſſe, ut Res ac Fortunas noſtras à tuis ſegreges habeamus & ſejunctas. Quanquam verò ſupremo Numini ſic viſum eſt, ut illud nobis beneficii loco imputandum haberes, quòd maximum beneficiorum tuorum, Teipſum, à nobis ſegregares, & *Cancellarii* munus abdicares; affectus tamen tuus erga Academiam noſtram propenſiſſimus, tum literis tuis noviſſimis, tum aliis frequentibus argumentis abundè teſtatus, dubitare nos non ſinit, quin, depoſito invidioſo *Cancellarii* titulo, amantiſſimi Patroni affectum adhuc in ſinu tuo retineas. Quamdiu *Manuſcripta* * illa κειμήλια tua, Orientis ſpolia, & verè ἄγαλματα Bibliothecam noſtram illuſtrabunt; quamdiu *Lectura Arabica*, à Te † dotata, frequentabitur; quamdiu Antiquitatis vindices ſimul & teſtes antiqua ‡ *Numiſmata* viſentur; quamdiu caſtigatior diſciplina, mores emendati, morumque Canon *Statuta* vigebunt; quamdiu pro ſtudio partium bonarum Artium ſtudia colentur; quamdiu literis honos, honori literæ erunt, *Cancellarium* adhuc eſſe Te, ſentiet præſens Ætas; fuiſſe, poſtera agnoſcet. Dehinc, immortalitatis ſecurus, gloriæque tuæ ſuperſtes, diu hîc poſteritati tuæ interſis; ac demum, ubi mortalitatis numeros omnes impleveris, plenus annis abeas, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos abdicaſti. Ita vovet

Dat. è Domo Convocat.
6. *Julii* 1641.

Amplitudini Tuæ omni cultûs ac obſervantiæ nexu devinctiſſima,

ACADEMIA OXON.

* MSS. Cod. plus quàm MCCC. De quibus plus quàm CCCXXX Linguis Oriental. ſcripti, & paulò minus C. Ling. Gr. † Salarium Profeſſoris Ling. Arab. XL. lb. Annuæ. ‡ Hebr. Græc. Roman. Famil. & Imper. Britannic.

A Letter to the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, this 9th of *July*, 1680. From *Tom Tell-Troth*, a downright *Engliſhman*. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

My

My Lord,

I Have lived to ſee your Lordſhip Great as well as Popular, and a ſtout Aſſertor of the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt. Wherefore to your Lordſhip have I thought fit, in this Time of Danger to our native Country, to lay before you the great Miſchiefs that both the Monarchy and Proteſtant Religion do ſuffer, in reſpect of the preſent Deſigns of Papiſts and Commonwealth's-men: And when I have diſcovered to your Lordſhip their Intrigues, as far as my ſtrict Scrutiny and Search into them, beſides ſufficient Teſtimonies from others truly informed, have ſatisfied me, I hope we ſhall take ſuch adequate Meaſures from them, to ſatisfy both your Lordſhip and this Kingdom, that Ruin and Deſolation will come ſwift on us, Confuſion and every evil Work, if ſome ſpeedy Remedy be not inſtantly propoſed by the Wiſdom of the great Council of this Nation.

And firſt, my Lord, your Lordſhip will pleaſe to give me Leave to make a Parallel between the paſt Actions of the deſigning Men before and after 1641, to the happy Reſtoration of the King; by it I ſhall be able to ſatisfy your Lordſhip, that what was then deſigned and effected upon the Perſon of the late King, Church of *England*, and Government, were the Reſult of ſuch pernicious Counſels and Deſigns, as are now hatching by theſe Sons of *Belial*, to the preſent Diſturbance, if not Ruin of our flouriſhing Church and Kingdom.

It is obvious to all that have had any Knowledge of the late Tranſactions before 1640, and after, that the Papiſt ſeeing our Church ſo well guarded with Purity of Doctrine and Faith, with innocent Ceremonies, to defend her from the Invaſion of ſlovenly and diſhonourably Worſhiping of the great God; as well alſo to avoid the Superſtition and Foppery of the Worſhip of the Church of *Rome*: Behold what Emiſſaries were there ſent out, and with what Cloathing to deceive; the Puritan muſt be drawn in to make an Outcry againſt Canons, Ceremonies, and whatever was injoined by Law in the Worſhip of God muſt be Antichriſtian, at leaſt it muſt be ſaid unlawfully impoſed on their tender Conſciences. From ſowing theſe Doctrines, the Poor and the Ignorant were taught to believe Biſhops to be the very Limbs of Antichriſt, and Superſtition and Idolatry brought by them into the Church; and many worthy Patriots, ſuch as *Prynne*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*, &c. would ſmell Popery and Superſtition in Gown, Surplice, Croſs in Baptiſm, Worſhiping God towards the Eaſt, a primitive Cuſtom in the Church of God, *&c.* then publiſh to the World the great Care they had to bring Things to a due Reformation both in Church and State. But behold the Conſequence of this Undertaking; they had no ſooner gone about to undermine the Church of *England*, but then it was fit Time to call in Queſtion too the Miſcarriages of State, and to be ſure Archbiſhop *Laud*, who was the moſt eminent Aſſertor of the Rights of the Church, and as true a Proteſtant as ever lived, muſt be the firſt Man cried down by the Teachers and Rabble, for being Popiſhly inclined, or rather for being a Papiſt, and muſt be butchered too for that Suppoſition; by his Death ended the Tranquillity of the once flouriſhing Church of *England*: Thus had the Papiſt, Hand in Hand with Fanatick Rage and Zeal, triumphed over us. But, after this, it was not enough to bring our Church low, but we muſt yet go higher——Well! What Encouragement has the King given to Papiſts of late, by preferring them to Places of great Conſequence in the Government, ſuch as were *Strafford*, &c.? —Theſe Perſons, ſay thoſe, muſt be removed for evil Counſellors, or we ſhall have no Peace in our *Iſrael*; accordingly our zealous Teachers ſent their Diſciples Abroad in all Avenues of the City, to cry down evil Counſellors, for that their Deſign was to bring in Popery, and deſtroy Liberty, ay the Liberty of the Subject. And then forſooth Ship-Money, a huge Burden to what we have felt ſince, was againſt *Magna Charta*, indeed every Thing in the Government found Fault with, as either Popiſhly or Arbitrarily inclined; then cry out for Reformation, Reformation. And when, for Peace-ſake, our good King had granted many of their unreaſonable Demands, and had delivered to their Fury innocent Blood, to prevent, as he thought, the Shedding much more; yet would not their Rage ſtop here, but, at laſt, King, Church, and all were brought to Deſtruction, by the moſt horrid Rebellion and Villainy, as can ſcarce be paralleled in any Kingdom in the World in all Circumſtances.

And now, my Lord, one would think, that this pretended glorious Reformation ſhould have produced ſome Settlement by this Time to the tottering Kingdom: No, truly; we found nothing but Sect ſpringing out of Sect; and they, that once prayed and fought together againſt the Peace of the Kingdom in one Body, and, as it were, under one Denomination, are preſently dwindled into many little Parties and Saintſhips, and every one crying to his Neighbour, *I am holier than thou art*; ſo that from Papiſt ſprung Puritan, from Puritan Preſbyterian, from Preſbyterian Independent; from thence Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Fifth-Monarchiſts, Sweet Singers in *Iſrael*, Quakers, Muggletonians, and the Lord knows what, till, by and through the Inconſtancy of their Perſons and Judgments, and the various Freaks of the ſeveral Humours, all was reduced to a Chaos; ſo that neither a ſingle Uſurper, nor a Parliament without a King, nor Committee of Safety, nor Keepers of the Liberties, or Councils of Officers, and Strength of Arms could produce any Quiet, till God wonderfully reſtored him, whoſe undoubted Right it was to ſway the Scepter of theſe Kingdoms. And thus, my Lord, I have, in ſhort, given your Lordſhip an Account of what has been acted in thoſe Times; let me now crave Leave further to make the Parallel with the preſent Times; and therein, if I reflect on ſome of the buſy and deſigning Men, I hope I ſhall not break the Laws of Decorum, becauſe Things are brought to that Criſis, that, if an honeſt *Engliſh* Heart will not now ſpeak home to the Purpoſe, for aught I can ſee, he may evermore hold his Peace.

Well then, my Lord, Do we not now perceive, as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that the ſame Men, or Men of the ſame Principles, are again hard at Work to undermine and deſtroy both our Church, and State too? What divided Intereſts and Factions have there been, for ſeven Years laſt paſt, and more, to bring the King and Governors into Diſgrace, by frequent Clubs at Coffee-houſes and Taverns, on Purpoſe to break the Bonds of Unity among us! From theſe Places and Sinks of Sedition and Rebellion, have there not been many of a higher Form, who, through Diſcontent, or Love of Faction and Change of Government, or for not being continued, or preferred to the higheſt and moſt honourable Places therein, have endeavoured all they can to breed Differences between the two Houſes of Parliament, by throwing in a little Matter with a Ball of Contention at the End on't, purpoſely to hinder the Proſecution of what ſhou[illegible]d to the Advancement of the Publick Weal; and what can be more plain, than [illegible] ſuch Deſigns ſince were like thoſe of [illegible]41? Becauſe the Biſhops would not [illegible] Commonwealth's-men's Intereſts. Yet, my Lord, I do believe the Biſhops are as prudent Men, and can as well tell the Nature of an Oath, together with the Deſign as well as the Conſequence thereof, as any States-men I know of in the Kingdom, let them pretend to what they will; and beſides, I am ſure their Intereſt is ſo interwoven in the Monarchy of *England*, that neither Popery, nor any other Intereſt beſides that of their own Church as eſtabliſhed by Law, can any Ways preſerve them, unleſs they will all as one Man fall down and worſhip the great Image, and be all Things to all Men, that they may be ſure to get ſomething, as many, my Lord, pretended famous States-men have done in the ſeveral Changes of Government in theſe Kingdoms; but that is not to be ſuppoſed of them, ſince they would not, nor did ever join with any ſuch Intereſt as oppoſed Church or State; and thus did both City and Country, Clubs, and Coffee-houſes ring, that the Biſhops were the only Oppoſers of the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and the great Occaſion why Juſtice could not be done on Capital and Notorious Offenders. This, my Lord, is a true Spice of old 1641, and your Lordſhip cannot but obſerve, that it hath brought the Biſhops into Suſpicion with the vulgar Sort, that they are driving on the Popiſh Deſign, and that there are not above two Proteſtant Biſhops amongſt them all, as they give out.

Well, but this will not do yet; 'tis not ſo long ſince *Laud* was murdered, and *Strafford*: People ſufficiently ſmarted under Covenanting Reformers, and Army Saints, and 'tis not eaſy to play the ſame Game over again the ſame Way; and this the deſigning Men ſee, and ſo are fain to have other Artifices to rend the Government in Pieces, and reduce it to its former Chaos or deſigned Commonwealth; ſo that if neither diſquieting or dividing Parliaments, nor ſecret combining Clubs againſt great Miniſters of State, nor a ſeeming Wearineſs of the Monarchy of *England*, [illegible] gracing the Governours of the Church, nor

Suſpicion

Suſpicion of Popery, and the Introducing thereof, will do the Buſineſs to exaſperate the People, [illegible] 41: Why truly then comes forth a [illegible] of Treaſon and Popery; then forſooth the Duke muſt needs be the Foundation of this damnable Plot, and the Diſcoverers (who no Doubt have been bleſſed Inſtruments to ſave us at this Time from the Paw of Antichriſt) muſt be revered as Demy-Gods among the Vulgar, but more eſpecially among the precious Independents and Anabaptiſt Faction; but not to reflect on the King's Evidence, for no Doubt deſervedly did thoſe ſuffer who were condemned by the Juſtice of our Laws, and many more deſervedly may that have a Hand in that pernicious and bloody Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government. In this Hurly-burly what a Confuſion did it bring the Kingdom into? How did it neceſſitate the King to prorogue and adjourn, yea, and diſſolve Parliaments from Time to Time? When he could not but ſo do for the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, and *Defeating the Deſigns both of Popiſh and Self-deſigning Men who ſought to diſturb it; and ſo apparent this was*, that no loyal Heart but trembled at it. Then again forſooth all Miſcarriages of this Nature muſt be attributed to the Duke and his Party, and given out by the deſigning Men, that no Parliaments ſhould ever ſit again, but all would be Arbitrary, and accordingly Guards muſt be doubled to defend us from Jeſuits, and Popery, and this Bugbear of Arbitrary Government. Now in the Name of *Machiavel* where are we going next? Oh! cries the Firſt and Deepeſt among the Deſigners, let us keep off the King from Parliaments till his Revenue will not anſwer the Charge of the Crown, and put him into the Condition his Father of Bleſſed Memory was, that he will be neceſſiated to call one; then he ſhall be obliged to redreſs all the Grievances, hang all Plotters (provided they be none but ſuch as are Popiſhly inclined) puniſh Church Offenders, and Saint Perſecutors; then ſhall he be obliged to hearken to every Thing we ſhall propoſe about Succeſſion; then we ſhall be able to make our own Terms with him, either we will have *Monmouth*, or we will know why: We will have one Black-Box or other found, wherein the Writing is, that will prove what we would have Legitimate, and Succeſſor to the Crown, in Oppoſition to Royal Word, and whatever Demonſtrations ſhall be the Contrary, provided it effectually hinders and deprives the known, true, and lawful Succeſſor that is Popiſhly affected; and we will never leave Clubbing nor Meeting, till we have effected this, maugre all former Deſigns by Popiſh Counſels, or Proteſtants whatſoever.

Indeed, my Lord, it were to be wiſhed for the Quiet and Welfare of the Nation, that theſe, and ſuch like Deſigns, were laid aſide, and every one ſtudied to do his own Buſineſs, to obey wholeſome Laws, rather than to truſt again to new Law-makers: For my Part, my Lord, I wonder what it is theſe Men would have. If they think that ever Popery or Arbitrary Government can govern in this Kingdom, then they have Reaſon to be thus concerned: But, my Lord, though I am a plain old *Engliſhman*, I can ſee as far it may be as one that ſees leſs; and I proteſt, my Lord, that after having read over abundance of ſuch Ware as little *Andrew Marvel*'s unhoopable Wit and Policy, and the Independent Comment amongſt it, together with the Growth of Popery, *&c.* as alſo the Naked Truth, Treatiſes about *French* Intereſts, and the Succeſſion of the Crown, and all this Buſtle they have made amongſt us: To ſay the Truth, my Lord, I am *Tom Tell-troth*, and, between your Lordſhip and I, I do not believe there's any Need of ſuch Books, or any ſuch Jealouſies; for, in God's Name, what can preſerve us, but being zealous for our Religion, and obedient to our Superiors? And what can preſerve them, but the Love of their Subjects, and Governing according to the Laws they have made, and are obliged to maintain? And, for my Part, I don't ſee any Invaſion of Liberty and Property as they term it; I ſee indeed a Sort of Men, who will be always reſtleſs and buzzing the vulgar Ear with ſtrange Fears and Jealouſies, which tend to nothing but Deſtruction both of Prince and People. Truly, my Lord (your Lordſhip being a Perſon of ſuch eminent Parts, and having known moſt of the publick Humours of this Land and People theſe forty Years) I think your Lordſhip would do well to find out ſome of theſe Underminers of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, that meet at Taverns, and other publick Houſes, and by your ſtrong Arguments convince them, that this is not the Way to bring about their Deſigns, whatſoever Mixture

of

of Counſels they may have; and, ſince your Lordſhip lives in that great City wherein theſe Perſons are ſaid to reſide, your Lordſhip would ſend them ſuch unqueſtionable Rules to walk by, as may tend to the Securing of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Rooting out all Jealouſies and Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Government: As alſo to fix them to the old Ways of Loyalty and Obedience, which are the only Paths of Peace to dwell in. Then ſhall we ſee that it will be our Intereſt (whatever we imagine Liberty and Property to be) to promote the Honour of God, and the Religion of the Kingdom as eſtabliſhed by Law; to honour and obey the King according to the Laws, to love one another as Men and Chriſtians, and to lay all our Heads, Hearts, and Hands together to ſupport him. My Lord, I ſhall now conclude this long Epiſtle without any other Compliment than that I am,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Wilts, *the 9th of* July, 1680. *humble Servant,*

Tom Tell-troth.

Mr. *John Milton*'s Character of the Long-Parliament and Aſſembly of Divines, in 1641. Omitted in his other Works, and never before printed, and very ſeaſonable for theſe Times. *London*, Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* at the Weſt-end of *St. Paul*'s, 1681. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

To the READER.

THE Reader may take Notice, That this Character of Mr. Milton's *was a Part of his Hiſtory of* Britain, *and by him deſigned to be printed: But out of Tenderneſs to a Party [whom neither this nor much more Lenity has had the Luck to oblige] it was ſtruck out for ſome Harſhneſs, being only ſuch a Digreſſion, as the Hiſtory itſelf would not be diſcompoſed by its Omiſſion; which I ſuppoſe will be eaſily diſcerned, by reading over the Beginning of the Third Book of the ſaid Hiſtory, very near which Place this Character is to come in.*

It is reported, and from the foregoing Character it ſeems probable, that Mr. Milton *had lent moſt of his Perſonal Eſtate upon the Publick Faith; which when he ſomewhat earneſtly and warmly preſſed to have reſtored [obſerving how all in Offices had not only feathered their own Neſts, but had inriched many of their Relations and Creatures, before the Publick Debts were diſcharged] after a long and chargeable Attendance, met with very ſharp Rebukes; upon which at laſt deſpairing of any Succeſs in this Affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendleſs, having ſpent all his Money and wearied all his Friends. And he had not probably mended his worldly Condition in theſe Days, but by performing ſuch Service for them, as afterwards he did, for which ſcarce any Thing would appear too great.*

OF

OF these, who swayed most in the late Troubles, few Words, as to this Point, may suffice. They had Arms, Leaders, and Successes to their Wish; but to make Use of so great an Advantage was not their Skill.

To other Causes therefore, and not to the Want of Force, or warlike Manhood in the *Britons*, both those, and these lately, we must impute the Ill-husbanding of those fair Opportunities, which might them to have put Liberty, so long desired, like a Bridle into their Hands. Of which other Causes equally belonging to Ruler, Priest, and People, above have been related; which, as they brought those ancient Natives to Misery and Ruin, by Liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy; so brought they these of late, after many Labours, much Bloodshed, and vast Expence, to ridiculous Frustration; in whom the like Defects, the like Miscarriages notoriously appeared, with Vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

For, a Parliament being called to redress many Things, as it was thought, the People with great Courage, and Expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their Behoof in Parliament such as they thought best affected to the Publick Good, and some, indeed, Men of Wisdom and Integrity; the rest, to be sure the greater Part, whom Wealth or ample Possessions, or bold and active Ambition, rather than Merit, had commended to the same Place.

But, when once the superficial Zeal and popular Fumes, that acted their new Magistracy, were cooled, and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the Commonwealth behind, his private Ends before, to do as his own Profit or Ambition led him. Then was Justice delayed, and soon after denied: Spight and Favour determined all: Hence Faction, thence Treachery, both at Home and in the Field: Every where Wrong, and Oppression: Foul and horrid Deeds committed daily, or maintained, in secret, or openly. Some who had been called from Shops and Warehouses, without other Merit, to sit in supreme Councils and Committees, as their Breeding was, fell to huckster the Commonwealth. Others did thereafter as Men could [illegible] humour them best; so he who would give most, or, under Covert of hypocritical Zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the Rewards of Learning and Fidelity; or escaped the Punishment of his Crimes and Misdeeds. Their Votes and Ordinances, which Men looked should have contained the Repealing of bad Laws, and the immediate Constitution of better, resounded with Nothing else, but new Impositions, Taxes, Excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the Offices, Gifts, and Preferments bestowed and shared amongst themselves: They, in the mean While, who were ever faithfullest to this Cause, and freely aided them in Person, or with their Substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted, and bereaved after of their just Debts by greedy Sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable Attendance from one Committee to another with Petitions in their Hands; yet, either missed the Obtaining of their Suit; or, though it were at length granted (mere Shame and Reason oftentimes extorting from them at least a Shew of Justice) yet, by their Sequestrators and Sub-committees Abroad, Men for the most Part of insatiable Hands, and noted Disloyalty, those Orders were commonly disobeyed; which, for certain, durst not have been, without secret Compliance, if not Compact with some Superiors able to bear them out. Thus were their Friends confiscate in their Enemies, while they forfeited their Debtors to the State, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening Seizure of innumerable Thieves in Office; yet were withal no less burthened in all extraordinary Assessments and Oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected: Nor were we happier Creditors to what we called the State, than to them who were sequestered as the State's Enemies.

For that Faith, which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any Thing holy, the Publick Faith, after infinite Sums received, and all the Wealth of the Church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private Gulph, was not before long ashamed to confess Bankrupt. And now, besides the Sweetness of Bribery, and other Gain, with the Love of Rule, their own Guiltiness, and the dreaded Name of just Account, which the People had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own Number, who secretly contrived and fomented those Troubles and Combustions in the Land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would continually find such Work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that terrible Stand, of laying down their

their Authority for Lack of new Buſineſs, or not drawing it out to any Length of Time, though upon the Ruin of a whole Nation.

And, if the State were in this Plight, Religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain Number of Divines were called, neither choſen by any Rule or Cuſtom Eccleſiaſtical, nor eminent for either Piety or Knowledge above others left out; only as each Member of Parliament in his private Fancy thought fit, ſo elected one by one. The moſt Part of them were ſuch, as had preached and cried down, with great Shew of Zeal, the Avarice and Pluralities of Biſhops and Pluralities; that one Cure of Souls was a full Employment for one ſpiritual Paſtor, how able ſoever, if not a Charge rather above human Strength. Yet theſe conſcientious Men (before any Part of the Work done for which they came together, and that on the Publick Salary) wanted not Boldneſs, to the Ignominy and Scandal of their Paſtor-like Profeſſion, and eſpecially of their boaſted Reformation, to ſeize into their Hands, or not unwillingly to accept (beſides one, ſometimes two or more of the beſt Livings) Collegiate Maſterſhips in the Univerſities, rich Lectures in the City, ſetting Sail to all Winds that might blow Gain into their covetous Boſoms: By which Means theſe great Rebukers of Non-reſidence, amongſt ſo many diſtant Cures, were not aſhamed to be ſeen ſo quickly Pluraliſts and Non-reſidents themſelves, to a fearful Condemnation doubtleſs by their own Mouths. And yet the main Doctrine for which they took ſuch Pay, and inſiſted upon with more Vehemence than Goſpel, was but to tell us, in effect, that their Doctrine was worth Nothing, and the ſpiritual Power of their Miniſtry leſs available than bodily Compulſion; perſuading the Magiſtrate to uſe it, as a ſtronger Means to ſubdue and bring in Conſcience, than Evangelical Perſuaſion: Diſtruſting the Vertue of their own ſpiritual Weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full Warrant of Sufficiency to pull down all Thoughts and Imaginations that exalt themſelves againſt God. But, while they taught Compulſion without Convincement, which not long before they complained of, as executed unchriſtianly, againſt themſelves, theſe Intents are clear to have been no better than Antichriſtian; ſetting up a ſpiritual Tyranny by a ſecular Power, to the Advancing of their own Authority above the Magiſtrate, whom they would have made their Executi[illegible]er, to puniſh Church-delinquencies, where[illegible] Civil Laws have no Cogniſance.

And well did their Diſciples [illegible]niſht themſelves to be no better principl[illegible]ian their Teachers, truſted with Commi[illegible]ships, and other gainful Offices, upon their [illegible]ommendations for zealous and (as they [illegible]ked [illegible] to term them) *godly* Men, but [illegible]ecuting their Places, like Children of the D[illegible]l, unfaithfully, unjuſtly, unmercifully, [illegible]here not corruptly, ſtupidly; ſo [illegible], between them the Teachers, and theſe the Diſciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal Wound to Faith, to Piety, to the Work of Reformation; nor more Cauſe of Blaſpheming given to the Enemies of God and Truth, ſince the firſt Preaching of Reformation.

The People, therefore, looking one While on the Statiſts, whom they beheld without Conſtancy or Firmneſs, labouring doubtfully beneath the Weight of their own too high Undertakings, buſieſt in petty Things, trifling *in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expreſſed divers Ways their Diſaffection, ſome deſpiſing whom before they honoured, ſome deſerting, ſome inveighing, ſome conſpiring againſt them.* Then, looking on the *Church-men*, whom they ſaw, under ſubtle Hypocriſy, to have preached their own Follies, moſt of them not the Goſpel; Time-ſervers, covetous, illiterate Perſecutors, not Lovers of the Truth; like in moſt Things, whereof they accuſed their Predeceſſors: Looking on all this, the People, which had been kept warm a While with the counterfeit Zeal of their Pulpits, after a falſe Heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, ſome turning to Lewdneſs, ſome to flat Atheiſm, put beſide their old Religion, and foully ſcandaliſed in what they expected ſhould be new.

Thus they, who of late were extolled as our greateſt Deliverers, and had the People wholly at their Devotion, by ſo diſcharging their Truſt, as we ſee, did not only weaken and unfit themſelves to be Diſpenſers of what Liberty they pretended, but unfitted alſo the People, now grown worſe and more diſordinate, to receive, or to digeſt any Liberty at all. For Stories teach us, that Liberty, ſought out of Seaſon, in a corrupt and degenerate Age, brought *Rome* itſelf into a farther Slavery: For Liberty hath a ſharp and [illegible] Edge, [illegible] only to be handled by juſt and virtuous Men;

to [illegible]

to bad and diſſolute it becomes a Miſchief unwieldy in their own Hands; neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy Skill to know what is Grievance and unjuſt to the People, and how to remove it wiſely; what good Laws are wanting, and how to frame them ſubſtantially, that good Men may enjoy the Freedom which they merit, and the bad the Curb which they need. But to do this, and to know theſe exquiſite Proportions, is Heroick Wiſdom, which is required, from far the Principles of theſe narrow Politicians. What Wonder, then, if they ſunk, as theſe unfortunate *Britons* before them, entangled and oppreſſed with Things too hard, and generous above their Strain and Temper? For *Britain*, to ſpeak a Truth not often ſpoken, as it is a Land fruitful enough of Men ſtout and courageous in War, ſo is it, naturally, not over-fertile of Men able to govern juſtly and prudently in Peace, truſting only in their Mother-wit; who conſider not juſtly, that Civility, Prudence, Love of the publick Good, more than of Money or vain Honour, are, to this Soil, in a Manner outlandiſh; grow not here, but in Minds well implanted with ſolid and elaborate Breeding, too impolitick elſe, and rude, if not headſtrong and intractable to the Induſtry and Virtue either of executing, or underſtanding true Civil Government; valiant, indeed, and proſperous to win a Field, but, to know the End and Reaſon of Winning, unjudicious and unwiſe; in good or bad Succeſs alike unteachable. For the Sun, which we want, ripens Wits, as well as Fruits; and, as Wine and Oil are imported to us from Abroad, ſo muſt ripe Underſtanding, and many civil Virtues be imported into our Minds from foreign Writings, and Examples of beſt Ages, we ſhall elſe miſcarry ſtill, and come ſhort in the Attempts of any great Enterpriſe. Hence did their Victories prove as fruitleſs, as their Loſſes dangerous, and left them, ſtill conquering, under the ſame Grievances, that Men ſuffer, conquered; which was indeed unlikely to go otherwiſe, unleſs Men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the Knowledge of ancient and illuſtrious Deeds, invincible againſt many and vain Titles, impartial to Friendſhips and Relations, had conducted their Affairs; but then, from the Chapman to the Retailer, many, whoſe Ignorance was more audacious than the reſt, were admitted, with all their ſordid Rudiments, to bear no mean Sway among them, both in Church and State.

From the Confluence of all their Errors, Miſchiefs, and Miſdemeanors, What in the Eyes of Man could be expected, but what befell thoſe ancient Inhabitants, whom they ſo much reſembled, Confuſion in the End?

But on theſe Things, and this Parallel, having enough inſiſted, I return to the Story which gave us Matter of this Digreſſion.

An Eſſay on the Theatres: Or, the Art of Acting. In Imitation of *Horace*'s Art of Poetry. *MS.* Never before Printed.

Ex Noto Fictum Carmen. HOR.

To the READER.

Although I have ventured to call this Poem, The Art of Acting *in Imitation of* Horace's Art of Poetry, *yet I muſt obſerve, that I have rather made a Paraphraſe on his Rules and Thoughts, than kept to a ſtrict literal Imitation of them: I am ſenſible therefore, I ſhall be highly cenſured by thoſe who are acquainted with thoſe hapty Imitations of this Part of* Horace, *Dr.* King's Art of Cookery, *and Mr.* B——n's Art of Politicks. *All I can ſay to ſuch an Objection, is, that a more cloſe Confinement to*

the

the Text would not ſuit my Subject, which I found was not foreign enough from the Original to make it by ſuch a Method any Way entertaining; yet I have endeavoured to keep as ſtrong an Analogy to the Senſe and Manner of Horace *as I could poſſibly. Perhaps, this Intention of Imitating the Method of* Horace *has led me into Conduct, which may be imputed to me as an unpardonable Error, and that Negligence in the Numbers, which will often appear, may not be forgiven on my Pleading, that in the Imitation I have been often negligent by* Deſign: *How far I am wrong in my Judgment in this Reſpect, I willingly ſubmit to thoſe who are acquainted with the Original.*

SHOULD *HOGARTH*, with extravagant Conceit,
Make a ſtrange Group of contraſt Figures meet,
Beneath a Plume that nods with Tragic Grace
Limn the quaint Drollery of *H—pſ—y*'s Face;
Then to that Face add *Chloe*'s Neck and Breaſt,
Beauteous as Thought e'er form'd, or Tongue expreſt;
Amaſs the Properties of Motley Scenes,
Of *Gods*, of *Kings*, of *Devils* and of *Queens*,
Strike out a Form that Nature cannot brag on,
With Creſt of *Cæſar* and with Tail of *Dragon*,
Part *Male*,—Part *Female*,—*Devil* Part,—Part *God*,
Who could reſtrain a Smile at Sight ſo odd?
But, odd as ſuch a Figure might appear,
It is the juſt Reſemblance of a Play'r,
Who raſhly will depart from Nature's Rule,
And rather Wonder raiſe, than touch the Soul;
Whoſe Storms and incoherent Actions ſeem,
Like the wild *Prattlings* of a ſick Man's Dream,
Which, while the Fev'riſh Phrenzy may prevail,
Flow unconnected, without Head or Tail.
Actors and *Poets* have an equal Right,
By bold Attempts, our Pleaſure to excite;
New Talents ſtill in pointed Wit to ſhow,
And make the Stream of Humour ſtronger flow;
Or in the tender, or the lofty Scene,
Form a new Harmony of Words and Mein;
Leave dull *Theatric Precedents* of Art,
And with peculiar Judgment catch the Heart.
Bold are theſe Liberties that Actors claim,
And great their Freedom in Purſuit of Fame:
Yet a juſt *Licence* cannot give Pretence,
To break the ſteady Rules of *Common-Senſe*;
To ſtrain the Voice and ſtare with frantic Air,
When * *Oedipus* appears in moving Play'r;
Nor yet a flow ſoft whining Tone aſſume,
When † Peals of Thunder ſhake the conſcious Room.
Some, when grave Scenes ſhould riſe with awful State,
And all the Heroe be divinely Great,
Studious in Vain, exert an idle Care,
To pleaſe the Eye, or gently ſooth the Ear:
In Senate or in Camp, in Joy, or Woe,
The Plume muſt wave, the Voice muſt ſweetly flow:
High Character by Length of Train be ſhown,
And Dignity by drawling out the Tone.
Juſtly the Plume may grace an Actor's Mein,
And the Imperial Robe adorn the Scene;
Juſtly the Numbers, flowing o'er the Tongue,
May warble ſweet as *Philomela*'s Song,
While Vales, and Dales, and murm'ring Streams, which rove,
Gently mæandring through the flow'ry Grove,
The Subject are:—But, if ill-judg'd the Choice
Of pompous Dreſs, and modulated Voice,
The ‡ Shape though rich, the Voice though ſoft and clear,
Will all a dull Extravagance appear.
Both ſometimes pleaſe; but this is not their Place;
Conſult *Propriety* alone for *Grace*.
Hayman § by Scenes our Senſes can controul,
And with creative *Power* charm the Soul;
His eaſy Pencil flows with juſt Command,
And Nature ſtarts obedient to his Hand:
We hear the tinkling Rill, we view the Trees
Caſt duſky Shades, and wave the gentle Breeze:
Here ſhoots through leafy Bow'rs a ſunny Ray,
That gilds the Grove, and emulates the Day:
There

* In Alluſion to theſe Lines in Mr. *Dryden*'s Play of *Oedipus*:
To you, ye Gods, I make my laſt Appeal, *&c.*

† Claſp'd in the Folds of Love: I'll wait my Doom,
And act my Joys, though Thunder ſhakes the Room.

‡ The Theatrical Term for a Roman Habit.

§ A young Gentleman, a Painter, very excellent in his Art, whoſe Scenes at *Drury-Lane* Theatre have always met with the greateſt Approbation from the Spectators.

There Mountain Tops look glad; there Valleys ſing;
And through the Landſchape blooms eternal Spring:
But what this Art, ſhould he ſuch Art perform,
And join it to the Horrors of a Storm:
Where quick fork'd Lightnings gleam, loud Thunders roar,
And foaming Billows laſh the ſounding Shoar:
Where driv'n by Eddies with impetuous Shock,
The whirling Veſſel bulges on a Rock;
The hopeleſs Sailor [illegible]ing high his Hand,
And Corpſe on Corpſe come rolling on the Strand:
In Storm and Landſchape we might Beauties find,
But wonder how they came together *join'd*.
Art rul'd by *Nature* muſt direct the Soul,
And ev'ry Geſture, Look, and Word controul:
Deceiv'd by *ſpecious* Right, moſt Actors run
Into the contraſt Errors they wou'd ſhun:
Some, who wou'd Gaiety or Paſſion ſhow,
With ſmart, liſp'd, Catch make half-form'd Words to flow;
Swift Rolls of jargon Sound, a rapid Flood,
With not one Word diſtinctly underſtood:
Thus, lab'ring to avoid a drawling Tone,
An equal Impropriety is ſhown.
Others, to ſeem articulate and clear,
With dull, loud, ſlow, plain Sound fatigue the Ear;
All Words, all Lines, the ſame grave Cadence keep,
And drowſy lull inſenſibly to Sleep:
While theſe, to prove that they no Spirits want,
Out-bawl *Drawcanſir* in the Tragic Rant.
Some few, who fear what Critics may explode,
With plodding Pace jog on the beaten Road:
Content in Acting juſt with common Senſe,
Ne'er dare to deviate into Excellence:
Who never charm, yet never much offend,
Who with the Merit they began will end:
But yet a briſker Genius of the Stage
Will try all Arts, all Methods, to engage:
Buffoonly dreſs, affect a monſtrous Tone,
Strike out the Poet's Wit, inſert his own:
As Sailor, or as Clown, as Beau, or Play'r,
No Matter what, or how, or when, or where,
Will Scenes, will Times, will Characters confound,
To hear of falſe Applauſe the Vulgar Sound:
Thus more they err who would their Errors hide,
If they want ſolid Judgment for their Guide:
Near *Covent-Garden* does a Painter live,
Whoſe Pencil can moſt wond'rous Likeneſs give
To the ſoft Ringlets of the flowing Hair,
Be they or red, or brown, or black, or fair:
Nor in this only does his Art prevail,
He hits the Finger, and the Finger's Nail:
Yet of the Dolt how wretched is the Caſe?
Who cannot give to half the Picture Grace,
Nor touch a ſingle Feature of the Face.
Rather than act as ſuch a Man would paint,
Some trifling Parts by meer Luck repreſent;
But when a Strength of Genius ſhould appear,
Still bound to grovel in my narrow Sphere,
I would no more be ſuch than noted be,
Alike for Beauty, and Deformity:
Than have *Lothario*'s manly Form and Grace,
Topp'd with the ſhocking Sneer of *Clody*'s Face.
All you who feel a gen'rous Thirſt of Fame,
And from the Stage a juſt Applauſe would claim,
From the firſt Moment you commence a Play'r,
And ſtrut at *Smithfield* or at *Southwark* Fair,
Long as you ſhall a better Fortune wait,
And ſtrolling know Variety of Fate;
Juſt as the Gods direct the Chance of Things,
Are this Day *Coblers*, and To-morrow *Kings*;
Your Genius try'd, conſult the Head and Heart,
Dare not at Flights; be equal to your Part;
Damn'd you may be attempting *Wildair*'s Eaſe;
When in the * *Buffoon Doctor* you might pleaſe:
On Parts adapted to your Talents dwell,
And be your only Study to excell.
Hence they who Judgment to their Choice admit,
When caſt to Parts which will their Genius hit,
Such Eaſe with ſuch expreſſive Force is ſhown,
They make the Poet's Sentiments their own;
Into the Character ſo ſtrong they fall,
It ſeems no longer *Art* but *Nature* all.
This muſt the Method be, or much I err,
To gain juſt Credit in a Theatre;
To judge what Parts may *now*, what *then* be play'd,
What to ſome future happier Time delay'd;
Whoſe Manner, or *whoſe* Action they ſhou'd like,
How far at *Imitation* they may ſtrike,
What to *improve*, what *ſhun*, muſt well be known
To riſe a Fav'rite Actor of the Town.
Be cautious, though it long has practis'd been,
To add your own Wit to the Poet's Scene:

* The *Mock Doctor*.

Now to your written Parts be strictly true,
Nor to the old insert one Sentence new:
For ev'ry Sentence new must *licens'd* be,
Nor are the *Actors* more than *Poets* free.
Yet it will shew a Quickness of the Mind,
And from the Audience sure Applause wou'd find,
If as by Accident, and not by Art,
You cou'd add something *new*, and *timely* smart;
When some keen Satire on some antient Crimes,
You mark'd as levell'd at our modern Times:
A new chance Phrase, unknown an Age ago,
Might strongly point out Vices acted now,
And *Licensers* will Slips of Tongues allow—
But be those *Slips* most careful, for they hate
One Word that marks a *Minister* of *State*.
Hence such *Attempts* shou'd with great Caution *be*,
And almost with the *Prompter*'s Book agree.—
—'Tis said: Shall modern Actors be refus'd
What all the old with Liberty have us'd?
Why shou'd old *Pinkey*'s Jestings, and Grimace,
Excell young *C——r*'s Witticisms or Face?
Why shou'd our merry Sires commend so high,
In their old Droll, what we our new deny?
Pinkey cou'd raise much Laughter we admit,
Yet equal *C——r* is in *Phiz*, or *Wit*:
But *Pinkey* cou'd his Jokes secure invent,
Poor *The*'s restrain'd by *Act of Parliament*;
Who wou'd not, *C——r*, at such Act repine,
When it embargoes Wit, — and Wit like thine?
There are peculiar Manners of the Stage,
And various Modes which vary with the Age:
Why are they envy'd then, who dare pursue
Where *Genius* leads to strike out something new?
In the last Age gay * *Mountford* charm'd the Town
With Comic Art peculiarly her own:
Shall not our *Clive* as just an Honour claim,
Who fix'd on inborn Excellence her Fame?
Our Sires to *Mountford* great Encomiums raise,
Shall we not *Clive* with equal Ardour praise?
We great *Originals* must *both* allow,
For all that *Mountford* cou'd be *Clive* is now.
It ever pleas'd the Town, and ever will,
To see old Parts play'd with new Humour still:
They who preceding Actors will pursue,
And strive to bring a *Sameness* to the View,
By the dull Copy all our Loss renew.
But when we see young Players, justly bold,
Rise to Perfection, we forget the old:
As in a Play Scenes vary by Degrees,
And, though the various Prospects change, they please;
So, when a Band of antient Actors die,
Another Set the Theatres supply;
Blooming with Pride, they flourish, and are gay,
Then withering droop, and still to new give Way.
Actors are mortal; and, at Death's dire Call,
Beaus, Misers, Rakes, Coquettes, and Coblers, fall:
He rules despotic, as o'er meaner Things,
O'er *Green-Room* Heroines, and *Buskin'd* Kings:
Their mighty *Empires* mighty Changes know,
And various Revolutions undergo.
Even their *Seas* and *Heavens* have their Date,
For——*Paint* and *Pasteboard* must submit to Fate.
What will not change in Time? That † noble Square,
To which each Morning *many* Nymphs repair,
And o'er whose Confines every Evening rove,
Famous all Day for *Greens*, all Night for *Love*:
Though nigh *D—ve—l*, there fam'd *Piazzas* give
Whores, Gamesters, Pickpockets, a Means to live:
There *R—ch* of a new Empire fix'd his Seat,
And wanton'd indolent in gay Retreat;
Till the calm *Monarch* into Dangers fell,
And had, to save his Realm, Recourse to *Hell*:
——Strange Fate of Things!—‡ A Serpent curs'd Mankind,
But *R—ch* can Blessings in a Serpent find:

* Mrs. *Mountford*, afterwards Mrs. *Verbruggen*, was esteemed a most excellent Actress in Comedy, and so great a Judge of Acting in General, that Mr. *Verbruggen*, who was a very good Tragedian, was said to have received his chief Perfections from her Instructions: How great her Excellence must have been, may be imagined from her acting *Bayes* in the *Rehearsal*, with a Judgment and Vivacity equal to any who had ever performed it.

† *Covent-Garden*. ‡ These four Lines allude to the Entertainment of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, performed at *Covent-Garden* Theatre, to crowded Audiences. The Serpent, which is to kill *Eurydice*, with a Kind of spontaneous Motion, is moved about the Stage, to the great Admiration and Emolument of the Spectators: To view this Serpent, the Scenes of Hell, &c. Ladies send their Servants to keep Places for them, at Three o'Clock, every Time it is performed.

Hell to his Boſom can true Comfort give,
Him Poyſon cures, and *Devils* make him *live*;
But this theatric Realm, that noble Square,
Shall fall in Time, and change from what they are;
When not a * *Burlington* ſhall *Jones* reſtore,
And *R—ch* and *Pantomimes* ſhall be no more.
If ſuch Plays periſh, and ſuch Realms decay,
The Modes of Acting change as well as they,
As Acting ſhou'd repreſent Mankind,
Actors new Methods to each Age muſt find;
As Faſhions vary, or as Humours change;
Attempt this Year what they might laſt think ſtrange:
For ſo the Player in Eſteem is plac'd,
Who hits with moſt Succeſs the *reigning Taſte*.
Be what it will to hit *that* wins the Heart,
Suppoſes Judgment, and *it* ſhews an Art.
To ſhew old Heroes, and make Armies fight,
Gave in *Eliza*'s warlike Reign Delight:
Then *Shakeſpear* wrote of Battles, Wars, and Kings,
And ſung in noble Numbers noble Things;
From him what Deeds have tragic Heroes done!
And on a ſix Foot Stage what Empires loſt and won!
Beaumont and *Fletcher* with great Spirit drew
The gay and genteel Character to View:
Shew'd how warm Youth to Gallantry cou'd rove,
And taught the pleaſing Dialogue of Love:
Such Parts we ſaw *Wilks* hit with ſprightly Eaſe,
And, *hap'ly* catching Nature's Foibles, pleaſe:
Here *Oldfeild* gave an Excellence of Art,
Who in theſe antique Scenes cou'd fire the Heart:
Her Elegance of Judgment made all new,
That Wit e'er ſpirited, or Nature drew.
Greatly endow'd with Knowledge of Mankind,
Ben † firſt the *Humour* of the Stage refin'd:
Gave to the Play'rs new Plans of Comic Wit,
Which wou'd of great Variety admit;
Requir'd the Actors utmoſt Skill and Care,
For he drew *Men*; and drew them as they were.
To repreſent his Characters, muſt be
A Knowledge of Mankind through each Degree:
He left ſuch Drama for the modern Stage,
In which, who moſt excel, *in all* will moſt engage.
Dave'nant ‡ in Opera's gave the tuneful Song,
And to the Drama made new Arts belong:
He firſt, inſtead of *Arras* painted *Scenes*,
And Heroes ſhow'd deſcending in *Machines*;
Join'd *Muſic*'s Power to the Actor's Art,
By double Charms to captivate the Heart:
But thus to pleaſe imperfectly he taught;
Dalton ** this Art to full Perfection brought;
Whoſe happy Skill made *Milton*'s noble Strain
Inſpire the Soul, and dignify the Scene;
With Awe the Poet's lofty Senſe we hear,
Then Notes with ſweeteſt Graces charm the Ear.
Now Virtue's Praiſe affects the gen'rous Mind,
Now ſtill new Joys by Muſic's Aid we find:
Two great alternate Arts our Paſſions move,
Sway'd with the Force of Virtue and of Love.
By whom were Scenes of *Harlequin* begun,
By ſome *French* Dancer, or our native †† *Lun?*
Though they diſpute, no *Connoiſſeurs* can fix:
Some ſay *Lun* brought, ſome ſay improv'd the *Tricks*:
But who in mottled Coat firſt charm'd the Rout,
Theatric Hiſt'ry leaves us Room to doubt.
Through all this various Drama of the Stage,
In any Part whoever wou'd engage,
To gain Applauſe from Judges muſt *excell*:
'Tis wretched to be *tolerably well*.
Why as juſt Actors ſhou'd we thoſe admit,
Who will appear in Characters unfit?
In other Parts be pleaſing as they will,
Whene'er they fail, they ſhew their Want of Skill:
Why ſhould the greateſt Player not be told,
Of glaring Faults, and be by Senſe controul'd?

* The Earl of *Burlington*, at his own Expence, repaired *Covent-Garden* Church, which was built by Sir *Inigo Jones*, and is reckoned as fine a Structure as any in *England*. † *Ben Johnſon*.

‡ In this Account of Sir *William Dav'enant* I follow Theatrical Tradition; but cannot reckon him the firſt who introduced Singing, Scenes, and Machines on the Stage; for in *Ben Johnſon*'s Maſques there is very pompous Machinery and Scenery deſcribed, which are often ſaid by the Poet to be the Deſigns and Performances of Sir *Inigo Jones*. ** The Gentleman who adapted the Maſque of *Comus* to the Stage, and by a judicious Diſpoſition of the Scenes, and ſome Collections from *Milton*'s Writings, has given the Publick one of the nobleſt Performances that was ever ſeen on the *Engliſh* Theatre. †† *Lun*, a fictitious Name which Mr. *R—h* aſſumed on his firſt performing the Character of *Harlequin*, and which he has ever ſince retained.

Better it were by decent Hints be taught,
Than one Night loſe the Fame, in five they got.
A happy Genius for low-humour'd Farce,
Ill wou'd attempt the Sound of Tragic Verſe:
A mottley Tone wou'd break through all the Style,
And dangling, awkard Action make us ſmile.
Shou'd *Nell* * turn Heroine, as *Piſtol* deigns,
On *Buſkin*'s too Foot high, to fill the Scenes,
All wou'd, as *Johſon*'s Wife had a new Change,
Pity a Metamorphoſis ſo ſtrange:
But when the little Heroe we behold,
In burleſque Pomp, ſelf-confident, and bold,
Roll round his goggling Eyes with awful Grin,
And thump his Heart,—to ſhow it touch'd within:
His Tragi-comic Countenance, and Stride,
With hearty Laughter ſhakes our quav'ring Side.
Some, not content their *Excellence* to ſhow,
Strive to reveal their *Imperfections* too.
Confin'd to *proper Walks* wou'd Actors be,
All wou'd appear with more Propriety.
Yet I allow that, in the Comic Scene,
Some who excel, excel in Tragic Strain:
And ſome, who juſtly reach the Tragic Style,
In Comic Scenes as juſtly make us ſmile:
He who, in *Rule a Wife*, can hit the Part
Of ideot Folly, muſt then rouze the Heart,
Loſe in becoming Dignity the Fool,
And prove with tragic Grandeur he will rule.
Nor do th' *Othello*'s of the Stage diſdain,
In hum'rous Guiſe, to touch the Comic Vein,
To change the Heroe for the fat old Knight,
And with *Jack Falſtaff*'s Drollery delight.
Fame gives this Rule, if we to Fame may truſt,
Tragedians only act a *Falſtaff* juſt:
In this, indeed, long famous have they been,
For *Betterton* was matchleſs, now is *Quin*.
'Tis not ſufficient to repeat a Part
With proper *Accent*; it muſt reach the *Heart*:
The Actor to the Audience muſt reveal,
He has the *Will*, and *Faculty* to feel:
Mov'd in himſelf, all others he controuls,
Commands their Thoughts, and agitates their Souls.
When *CATO* gives his little Senate Laws,
What Boſom pants not in his gen'rous Cauſe?
But ſhou'd, while we the Character revere,
See the great *Patriot* ſink into the *Play'r*;
See him look round Box, Gallery, and Pit,
For the leaſt ſeeming Thought of *Rome* a-bit;
Who wou'd not laugh to think that this Survey
Was to mark out for a Friend, as, who ſhou'd ſay,
'Pox o' this Stuff—Let *Rome* be loſt or won,
'We'll drink our Bottle when the Play is done'.
All Actors are to ſeem what they are not,
Which to perform, *themſelves* muſt be *forgot*:
Their Mind muſt loſt in Character be ſhown,
Nor once betray a Paſſion of their own;
Muſt to the Buſineſs of the Stage attend,
And Heighth of Action with their Silence blend:
Or in the *Front*, *Aſide*, or back retir'd,
Something to *do*, or *ſeem*, is ſtill requir'd:
This common Rule ſhou'd practis'd be by all,
From *Jobſon* chaunting in the Cobler's Stall,
To *Cæſar* thund'ring in the *Capitol*.
'Tis not enough if you can catch the *Cue*,
A ſtrict Attention's to the Audience due;
Gaze not around on them; they do not pay
To ſee you turn Spectators, but to play.
If you are curious, there are other Means,
From the loop'd Curtain, or behind the Scenes.
When in old Parts you venture to purſue
A Manner of your own, to make them new,
Still to the *Character* be ſtrictly true.
To act *Macbeath* more Merit muſt you bring,
Than thrill a Ballad, and with Quaver ſing;
A manly Geſture and a ſprightly Air
Muſt with a proper Dignity appear;
The gay mock Heroe muſt our Paſſions move,
By Joy, by Courage, in Diſtreſs, and Love.
Some Parts 'tis Danger to attempt at all,
When late we've ſeen a great Original;
We by the firſt Impreſſion are ſo wrought,
All Copies, though well copy'd, have much Fault:
Nor is this partial Prejudice alone;
The Author's Senſe to the firſt Actor's ſhown
In the full Spirit, and becomes his own:
Hence, *Walker*, though we many *Macbeaths* view,
The ſtandard Excellence remains in you.
Sometimes a Poet, ſtudiouſly abſurd,
Fit for one Perſon only writes each Word:
Or could Miſs † *Lucy* the firſt Night ſurvive,
Had not each Word adapted been for *Clive*?
Lucy, or *Lappet*, or her fav'rite *Nell*,
May copy'd be—*ſhe* only will *excell*.

* The principal Character in the Farce, called, *The Devil to pay*; or, *The Wives Metamorphoſed*.

† Miſs *Lucy*: A Character in the *Virgin Unmask'd*.

Some

Some to the Stage unus'd, unſkill'd, untaught,
To charm at firſt Appearance have been brought,
And, of Applauſe ſecure, aſſume a Part
Requires Experience and the niceſt Art;
The pompous Bill proclaims it o'er and o'er,
They ne'er *appear'd on any Stage* before
And when they've once appear'd — appear
no more.

So have I ſeen large-letter'd Bills proclaim,
(In *red* Lines *France* was mark'd, in *black* the
The celebrated [illegible]*n* was to dance
His firſt Performance ſince he arriv'd from *France:*
—The Houſe was crowded; — the third Act
was done;
A Chorus figur'd Entry brought him on:
He came; — he caper'd once; — and off he
run. —
The Pomp ſo ſolemn ended in a Joke,
For, ah! the String that ty'd his Breeches broke.
Vain all the *Puffs* to *publick Papers* ſent;
Vain all the *Arts* ev'n *C--bb--r* could invent;
What Skill do *Bills* or *Advertiſements* lend?
On *Merit* only muſt *Succeſs* depend.
Booth ne'er attempted, in a pompous Way,
To reach Perfection in his firſt Eſſay;
Through many Counties had he ſtroling been,
Trod many Stages, and play'd many a Scene,
Before the *Britiſh Roſcius* he became;
And fix'd, while *Britain*'s Stage ſhall laſt, his
Name:
He knew experienc'd Truths muſt gain his
Cauſe,
Nor made ſmall Fame to follow ſmall Applauſe;
Commanding of Reſpect, his Step, his Look,
Invited all Attention e're he ſpoke:
With what a Majeſty he mov'd along!
How tuneful flow'd the Periods of his Tongue!
Inform'd by Nature, and improv'd by Art,
Speaking, or ſilent, he won ev'ry Heart,
Or all admiring liſten'd with Surprize,
Or on his graceful Form they fed their raptur'd
Eyes;
The Fiction loſt, they realiz'd the Scene,
And ſaw entranc'd a Heroe live again.

'Tis ſaid, as Actors on the Stage make known
All others Foibles, nor reveal their own;
Many there are, who've ſat out many a Play,
Nor went near the twelfth Hour fatigu'd away;
Who on the Stage the Players have admir'd,
Have wiſh'd to know their Humours, when
retir'd:
They of ſtrange Things behind the Curtain hear,
And wonder what thoſe famous *Green-Rooms* are.
For *Fame* ſays many go behind the Scenes,
To romp with *Goddeſſes*, and joke with *Queens*,
With half-drunk *Biſhops* talk of ſmutty Things,
Bow'd to by *Emp'rors*, and *ſhook Hands* by
Kings.
There Scenes conceal'd from common Light
ariſe,
Whoſe Humour pleaſes, and whoſe Themes
ſurpriſe:
In all according to their Rank you find
Various Behaviour, and as various Mind;
All with peculiar Oddities engage,
From him who *ſweeps*, to him who *rules* the
Stage.
Theſe, MUSE, relate: — But why this ſud-
den Pauſe,
Vers'd in their Arts, their Humours, and their
Laws?
When what to think and what to ſay I know,
Why will not ev'n Proſaic Numbers flow?
—Some God indulgent twitches by the Ear,
And kindly whiſpers, — 'Too raſh Bard, for-
'bear;
'Enough haſt thou traduc'd *Horatian* Rules,
'Indulging Fancy, and deſcribing Fools;
'In Imitation ſhould your Verſe ſucceed,
'When ſuch the Subject, who the Verſe will
'read?
'What publick Benefit will it impart
'To know a Player's Humour, or his Art?
'— *Humour* be what it will, if juſt, is lov'd —,
'E're you write more ſee what you've wrote
'approv'd:
'Then of the Stage the various Theme prolong,
'Or wiſely here for ever cloſe your Song.

The

The Cuckows Neſt at *Weſtminſter*: Or, The Parliament between the two Lady-Birds, Queen *Fairfax* and Lady *Cromwell*, concerning Negociations of State, and their ſecond Intereſts in the Kingdom; ſadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer and ab-hor'ed Huſbands.

Who buys a Cuckow's Neſt, hatch'd in an Air
That's not far diſtant from *Weſtminſter-Fair?*
The Hedge-Sparrow, that fed her t'other Day,
Is, for her Kindneſs, now become her Prey;
O 'tis a precious Bird, wer't in a Cage,
'Twould pleaſe both King and People; cure this Age
That ſurfeits with Rebellion, and can have
No Help to keep her from Deſtruction's Grave.
She cuckows Treaſons, Strifes, cauſes great Stir,
But muſt pack hence 'twixt this and *Midſummer*:
Though *Goatham* hedge her in with Pikes and Gun,
She ſhall not 'ſcape us, though ſhe flies, or runs;
For all the Birds with one Conſent agree,
To ſpring her for baſe Diſloyalty.

By *Mercurius Melancholicus*. Printed in Cuckow-time in a Hollow-tree, 1648. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

WHO is it amongſt us that hath not heard theſe Cuckows at *Weſtminſter?* An Ayrie of ſuch ominous Owl-birds, that the like was never before ſeen in this Kingdom; that have kept a great Cackling, and been long and cloſe Sitters, but have hatched Nothing but Cockatrice Eggs, vile Treaſons, addle Ordinances, and the like, to inſnare and inſlave a free-born People, making of them no better than Hedge-Sparrows, to nurſe up, with their Wealth, the baſtard Iſſue of their pernicious Plots againſt King, Church, and Kingdom; the common People, that willingly fed them, and lent them not only Hands, but Lives and Eſtates, being now, for their great Kindneſs, juſtly become a Prey to the ravenous and griping Claws of theſe Cannibal Cuckows, the Parliament and Army, that now are devouring them, after they have pulled and polled them to the bare Skins; are now feeding upon their Fleſh, and picking their very Bones, killing, deſtroying, and robbing them; and, if this be not enough to provoke the People to curſe theſe unnatural Vipers, and to loath all future Parliaments to the World's End, I have loſt my Senſes; none will fear them, none will love them, none will obey them,

them, all will hate them, all will deſpiſe them, all fight againſt them.

Let us now conſider what Manner of Birds theſe be; and we ſhall find them not Cuckows only, but other Birds of Prey, as Vultures, Harpies, Puttocks, Oſtriches, Owls, Martins, Daws, and ſuch like ominous and unclean Birds, that with their huge Bodies, and baleful Wings, have obſcured our King, our Peace, our Happineſs, and hid all Joy and Comfort from us; theſe are all Birds of a Feather, that ſit in Council, and conſpire together againſt the Eagle, the Phenix, the Turky, the Peahen, the Turtle, the Swan, the Canary, and ſweet-ſinging Nightingale, who, being all too credulous to believe the feigned Babblings of theſe State-decoys, are now covered and intangled in their Nets, caught in their Pit-falls, and all their Goods and Feathers pulled from them by Lime-twig Ordinances.

Theſe Birds of Prey flock together at *Weſtminſter*; and have, for almoſt eight Years, rooſted themſelves there, even till they had defiled their very Neſts, and were forced to fly Abroad till they were cleanſed; and yet ſit brooding and hatching their pernicious Plots and Treaſons, Cockatrice Ordinances, bald buzzardly Votes, contradicting Orders, and changeling Declarations, both againſt the Laws of Nature, Reaſon, Conſcience, and Religion; and have uſurped all Power and Authority from, and over their lawful and undoubted Sovereign, doing their utmoſt to deprive both him and his Poſterity of their hereditary Rights and Succeſſions, denying to acknowledge him for their Head, forbidding Addreſſes to be made unto him, or Meſſages to be received from him; by which they have changed and abandoned the National and Fundamental Laws of the Land (the only Ligaments and Sinews of a Kingdom) being an Act, not only of the higheſt Treaſon that can be, but a Crime that diveſts them of all their Privileges, unparliaments them, and makes them all guilty of the abhorred Sin of Perjury, in breaking Proteſtations, Oaths, and Covenants, and liable to a juſt Cenſure, and Conviction of Theft, Treaſon, and Rebellion; for which they can no otherwiſe ſatisfy the King, Laws, or People, but by the Tribute of their Roundheads, too ſlight a Recompence for ſuch abhorred and traitorous Crimes.

Therefore the People may now ſee, without Spectacles, how groſly they have been deceived, and juggled out of their Lives and Eſtates; it is true, the Parliament, at the firſt, convened by Royal Authority, was a lawful, and, for aught I know, a conſcientious Parliament, and the whole Body (being aptly and compleatly united together in the Members, without forceable Diſlocation, or falſe Election) was, queſtionleſs, the higheſt Judicature in this Kingdom: But, ſince *Edgehill* Fight, this Junćto (or pretended Parliament, acting in open Hoſtility, and fighting againſt their King) abandoning their Head, are no more a Parliament, but the Body of a Parliament, without a Head, a Monſter, a very Cuckow's-neſt; a combined Medley of Traitors and Rebels, and far different from the Nature of a Parliament (by Reaſon of their *Luciferian* Pride, to be flung down to Hell) and to be deſerted by all loyal Subjects, as diſjointed, ſevered, and mangled in its Members; as deficient as their then General, uncapable of any juſt Act, but wading on in Blood (by an uſurped, treaſonous, tyrannical, and over-awing Power, having no Derivation from the King, but their own Luſts) therefore no Subject whatſoever hath any Warrant, neither can they bind the Conſcience of any, to yield either Active or Paſſive Obedience to any Act or Ordinance, becauſe they illegally act, contrary to all Precedents of former Parliaments, and Parliamentary Power, and are no longer the viſible Repreſentatives of the Body Politick, and ſo muſt neceſſarily be guilty of all the innocent Bloodſhed theſe ſix Years in this Kingdom, and ſtill ſhedding in moſt Counties in *England*; theſe Rebels being ſo fleſhed in Blood and Rapine, they are reſolved to go thorough-ſtitch in their abhorred Rebellion, though they ruin three Kingdoms, by their inhuman Butcheries, being rewarded with a large Sum for ſhedding Blood in the City, encouraged and rewarded for murdering the *Surry* Petitioners, the *Kentiſh*, and *Eſſex* Men, for delivering, in a legal Way, Petitions for Redreſs of their ſeveral Grievances; What can any rational Man think, but that they defer to murder their King, until ſuch Time as they have firſt murdered and deſtroyed all his loyal Subjects?

That, when the Army could not have an Opportunity to plunder the City, as Nothing ſo ſure as they intended it, they were hired by *Martin*, *Mildmay*, *Vane*, and the reſt of that Neſt, to pick a Quarrel with the Country, that they might plunder and undo them, when then they

they had miſſed of their Aim in the City, as now they do in *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and all the Kingdom over, killing, plundering, and triumphing over all they are able to conquer; ſo that between both Parties, Royaliſts and Roundheads, as between the good and bad Thief, the poor Country muſt be crucified.

The chief Fomentors that are Regicides, and moſt active in our Deſtruction in the Upper Houſe, are the Lords *Say*, *Pembroke*, *Mancheſter*, *Kent*, *Warwick*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Wharton*, and *Grey*; theſe always cuckow forth one Tune, *No King*, *no King*; in the Lower Houſe, are a Neſt of as evil Birds, as ever hatched at *Tyburn*, and theſe are *Lenthall*, *Mildmay*, *Scot*, *Challoner*, *Martin*, *Weaver*, *Vane*, *Corbet*, and *Cromwell*, that cannot endure to hear the King ſo much as named in the Houſe; in the Synod of Time-ſerving Preſbyters, there are *Marſhall*, *Burgeſs*, *Strong*, *Sedgwick*, *Vines*, *Love*, *Whittaker*, and *Nye*, that draw altogether in one Yoke, againſt Monarchy; theſe teach Rebellion inſtead of Divinity, more Lyes than Truth, more Blaſphemy than ſound Doctrine, and will have no King to reign over them, except he be of the Royal Progeny of Mrs. *Parliament*, or the Child of *Reformation*: In the Army, there are another Neſt of Birds, but not of the ſame Feather, and theſe be the Elect forſooth, the precious Babes that are hail-fellow with God Almighty, ſee ſtrange Viſions, and are poſſeſſed with unerring Spirits, that whatſoever they do, though never ſo impudent and wicked, is lawful; and theſe are, *Peters*, *Dell*, *Erbury*, *Knowles*, *Goodwin*, *Symſon*, &c. The firſt Rank of theſe are Oxen, and the latter Aſſes, which the Parliament yoke in their Plough together, becauſe they are forbidden it in the old Law, and, by that Means, avoid Idolatry; but their Drivers are more charitable than theſe Beaſts, for they but kill our Bodies, and rob us of our Goods, but theſe Wolviſh Cattle ſlay our Souls, take away our good Nam judge us, and condemn us to Hell; the the charitable Saints, that have the Mar heir Brother *Cain* in their Foreheads; V nds that have no Abiding-places, but a ried with every Wind from one Unce to another, and are conſtant in Nothing, miſchief; theſe are the running Plague- that infect the whole Nation, and cauſe ings and Rifings in the Body of the Commo dth; theſe are thoſe that ſow Diſ mc Brethren, and though, like *Samſon's* Fo they are tied Tail to Tail, yet they carry Firebrand amongſt them, that burns up both Church and State in the mercileſs and conſuming Flames of an unnatural and bloody War; theſe are the Diſturbers of our *Iſrael*, and Hinderers of our Peace; old Foxes, and wild Boars, that root up our Vineyards, feeding themſelves fat on the Ruins of others; theſe, inſtead of expelling out Papacy, but one Faction, have brought in five-hundred damnable Sects, and ſet them all to devour Epiſcopacy, to bring in bleſſed Liberty to pull down Monarchy, and ſet up Ariſtocracy, by which Means they have advanced their hypocritical, diabolical, and pernicious Treaſons to this very Day: Are not theſe Cuckows worthy of a Cage? Surely they be: But I ſhall leave this Neſt of foul Birds to the People's Ordering, having told them where it is, only deſiring all loyal People to ſecure their Money from them, to provide Arms for their own Defence, and rather chuſe to die like Men, than live like Slaves. *But I will*, inſtead of an Epilogue, give you a Dialogue to cure your Melancholy.

Then hie *Toſs*, black *Tom* is dead,
Come aloft *Jack-a-dandy*,
Sir *Samuel Luke* ſhall be General,
And that's as good as can be.

POSTSCRIPT.

Enter Queen Fairfax *and Madam* Cromwell.

M. *Cromwell.* CHEAR up, Madam, he is not dead, he is reſerved for another End, theſe wicked Malignants reported as much of my *Noll*, but I hope it is otherwiſe; yet the Profane writ an Epitaph, as I think they call it, and abuſed him moſt abominably, as they will do me, or you, or any of the faithful Saints, if we but thrive by our Occupations in our Huſbands Abſence; if we but deck our Bodies with the Jewels gained from the Wicked, they point at us, and ſay, Thoſe are Plunder; but the Righteous muſt undergo the

Scoffs

Scoffs of the Wicked; but let them ſcoff on, I thank my Maker, we lived before theſe holy Wars were thought on, in the thriving Profeſſion of Brewing, and could, of my Vails of Grains and Yeſt, wear my Silk Gown, and Gold and Silver Lace too, as well as the proudeſt Minx of them all; I am not aſhamed of my Profeſſion, Madam.

Qu. *Fair.* Pray, Mrs. *Cromwell*, tell not me of Gowns or Lace, nor no ſuch Toys? Tell me of Crowns, Scepters, Kingdoms, Royal Robes; and, if my *Tom* but recovers, and thrives in his Enterpriſe, I will not ſay, *Piſh*, to be Queen of *England*; I miſdoubt Nothing, if we can but keep the Wicked from fetching *Nebuchadnezzar* Home from Graſs in the Iſle of *Wight*: well, well, my *Tom* is worth a Thouſand of him, and has a more kingly Countenance; he has ſuch an innocent Face, and a harmleſs Look, as if he were born to be Emperor over the Saints.

Mrs. *Crom.* And is not *Noll Cromwell's* Wife as likely a Woman to be Queen of *England*, as you? Yes, I warrant you; is ſhe; and that you ſhall know, if my Huſband were but once come out of *Wales*; it is he that has done the Work, the Conqueſt belongs to him; beſides, your Huſband is counted a Fool, and wants Wit to reign; every Boy ſcoffs at him: My *Noll* has a Head-piece, a Face of Braſs, full of Majeſty, and a Noſe will light the whole Kingdom to walk after him; I ſay he will grace a Crown, being naturally adorned with Diamonds and Rubies already; and, for myſelf, though I ſay it, I have a Perſon as fit for a Queen as another.

Qu. *Fair.* Thou a Queen, thou a Quean? Udsfoot, Minion, hold your Clack from Prating Treaſon againſt me, or I will make Mrs. *Parliament* lay her Ten Commandments upon thee? Thou a Queen, a Brewer's Wife a Queen? That Kingdom muſt needs be full of Drunkards, when the King is a Brewer? My *Tom* is nobly deſcended, and no baſe Mechanick.

Mrs. *Crom.* Mechanick? Mechanick in thy Face; thou art a Whore to call me Mechanick; I am no more a Mechanick than thyſelf: Marry come up, Mother *Damnable*, *Joan Ugly*; muſt you be Queen? Yes, you ſhall; Queen of *Puddledock*, or *Billingſgate*, that is fitteſt for thee: My *Noll* has won the Kingdom, and he ſhall wear it, in deſpight of ſuch a Trollop as thou art: Marry, come up here, Mrs. *Wagtail?*

Enter a Servant running.

Serv. O, Madam, ceaſe your Contention, and provide for your Safeties; both your Huſbands are killed, and all their Forces put to the Sword; all the People crying like mad, *Long live King* Charles!

Omn. We hope 'tis falſe; O whither ſhall we fly,
Leſt Vengeance overtake our Treachery?

A Neſt of perfidious Vipers: Or, The Second Part of the Parliament's Calendar of black Saints. Pictured forth in a Second Arraignment, or Gaol-delivery of Malignants, Jeſuits, *Arminians*, and Cabinet-Counſellors, being the fatal Engineers, Plotters, and Contrivers of Treaſons againſt the Parliament, our Religion, Laws, and Lives. Condemned according to their ſeveral Crimes. *London*, Printed according to Order, for *G. Biſhop*, *September* 21, 1644. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

WELL, ſince we muſt go to work again, and fill up the ſecond Part of our Calendar with *Black Saints*; we firſt preſent you with a Neſt of the vileſt *Vipers* that ever *Africk*, or *Nile*, did produce; a Generation ſo curſed, that they have rent out the Bowels of their own natural Mothers, and been the abhorred Murderers of their Fathers; ſuch as have made Women Huſbandleſs, Mothers Childleſs, and two flouriſhing Kingdoms almoſt fruitleſs, whoſe poiſonous Breaths have infected the purer Air, mixing the Clouds with Cries and Groans; made black that glorious Diadem, that ſhould impale the Sacred Brow of Majeſty, rendering the Donour glorious to God and Man; whoſe baneful Stings have turned the Cryſtal Veins of Earth to Springs of Blood, and dyed the verdant Graſs in Crimſon Gore, that uſed to be enammelled with fragrant Flowers: Serpents that have out-done old Satan for Plots and Treacheries againſt our Religion, Laws, and innocent Lives: Of theſe there be both Male and Female, of divers Sorts and Kinds, as ſome Baſiliſks, ſome flying Dragons, ſome Cockatrices, ſome fiery Serpents, ſome curled winding Snakes, ſome dangerous Adders, *&c.*

And firſt, for our Baſiliſks or Biſhops, whoſe Eyes were dangerous, and as full of Pride, as their Hearts of deadly Poiſon in the Cup of the *Babyloniſh* Harlot: Theſe Sons of Pride and Vain-glory could at their Pleaſure look a poor Proteſtant dead, through the Pride and feigned Veil of ſeeming Humility, but indeed Hypocriſy, Ambition, and the cruelleſt Tyranny that Oppreſſors could deviſe to enſlave, and diſnoble a flouriſhing Kingdom and a free-born People. Theſe had their Reſidence in the greateſt Courts of Juſtice, as the *Star-Chamber*, the *Council-Table*, and *High Commiſſion*, &c. And ſo made a Monopoly of Earth, as before they had done of Heaven, in forgiving Sins, and Hell too, in taking Fees for the moſt abhorred Villainies, as Adultery, Fornication, and the reſt of the Seven, under a glorious Pretence of repairing Cathedrals, and ſetting up Organ-pipes and Images: Theſe Serpents carried deadly Stings in their long black Tails, borne up by a Company of Proctors, Apparitors, and Informers, *Duck*, *Lamb*, and the reſt, as foul a Neſt of the ugliеſt Vipers as ever Nature did produce: Theſe have ſtung to death many Godly Miniſters, and other Religious Proteſtants and Profeſſors of the Truth of the Goſpel; ſome impriſoned, ſome whipped, ſome hanged, ſome ſeared with hot Irons, others pilloried, having their Ears cut off, becauſe they would not endure Popery to be planted in our Churches: Theſe fat Bulls, or dumb Dogs, feed upon their Flocks, when they ſhould have fed their Flocks, and ſo ſacrificed to their goddeſs Bellies, when many a poor Member of Chriſt lay ſtarving at their Gates, as near pined for outward Proviſion for their Bodies, as their more languiſhing Souls were for ſpiritual Inſtructions.

The Firſt, that we intend to ſaint in our ſecond Calendar, is a foul Bird of this Neſt called *Wren*. Cryer, call *Wren* to the Bar, a right *Baſiliſk*, that looked to Death near threeſcore and odd Miniſters in one Viſit, or Yearly Perambulation over his Dioceſe at *Ipſwich*; little Pope *Regulus* that reigned like a Tyrant, and, though a ſmall Bird, yet ſung a ſcurvy Tune, *Counter Tenor*, Oh *Baſe*, and, inſtead of *Treble*, ſung *Terrible*: Make his *Mittimus*, let him have Time to conſider of the Lawfulneſs of the Oath *Ex Officio* in *Bridewell*: Let him not want Caſtigation, and ſee that none of the Puritan Faction come near him, or relieve him, 'tis the only Way to make him conformable to us. Or, Oh *Baſe*, let him kiſs *Newgate*, lie in the Common Gaol, and be ſure to have Chains enough: Make his *Mittimus* to the *Gate-houſe*, or obtain the Favour of *Long*'s Powdering-Tub, which ſhall powder him ſoundly, long enough before he come forth: Theſe were the baſe and terrible Tunes of this Right Reverend Father in God, (the God of this World I mean.) Surely his Predeceſſors the Apoſtles, that he ſo much boaſteth of, exhort him rather to admoniſh lovingly, and inſtruct kindly, than puniſh ſo cruelly. I never read that they, in their greateſt Paſſion, committed or impriſoned (yet patiently endured both themſelves) thoſe that would not conform themſelves to their Truths: Yet you can do all this to thoſe, that will not conform themſelves to your Lyes. This *Wren* was ſo holy, that, if a Stranger ſhould chance to ſpit on the ſanctified Pavement of his Chapel, a Scholar muſt take his Handkerchief and wipe it up, and

duck

duck three Times to the Altar, and yet, for all this, was ſo profane and unſanctified in his Heart (that ſhould have been more holy than the Chapel, or Altar, or Pavement) that he kept another Man's Wife in *Cambridge*, and, though a *Wren*, yet in that proved himſelf a very *Cock-Sparrow*. This methinks ſhould be a great Spot in his *Lawn Sleeves*, and put him in Mind of a Brother of his in *Ireland*, that was hanged for ſuch a holy Buſineſs; *Finch* of *Chriſt-Church* was another Bird of the ſame Feather, and might well be thy Chaplain, that had been ſo apt a Scholar under thee, in the School of *Luſt*: Thoſe at *Ipſwich*, that deviſed the Engine to take thee in the little Houſe over the Water, pull thee into a Litter, and carry thee into *New England*, would have done *Old England* a great Courteſy, that is fain to feed ſo foul a Bird in a Cage all this While: If we ſhould have Biſhops to reign over us, as 'tis unlikely we ſhould, thy Crimes are ſo great and enormous, that thou muſt expect a Halter rather then a Mitre; therefore, being undeſerving and uncapable of a Biſhoprick, expect to take new Orders, and commence at *Tyburn*. *Take him*, Derrick.

Call *Mountague* to the Bar, a *Roman Baſilisk*, whoſe Head fitted the Windmill better than the Mitre, and mounted up *Arminianiſm* till he had endangered his Lungs again, and made his Voice more hoarſe, than his Reverend Kinſwoman, with crying *New Wainfleet Oyſters*. King *James*, being as wiſe as religious, ſeeing the ſpreading infectious Iſſue of thy Quill, quaſhed it in the Egg, knowing that Hereſy, once hatched, was ſoon brooded, and would quickly grow into numerous Swarms (being always frightful enough) both diſallowed, condemned, and forbid thy Heretical Books the Preſs, and would not let thy poiſonous Wings over-cloud the bright though humble Beams of Truth, iſſuing from the pure Sun of the Goſpel: Though like an impudent Magpy, with all thy Chattering, thou couldeſt not blind that bright-eyed Eagle, that could out-look the Sun, apparelled with his brighteſt Beams and Glory; yet ſtill wouldeſt ſtrive with that old Serpent, whoſe Pride could not prevail with God, to extend his Malice by tempting his Son. *All this will I give thee, &c.* The Kingdom of *Spain*, the Empire of *Germany*, *France* and all, all ſhall be thine, if thou wilt but worſhip me, turn Catholick, and, like an obedient Son, deſtroy thy Puritan Subjects; 'tis no Matter how, I can forgive thee, or, to make thy Way ſure, make Uſe of Proteſtations, call Heaven and Earth, and Hell to Witneſs, all the Mental Reſervations, or Equivocations, thou can'ſt deviſe, or we deviſe for thee, ſo that the Catholick Cauſe go forward, 'tis good enough. Well ſpoke *Mountague*, thou ſhalt have a Mitre, or a Cardinal's Cap in Time; a three-cornered Cap for thee and the reſt of thy Faction. *Take him*, Derrick.

Cryer, Call *White* to the Bar, a dangerous *Baſilisk*, of the ſame Neſt, and one that loved any Thing better than a Parliament; one whoſe poiſonous Breath infected the Sanctity of the Sabbath, maintained the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, and writ whole Volumes in Defence of Arch *Arminians*, and defended their Hereſy at a packed Conference; this Viper, by the Inſtructions of the *Arch-Baſilisk* of *Canterbury*, would ſuffer none to be preferred, but thoſe that would prefer and favour thoſe dangerous Tenents, by them urged and maintained: Then *Coſens*, *Regulus*, *Corbet*, *Pocklington*, *Heylyn*, and a little more of Sowers, Planters, and Waterers of the Seeds of Superſtition and Popery, were ſent out to infect the Kingdom of *England*, which took admirably, and quickly brought forth an excellent Crop of Popery: Then long-tailed Clokes were in Faſhion, the Jeſuits Garb right, worn by a Company of Prieſts, the merrieſt Fellows, boon Lads: Let the Devil preach, quoth one, give me the other Quart of Sack: Lie there Divinity, ſays another to his Gown. Come, my Girl, let me embrace thy lovely Corps; Doſt think I am good for Nothing but to preach, *&c?* Theſe rare Divines would preach againſt Spiritual Whoredom, yet be arrant Monkies at the other; that was, when their preciſe Pariſhioners, termed Round-heads, would ſeek out for ſome Spiritual Comforts, becauſe they could have none at Home, ſometimes not in a Month together, yet muſt be excommunicated, derided by uncivil Names, and termed Puritans, Round-heads, Spiritual Whoremongers, *&c.* Was not this excellent Sport indeed? And ſurely, ſuch Prieſts, ſuch People, though, God be bleſſed, not all. Theſe *Baſilisks* could ſuffer the Sabbath to be profaned, by Drunkards, Players, Wakes, Morrice-dancers, May-poles, and what not, and by Authority too: Much more might be ſpoken

on this Subject; but enough of theſe Vipers, and too much too: I have others as bad to ſhew you, and will leave theſe to the Juſtice and Prudence of the Parliament. *Take them*, Derrick.

The next we preſent you, are a Crew of Flying Dragons, that have many Wings, right Wings, and left Wings, and double Faces, that can ſoon face about, be here and there, and every where to do Miſchief, plunder, raviſh, fire, and the like.

Cryer. Call Prince *Rupert* to the Bar, Thou haſt been a right Flying Dragon Prince, and haſt flew ſtrangely up and down in this Iſland, and haſt ſtung to Death thoſe that formerly preſerved thy Life. O ungrateful Viper, far worſe than that in the Fable! Doſt not thou think to be ſainted for this? Yes, thou ſhalt in this Black Calendar: The Commons of *England* will remember thee, thou Flap-Dragon, thou Butter-Box; whoſe Impieties draw, like the powerful Load-ſtone, ſpeedy Vengeance on thy curſed Head? How many Towns haſt thou fired? How many Virgins haſt thou defloured? How many godly Miniſters haſt thou killed? How much haſt thou plundered from his Majeſty's beſt and moſt obedient Subjects? How many Innocents haſt thou ſlain? How many curſed Oaths haſt thou belched out againſt God and his People? How haſt thou ſurfeited with the good Things of our Land, and undone whole Counties? Why cameſt thou hither? Could not thy Uncle's evil Counſel infect our Kingdom enough, unleſs thou hadſt a Share in it. Thou hadſt a Dukedom already, and wouldeſt thou have a Kingdom too? Is it that thou aimeſt at? King of *Ireland*, or King of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects the *Iriſh* Rebels, the Papiſts, Jeſuits, and others: Yes thou ſhalt have a Kingdom, and Pimps inſtead of Preachers, Wenches for thy Privy-counſellors, a black Pot for thy Scepter, or a white Pot for thy Crown; and ſhalt make Laws accordingly, wholeſome Laws I'll warrant you. Thou haſt had but ſcurvy Luck lately, I cannot pity thee, at *Marſton Moor*, where thy Highneſs was ſoundly cudgelled into the Bean-field, and hadſt Time to write the Elegy of thy Dog in direful Tears, Curſes, and Execrations; Prince, have a Care, thou mayeſt be next, Ingratitude never ſpeeds better, and ſo farewell, and be——*Take him*, Garret.

Call Prince *Maurice* to the Bar, a Dancing Dragon, that hath danced fairly after the lewd Meaſures of his ungodly Brother, in firing Houſes, and killing of Godly Miniſters, deflouring of Virgins, murdering his Majeſty's beſt Subjects, and plundering and undoing the Kingdom; theſe Jiggs are now become Court-dances; though 'tis an unuſual Thing to uſe Jiggs and Dances in Tragedies, yet now 'tis the Court-faſhion, which makes *Inigo Jones* fret himſelf into a Conſumption, and wiſh thy Highneſs might dance in a Halter, or dance thy Head from thy Shoulders, that haſt thus altered the Property, and turned the Scene into Sin, and ſuch horrid Sin, that it can ſcarce be paralleled in any Story, except in the higheſt Story. *Take him*, Garret.

Call Marquis *Hartford* to the Bar, one that has more Wit, than to fight for the Proteſtant Religion: Does not *Endymion Porter* fight for the Proteſtant Religion? Does not *Digby* fight for the Proteſtant Religion? Yes, Papiſts do fight for the Proteſtant Religion, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject; they fight for all theſe, as our's, to fight them away from us, as they fight away our Eſtates, or as the Thief fights for the true Man's Purſe. Did the Cabinet-Council invent this Fighting? And would not they have King *Charles* fight thus? Does not *Brainsford* fight thus? *Cottington*, *Hopton*, *Hurrey*, and the reſt fight thus; and *Legge* and *Lumford* fight thus, with *Capel*, *Haſtings*, and all that godleſs Crew? And this is the War theſe Men maintain, withal, to preſerve their Perſons and Eſtates from the Juſtice of the Law, when themſelves are above Religion, or the Law either.

Call the Duke of *Richmond* to the Bar. His Father was truly noble, and loved Parliaments, though he was unfortunately ſtung to Death by one of theſe poiſonous Vipers, becauſe he did ſo; but the Son loves the Murderers the better, and hates the Parliament he ſhould love, and hath in Exchange a living Lady for a dead Father. *Take him*, Greg.

Call *Littleton* to the Bar, Lord Keeper. His Predeceſſor, *Finch*, paid a good large Sum for the Place, and had more Reaſon to run away with the Great Seal, than *Littleton*, that paid nothing for it: Little Honeſty in that, to deal ſo diſhoneſtly, and fly from them that had dealt ſo well with him; little Juſtice too, to

ſteal

ſteal away and divorce that Spouſe, that had been ſo long married to the Parliament, and hath put that Great Council to no little Trouble in making a new one; therefore expect as little Mercy from me. *Take him*, Derrick.

Lindſey, ſtand to the Bar. Thou underſtandeſt already what it is to fight againſt the true Proteſtant Religion, the Parliament's Privileges, and the Subject's Rights, under a feigned Pretence of Maintaining them; *Edgehill* put the Period to thy Days; and, though thou wert valiant, yet, in that Cauſe, thy Valour was but a Crime, a valiant Crime; and ſo is the Valour of all Rebels valiant Crimes; but thou haſt thy Reward.

Huntingdon, hold up thy Hand. Thou art one of theſe Valiants too, valiant in a bad Cauſe, that differ much from *David*'s Valiants; there be many ſuch Valiants, that are valiant to do Miſchief, valiant to undo your Country, though you undo yourſelves. A Liſt of theſe Valiants followeth, *viz.* The Earls of *Cumberland*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Briſtol*, *Berkſhire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcaſtle*, *Dover*, *Newport*, *Caernarvon*, *Mowbray*, and *Montravers*; Lords *Rich*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Faulconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Saville*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Hopton*, *Capell*, *Jermyn*, *Faulkland*, *Banks*, *Nicolas*, *Gardiner*, Comptroller, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, *&c.* enough of all Conſcience, beſides *Iriſh* Rebels. Theſe all fight valiantly for the Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood eſtabliſhed in the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Siſter.

I truſt, every true Proteſtant ſees this, and acknowledgeth Parliaments the fineſt Expounders of the Law, and Judges of Offenders, either to acquit, or condemn them; and will, ſo ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver up theſe Vipers into their Hands, pull out their infectious Stings, and deliver them up to the Juſtice of the Law, that thus vilely have betrayed Religion, and Law both.

Call the Cockatrices to the Bar, the old *French* Madam; nay, and the young one too, little inferior. Who went with *Jermyn* into *Holland*, becauſe *England* was ſo unworthy of her, as *Digby* ſays? Who went to the Brokers with the Jewels of the Crown, and the Cupboard of gold Plate? Who bought Pocket-piſtols, Barrels of Powder, and many ſuch pretty Toys to deſtroy the Proteſtants? Was it Queen *Mary*? The very ſame who is gone into *France* to do the like? Queen *Mary*, a happy Inſtrument to deſtroy the Proteſtants! There is another Cockatrice, I forget her Name, a Kind of Harlotry belonging to the Cabinet-Council, one that married the Fox-headed *Iriſh* Rebel, and was once Ducheſs of *Buckingham*; a prime Piece of Mortality, and worthy Sainting in our Calendar; her Faults would make a whole Volume. *Take her*, *Devil*.

The next are curled winding Snakes, Court-paraſites, and corrupt Judges, that could make his Majeſty believe any Thing, and ſcrew and wind themſelves, as they do the Law, into his Majeſty's Favour, and tell him fine Tales to little Purpoſe: Such were *Noy*, *Windebank*, *Hyde*, *Mallet*, *Bartlet*, &c. a Brood of dangerous Vipers, with baneful Stings, to poor *England*'s Coſt.

The laſt are dangerous Adders; and thoſe are the Commiſſioners of *Array*, that would arm the Subjects to kill themſelves, or thoſe whom themſelves have choſen and intruſted with their Religion, Laws, and hereditary Rights, and the King acknowledged to be his great and faithful Council: Surely, they ought then to defend his Royal Perſon, as well as their own Rights, or their own Perſons, being all in apparent Danger. The Law allows rather to kill, than to be killed; *David* was not reſtrained to defend himſelf againſt *Saul*, much leſs againſt his evil Counſel; if *Saul* would obſtinately thruſt himſelf into Danger amongſt his evil Counſellors, and wilfully periſh, *David* is guiltleſs. *David* took up Arms in his own Defence, the Parliament and Kingdom in Defence of the true Religion, and to reſcue the King from Traitors and Rebels, not againſt the King: God forbid. If we make Choice of Men, and truſt them with our Rights (the King acknowledging them his great Council) it queſtionleſs behoves them, according to that Truſt, to defend his Perſon and Poſterity equal with their own Rights: With what unwearied Labours, even to the Loſs of Lives and Eſtates, the Parliament hath diſcharged this Truſt, no Eye can be ſo blind, but muſt needs ſee and confeſs, with a thankful Heart, That they have done as much, as in them lay, to redeem his Majeſty from evil Counſellors, to preſerve the true and pure Goſpel, and to reſcue our Laws and hereditary

tary Rights from the Violence of Malignants, Delinquents, Papiſts, and others; and ingenuouſly confeſs, That we ſtand juſtly bound by Conſcience, Religion, and Law, to aſſiſt them with our Eſtates and Lives; which with all Willingneſs let us reſolve to do, and rather chuſe to die like Men, than live like Slaves.

Hiſtorical Collections of the Church of *Ireland*, during the Reigns of King *Henry* VIII, *Edward* VI, and Queen *Mary*: Wherein are ſeveral material Paſſages, omitted by other Hiſtorians, concerning the Manner how that Kingdom was firſt converted to the Proteſtant Religion; and how by the ſpecial Providence of God, Dr. *Cole*, a bloody Agent of Queen *Mary*, was prevented in his Deſigns againſt the Proteſtants there: Set forth in the Life and Death of *George Browne*, ſometime Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, who was the firſt of the *Romiſh* Clergy in *Ireland* that threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and forſook the Idolatrous Worſhip of *Rome*; with a Sermon of his on that Subject. Printed at *London*, and ſold by *Randal Taylor*, 1681. *Quarto* containing twenty Pages.

The Reformation of the Church of Ireland, *in the Life and Death of* George Browne, *ſometime Archbiſhop of* Dublin, &c.

GEORGE BROWNE, by Birth an *Engliſhman*, of the Order of St. *Auguſtine* in *London*, and Provincial of the *Friars* of the ſame Order in *England*, being a Man of a meek and peaceable Spirit, was preferred to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Dublin* by King *Henry the Eighth*, and conſecrated, before his Arrival into *Ireland*, by *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, two other Biſhops aſſiſting him, *viz.* *John*, then Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Nicholas*, then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, on the 19th of *March*, *Anno* 1535.

The Reverend *James Uſher*, late Primate of *Armagh*, amongſt his Memorials of *Ireland*, gives this holy Father this Deſcription: *George Browne* was a Man of a chearful Countenance, in his Acts and Deeds plain downright, to the Poor merciful and compaſſionate, pitying the State and Condition of the Souls of the People, adviſing them, when he was Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Order in *England*, to make their Applications ſolely to *Chriſt*; which Advice coming to the Ears of *Henry the Eighth*, he became a Favourite, and upon the Deceaſe of *John Allen*, late Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, became his Succeſſor: Within five Years after he had enjoyed that See, he (much about the Time that King *King Henry the Eighth* began to demoliſh the Priories, Abbies, and Monaſteries, formerly built by the *Romiſh* Clergy within theſe his Majeſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*) cauſed all ſuperſtitious Relicks and Images to be removed out of the two Cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of the reſt of the Churches within his Dioceſe; he cauſed the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be placed, being gilded and in Frames, about the Altar in the Cathedral of *Chriſt-Church* in *Dublin*. He was the firſt that

that turned from the *Romiſh* Religion of the Clergy here in *Ireland*, to embrace the Reformation of the Church of *England*; for which Fact he was by Queen *Mary* laid aſide, and his Temporality taken from him; yet he patiently endured Affliction for the Truth to the End.

Upon the Reformation of King *Henry the Eighth* in *England*, and at his Renouncing the Papal Power or Supremacy of *Rome*, the Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, then Lord Privy-Seal, wrote unto *George Browne*, then Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, ſignifying from his Highneſs (then terming the King by that Title) that he was fallen abſolutely from *Rome* in ſpiritual Matters, within his Dominion of *England*, and how it was his Royal Will and Pleaſure to have his Subjects there in *Ireland* to obey his Commands as in *England*, nominating the ſaid *George Browne*, Archbiſhop, one of his Commiſſioners for the Execution thereof, who in a ſhort Space of Time wrote to the Lord Privy-Seal, as follows:

My moſt Honoured Lord,

'YOUR humble Servant receiving your 'Mandate, as one of his Highneſs's 'Commiſſioners, hath endeavoured, almoſt to 'the Danger and Hazard of this temporal 'Life, to procure the Nobility and Gentry of 'this Nation to due Obedience, in owning 'of his Highneſs their ſupreme Head, as well 'Spiritual as Temporal, and do find much 'Oppugning therein, eſpecially by my Brother '*Armagh* *, who hath been the main Oppugner; and ſo hath withdrawn moſt of his Suffragans and Clergy within his See and Juriſdiction. He made a Speech to them, laying 'a Curſe on the People whoſoever ſhould own 'his Highneſs's Supremacy; ſaying, that Iſle, 'as it is in their *Iriſh* Chronicles, *Inſula ſacra*, belongs to none but to the Biſhop of '*Rome*, and that it was the Biſhop of *Rome*'s 'Predeceſſors gave it to the King's Anceſtors. 'There be two Meſſengers by the Prieſts of '*Armagh*, and by that Archbiſhop, now lately ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Your Lordſhip may inform his Highneſs, that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this Nation, 'to paſs the Supremacy by Act; for they do 'not much matter his Highneſs's Commiſſion 'which your Lordſhip ſent us over. This 'Iſland hath been for a long Time held in Ignorance by the *Romiſh* Orders; and, as for 'their Secular Orders, they be in a Manner 'as ignorant as the People, being not able 'to ſay Maſs, or pronounce the Words, they 'not knowing what they themſelves ſay in 'the *Roman* Tongue. The common People 'of this Iſle are more zealous in their Blindneſs, than the Saints and Martyrs were in 'Truth at the Beginning of the Goſpel. I 'ſend to you, my very good Lord, theſe 'Things, that your Lordſhip and his Highneſs 'may conſult what is to be done. It is feared *O Neal* will be ordered by the Biſhop of '*Rome* to oppoſe your Lordſhip's Order from 'the King's Highneſs; for the Natives are 'much in Numbers within his Powers. I 'do pray the Lord *Chriſt* to defend your 'Lordſhip from your Enemies.'

Dublin, 4 *Kalend. Decembris*, 1535.

The Year following a Parliament was called in *Ireland*, the Lord *Leonard Grey* being then King *Henry*'s Viceroy of that Nation, in which *George Browne*, then being not many Months above a Year in his Archiepiſcopal Chair in *Dublin*, ſtood up and made this ſhort Speech following:

My Lords and Gentry of this his Majeſty's Realm of Ireland,

'BEhold, your Obedience to your King is 'the Obſerving of your God and Saviour 'Chriſt; for he, that High-prieſt of our 'Souls, paid Tribute to *Cæſar*, though no 'Chriſtian; greater Honour, then, ſurely, is 'due to your Prince's Highneſs the King, and 'a Chriſtian one: *Rome*, and her Biſhops, in 'the Fathers Days, acknowledged Emperors, 'Kings, and Princes to be ſupreme over their 'Dominions, nay, Chriſt's own Vicars; and 'it is as much to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Shame 'to deny what their precedent Biſhops owned; therefore his Highneſs claims but what 'he can juſtify the Biſhop *Eleutherius* gave to 'St. *Lucius*, the firſt Chriſtian King of the '*Britons*: So that I ſhall, without Scrupling, 'vote his Highneſs King *Henry* my Supreme 'over Eccleſiaſtick Matters as well as Temporal, and Head thereof, even of both Iſles, '*England* and *Ireland*, and that without Guilt 'of Conſcience, or Sin to God; and he,

* *George Cromer*, then Archbiſhop of *Armagh*.

'who

'who will not paſs this Act, as I do, is no 'true Subject to his Highneſs.'

This Speech of *George Browne* ſtartled the other Biſhops and Lords ſo, that, at laſt, through great Difficulty, it paſſed; upon which Speech Juſtice *Brabazon* ſeconded him, as appears by his Letters to the Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, then Lord Privy-Seal of *England*; which Original is in that famous Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*, out of which Sir *James Ware*, that learned Antiquary, tranſcribed the ſame.

Within a few Years after that the Act of Supremacy had paſſed in *Ireland*, we do find a Letter, written by *George Browne* to the Lord *Cromwell*, complaining of the Clergy, how they fell off from what had paſſed, and how the Biſhop of *Rome* had contrived Matters againſt the then Reformation. Collected by Sir *James Ware*, out of an old Regiſter ſome Time in the Cuſtom of *Adam Loftus*, *Hugh Corwin*'s Succeſſor, and alſo Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

To the Lord Privy-Seal's honourable good Lordſhip. *Ex Autographo.*

Right honourable and my ſingular good Lord,

'I Acknowledge my bounden Duty to your 'Lordſhip's Good-will to me, next to my 'Saviour Chriſt's, for the Place I now poſ- 'ſeſs; I pray God give me his Grace to exe- 'cute the ſame to his Glory and his High- 'neſs's Honour, with your Lordſhip's In- 'ſtructions. The People of this Nation are 'zealous, yet blind and unknowing; moſt of 'the Clergy, as your Lordſhip hath had from 'me before, being ignorant, and not able to 'ſpeak right Words in the Maſs, or Liturgy, 'as being not ſkilled in the *Latin Grammar*; 'ſo that a Bird may be taught to ſpeak with 'as much Senſe, as ſeveral of them do in this 'Country. Theſe Sorts, though not Scho- 'lars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor com- 'mon People, and to diſſuade them from fol- 'lowing his Highneſs's Orders. *George*, my 'Brother of *Armagh*, doth underhand occaſion 'Quarrels, and is not active to execute his 'Highneſs's Orders in his Dioceſe.

'I have obſerved your Lordſhip's Letter 'of Commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of 'my Pupils leave me for ſo Doing. I will 'not put others in their Livings, till I do 'know your Lordſhip's Pleaſure; for it is 'meet I acquaint you firſt, that the *Romiſh* 'Relicks and Images of both my Cathedrals 'in *Dublin*, of the *Holy Trinity*, and of St. '*Patrick*'s, took off the common People from 'the true Worſhip; but the Prior and the 'Dean find them ſo ſweet for their Gain, 'that they heed not my Word: Therefore 'ſend in your Lordſhip's Next time an Or- 'der more full, and a Chide to them and 'their Canons, that they might be removed. 'Let the Order be, That the Chief Gover- 'nors may aſſiſt me in it. The Prior and 'Dean have written to *Rome* to be encou- 'raged; and, if it be not hindered before 'they have a Mandate from the Biſhop of '*Rome*, the People will be bold, and then 'tug long, before his Highneſs can ſubmit 'them to his Grace's Orders. The Country 'Folk here much hate your Lordſhip, and 'deſpitefully call you, in their *Iriſh* Tongue, '*The Blackſmith's Son.*

'The Duke of *Norfolk* is, by *Armagh* and 'that Clergy, deſired to aſſiſt them not to 'ſuffer his Highneſs to alter Church Rules 'here in *Ireland*. As a Friend, I deſire your 'Lordſhip to look to your noble Perſon, for '*Rome* hath a great Kindneſs for that Duke '(for it is ſo talked here) and will reward him 'and his Children. *Rome* hath great Favours 'for this Nation, purpoſely to oppoſe his 'Highneſs; and ſo have got, ſince the Act 'paſſed, great Indulgences for Rebellion; 'therefore my Hope is loſt, yet my Zeal is 'to do according to your Lordſhip's Orders. 'God keep your Lordſhip from your Enemies 'here and in *England.*

Your Lordſhip's at Commandment,

Dublin. 3 *Kalend.*
Apr. 1538. George Browne.

Soon after this Letter had been written, News came to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had ſent over a Bull of Excommunication of all thoſe who had, or ſhall own the King's Supremacy within the *Iriſh* Nation; which cauſed the Archbiſhop to write accordingly:

To

To the Lord Privy-Seal with Speed.

Right Honourable,

' MY Duty premiſed, it may pleaſe your ' Lordſhip to be advertiſed, ſince my ' laſt, there has come to *Armagh* and his ' Clergy a private Commiſſion from the Bi- ' ſhop of *Rome*, prohibiting his Gracious High- ' neſs's People here in this Nation to own ' his Royal Supremacy, and joining a Curſe ' to all them and theirs who ſhall not, within ' forty Days, confeſs to their Confeſſors, af- ' ter the publiſhing of it to them, that they ' have done amiſs in ſo doing; the Subſtance, ' as our Secretary hath tranſlated the ſame in- ' to *Engliſh*, is thus:

" I *A. B.* from this preſent Hour forward in " the Preſence of the holy Trinity, of the " bleſſed Virgin Mother of God, of St. *Peter*, " of the holy Apoſtles, Archangels, Angels, " Saints, and of all the holy Hoſt of Heaven, " ſhall and will be always obedient to the " holy See of St. *Peter* of *Rome*, and to my " holy Lord the Pope of *Rome* and his Suc- " ceſſors, in all Things as well Spiritual as " Temporal, not conſenting in the leaſt that " his Holineſs ſhall loſe the leaſt Title or " Dignity belonging to the Papacy of our " Mother-Church of *Rome*, or to the Rega- " lity of St. *Peter*.

" I do vow and ſwear to maintain, help, " and aſſiſt the juſt Laws, Liberties, and Rights " of the Mother Church of *Rome*.

" I do likewiſe promiſe to confer, to de- " fend and promote, if not perſonally, yet " willingly, as in Ability able, either by Ad- " vice, Skill, Eſtate, Money, or otherwiſe, " the Church of *Rome* and her Laws, againſt " all whatſoever reſiſting the ſame.

" I further vow to oppugn all Hereticks, " either in making or ſetting forth Edicts or " Commands contrary to the Mother-Church " of *Rome*; and, in Caſe any ſuch to be " moved or compoſed, to reſiſt it to the ut- " termoſt of my Power, with the firſt Con- " veniency and Opportunity I can poſſibly.

" I count and value all Acts made or to " be made by Heretical Powers of no Force " or Worth, or be practiſed or obeyed by " myſelf, or by any other Son of the Mother- " Church of *Rome*.

" I do further declare him or her, Father " or Mother, Brother or Siſter, Son or Daugh- " ter, Huſband or Wife, Uncle or Aunt, " Nephew or Niece, Kinſman or Kinſwo- " man, Maſter or Miſtreſs, and all others, " neareſt or deareſt Relations, Friend or Ac- " quaintance whatſoever, accurſed, that either " do or ſhall hold, for the Time to come, any " Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Power above the Au- " thority of the Mother-Church, or that do " or ſhall obey, for the Time to come, any of " her, the Mother of Churches, Oppoſers or " Enemies, or contrary to the ſame, of which " I have here ſworn unto; ſo God, the Bleſ- " ſed Virgin, St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and the " holy Evangeliſts help, *&c.*"

' His Highneſs, Viceroy of this Nation, is ' of little or no Power with the old Natives, ' therefore your Lordſhip will expect of me ' no more than I am able: This Nation is ' poor in Wealth, and not ſufficient now at ' preſent to oppoſe them: It is obſerved, that, ' ever ſince his Highneſs's Anceſtors had this ' Nation in Poſſeſſion, the old Natives have ' been craving Foreign Power to aſſiſt and ' rule them; and now both *Engliſh* Race and ' *Iriſh* begin to oppoſe your Lordſhip's Or- ' ders, and do lay aſide their National old ' Quarrels, which I fear will, if any Thing ' will, cauſe a Foreigner to invade this Na- ' tion: I pray God I may be a falſe Prophet, ' yet your good Lordſhip muſt pardon my ' Opinion, for I write to your Lordſhip as a ' Warning.'

Dublin, May 1538. *Your humble and true Servant,*

George Browne.

Upon the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* following, the ſaid *George Browne* ſeized one *Thady O Brian*, one of the Order of St. *Francis*, who had Papers from *Rome*, as follows, being ſent to the Lord Privy-Seal by a ſpecial Meſſenger:

My Son O Neal,

' THOU and thy Fathers were all along ' faithful to the Mother-Church of ' *Rome*: His Holineſs *Paul*, now Pope, and ' the Council of the holy Fathers there, have ' lately found out a Prophecy, there remain- ' ing, of one St. *Lacerianus*, an *Iriſh* Biſhop

'of *Caſhell*; wherein he ſaith, *That the Mo-*
'*ther-Church of* Rome *falleth, when in* Ire-
'land *the Catholic Faith is overcome:* There-
'fore, for the Glory of the Mother-Church,
'the Honour of St. *Peter*, and your own Se-
'cureneſs, ſuppreſs Hereſy and his Holineſs's
'Enemies; for, when the *Roman* Faith there
'periſheth, the See of *Rome* falleth alſo;
'therefore the Council of Cardinals have
'thought fit to encourage your Country of
'*Ireland*, as a ſacred Iſland, being certified,
'whilſt the Mother-Church hath a Son of
'Worth as yourſelf, and of thoſe that ſhall
'ſuccour you, and join therein, that ſhe will
'never fall, but have more or leſs a Holding
'in *Britain*, in ſpite of Fate. Thus having
'obeyed the Order of the moſt ſacred Coun-
'cil, we recommend your Princely Perſon to
'the holy Trinity of the Bleſſed Virgin, of
'St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and of all the heavenly
'Hoſt of Heaven. *Amen.*'

Romæ 4 *Kalend.*
May 1538. *Epiſcopus Metenſis.*

Upon further Examination and Searches made, this *Thady O Brian* was pilloried, and confined a Priſoner until his Highneſs's further Order for his Tryal; but, News coming over that he muſt be hanged, he made himſelf away in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, on the Eve of the Feaſt of St. *James*; yet his dead Corpſe was carried to the *Gallows-Green* and hanged up, and after there buried: But it was ſaid, by the Regiſter of *St. Francis's* Monaſtery of *Dublin*, that they brought him from thence and buried him in that Monaſtery.

George Browne having enjoyed the See of *Dublin* ſeven Years or thereabouts, King *Henry the Eighth*, upon the Diſſolution of the Abbies, Priories, and Monaſteries here in *Ireland*, changed the Priory of the *Bleſſed Trinity* of *Dublin* into a Deanery and Chapter, ſince which Mutation, it hath generally bore the Name of *Chriſt-Church*.

Upon this Alteration, as it appears upon Record, this Cathedral conſiſted of a Dean and Chapter, a Chanter, a Treaſurer, ſix Vicars Chorals, and two Singing Boys, allowing to them Two forty-five Pounds ſix Shillings *Engliſh*, *durante Beneplacito*; which Sum his Daughter Queen *Mary* confirmed for ever, having confirmed the Deanery, yet with Alterations, as ſhe was a *Romaniſt*.

This Cathedral continued after this ſaid Form, though not in Popery, even until King *James's* Days, who then altered all what King *Henry* and his Daughter had done; and, upon this ſecond Alteration, he conſtituted a Dean, a Chanter, a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, three Prebends, ſix Vicars Chorals, and four Singing Boys; ordering likewiſe, that the Archdeacon of *Dublin* ſhould have a Place in the Choir, and a Vote in the Chapter. As for a further Deſcription of this Cathedral, we ſhall omit it; having reſerved the ſame for a large Narrative of the ſaid Cathedral, in a Book which is ready for the Preſs, intitled, *The Antiquities of the City of* Dublin.

King *Henry the Eighth* deceaſing, and his hopeful Offſpring, King *Edward the Sixth*, ſucceeding within a ſhort Space after his Royal Father's Death, that hopeful Prince, by the Advice of his Privy-Council, began to conſider what good Effects the Tranſlation of the Holy Bible had done, alſo how much it had enlightened the Underſtanding of his Subjects; they altered the Liturgy-Book from what King *Henry* had formerly printed and eſtabliſhed, cauſing the ſame to be printed in *Engliſh*, commanding the ſame to be read and ſung in the ſeveral Cathedrals and Pariſh Churches of *England*, for the common Benefit of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty; and, that his Subjects of *Ireland* might likewiſe participate of the ſame Sweetneſs, he ſent over Orders to his Viceroy Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, then being Lord Deputy of that Nation, that the ſame be forthwith there in *Ireland* obſerved within their ſeveral Biſhopricks, Cathedrals, and Pariſh Churches; which was firſt obſerved in *Chriſt-Church* at *Dublin*, on the Feaſt of *Eaſter* 1551, before the ſaid Sir *Anthony*, *George Browne*, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Dublin*, *John Lockwood* being then Dean of the ſaid Cathedral.

The Tranſlation of the Copy of the Order, for the Liturgy of the Church of England *to be read in* Ireland, *runs as follows:*

'To our truſty and well-beloved Sir *Anth. St. Leger*, Knight, our Chief Governor of our Kingdom of *Ireland*.

'Edward *by the Grace of God*, &c.

'WHEREAS our gracious Father, King *Henry the Eighth* of happy Memory, taking into Conſideration the Bondage and heavy Yoke that his true and faithful Subjects ſuſtained under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, as alſo the Ignorance the Commonalty were in; how ſeveral fabulous Stories and lying Wonders miſled our Subjects in both our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, graſping thereby the Means thereof into their Hands, alſo diſpenſing with the Sins of our Nations, by their Indulgences and Pardons, for Gain, purpoſely to cheriſh all evil Vices, as Robberies, Rebellions, Thefts, Whoredoms, Blaſphemy, Idolatry, *&c.* He, our gracious Father King *Henry* of happy Memory, hereupon diſſolved all Priories, Monaſteries, Abbies, and other pretended Religious Houſes, as being but Nurſeries for Vice or Luxury, more than for ſacred Learning: He therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the World, that thoſe Orders had kept the Light of the Goſpel from his People, thought it moſt fit and convenient, for the Preſervation of their Souls and Bodies, that the Holy Scriptures ſhould be tranſlated, printed, and placed in all Pariſh Churches within his Dominions, for his faithful Subjects to increaſe their Knowledge of God, and of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*. We therefore, for the general Benefit of our well-beloved Subjects Underſtandings, whenever aſſembled or met together, in the ſaid ſeveral Pariſh Churches, either to pray, or to hear Prayers read, that they may the better join therein, in Unity, Heart and Voice, have cauſed the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church to be tranſlated into our Mother-Tongue of this Realm of *England*, according to the Aſſembly of Divines lately met within the ſame, for that Purpoſe. We therefore will and command, as alſo authoriſe you, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Knight, our Viceroy of that our Kingdom of *Ireland*, to give ſpecial Notice to all our Clergy, as well Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, as others our Secular Pariſh Prieſts within that our ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, to perfect, execute, and obey this our Royal Will and Pleaſure accordingly.

'Given at our Mannor of *Greenwich*, *Febr.* 6, in the Fifth Year of our Reign.

'*E. R.*

Several Collections from Anthony Martin, *formerly Biſhop of* Meath.

BEfore Proclamations were iſſued out, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, upon this Order, called an Aſſembly of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, together with others of the then Clergy of *Ireland*; in which Aſſembly he ſignified unto them as well his Majeſty's Order aforeſaid, as alſo the Opinions of thoſe Biſhops and Clergy of *England*, who had adhered unto this Order, ſaying, That it was his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, conſenting unto their ſerious Conſiderations and Opinions, then acted and agreed on in *Englaud*, as to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, That the ſame be in *Ireland* ſo likewiſe celebrated and performed.

Sir *Anthony St. Leger* having ſpoken to this Effect, *George Dowdall*, who ſucceeded *George Cromer* in the Primacy of *Armagh*, ſtood up; who, through his *Romiſh* Zeal to the Pope, laboured with all his Power and Force to oppoſe the Liturgy of the Church, that it might not be read or ſung in the Church; ſaying, Then ſhall every illiterate Fellow read Service, or *Maſs*, as he in thoſe Days termed the Word *Service*.

To this Saying of the Archbiſhop's, Sir *Anthony* replyed, no your Grace is miſtaken, for we have too many illiterate Prieſts amongſt us already, who neither can pronounce the *Latin*, nor know what it means, no more than the Common People that hear them; but, when the People hear the Liturgy in *Engliſh*, they and the Prieſt will then underſtand what they pray for.

Upon this Reply, *George Dowdall* bade Sir *Anthony* beware of the Clergy's Curſe.

Sir *Anthony* made Anſwer, I fear no ſtrange Curſe, ſo long as I have the Bleſſing of that Church which I believe to be the true one.

The Archbiſhop again ſaid, Can there be a truer Church, than the Church of St. *Peter*, the Mother-Church of *Rome?*

Sir *Anthony* returned this Anſwer: I thought we had been all of the Church of Chriſt; for he calls all true Believers in him his Church, and himſelf the Head thereof.

The Archbiſhop replied; And is not St. *Peter* the Church of Chriſt?

Sir *Anthony* returned this Anſwer: St. *Peter* was a Member of Chriſt's Church, but the Church was not St. *Peter*'s; neither was St. *Peter*, but *Chriſt*, the Head thereof.

Then *George Dowdall*, the Primate of *Armagh*, roſe up, and ſeveral of the Suffragan Biſhops under his Juriſdiction, ſaving only *Edward Staples*, then Biſhop of *Meath*, who tarried with the reſt of the Clergy then aſſembled, on the Calends of *March*, according to the old Stile, 1551; but, if we reckon as from the *Annunciation of our Lady*, which was the Twenty-fifth of *March*, it was 1550.

Sir *Anthony* then took up the Order, and held it forth to *George Browne*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, who, ſtanding up, received it, ſaying: This Order, good Brethren, is from our gracious King, and from the reſt of our Brethren, the Fathers and Clergy of *England*, who have conſulted herein, and compared the holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I ſubmit, as *Jeſus* did to *Cæſar*, in all Things juſt and lawful, making no Queſtions why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful King.

After this, ſeveral of the meeker, or moſt moderate of the Biſhops and Clergy of *Ireland* cohered with *George Browne*, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*; amongſt whom, *Edward Staples*, Biſhop of *Meath*, who was put out from his Biſhoprick, for ſo Doing, in Queen *Mary*'s Days, on the Twenty-ninth of *June*, 1554; *John Bale*, who, on the Second of *February*, 1552, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Oſſory* for his Fidelity, and afterwards, by Queen *Mary*, expelled: Alſo *Thomas Lancaſter*, Biſhop of *Kildare*, who was at the ſame Time put from his Biſhoprick, with ſeveral others of the Clergy, being all expelled upon Queen *Mary*'s Coming to the Crown.

When theſe Paſſages had paſſed, Sir *Anthony* was in a ſhort Time after recalled for *England*, and Sir *James Crofts* of *Herefordſhire*, Knight, placed Chief in his Stead; who began his Government from the Twenty-ninth of *April*, 1551.

Sir *James Crofts*, upon his Coming over, endeavoured much for the Perſuading of *George Dowdall* to adhere to the Order aforeſaid; but, *Dowdall* being obſtinate, his Majeſty, and the learned Privy-Council then of *England*, for his Perverſeneſs, upon the Twentieth of *October* following took away the Title of *Primate of all Ireland* from him, and conferred the ſame on *George Browne*, then Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and to his Succeſſors, by Reaſon that he was the firſt of the *Iriſh* Biſhops, who embraced the Order for Eſtabliſhing of the *Engliſh* Liturgy and Reformation in *Ireland*; which Place he enjoyed during the Remainder of King *Edward*'s Reign, and for a certain Time after, as you ſhall know further in its due Courſe and Place.

Alterations following one after another, even upon this Reformation of the Church of *England*, and the Title of Primacy being diſpoſed of, as we have already mentioned, unto *George Browne* aforeſaid, ſome Writers ſaying, that *George Dowdall* was baniſhed, others, that he was not, but went voluntary of his own Will; yet, not to diſpute the Caſe, another Archbiſhop was conſecrated in Lieu of him, though then living; by which it was then held lawful; as alſo that Conſtituting of Archbiſhops and Biſhops was in the Power of Kings, and not in the Power of Popes, or of the Biſhop of *Rome*; which would be much to the Abaſement of the Powers of the Crown of *England* ever to reſign, or to acknowledge to the Contrary.

Hugh Goodacre, Batchelor of Divinity, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Armagh* by the ſaid *George Browne*, together with *John Bale*, Biſhop of *Oſſory*, already mentioned, in *Chriſt-Church* in *Dublin*, on the Second of *February*, *Anno* 1552, *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Kildare*, and *Eugenius*, Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, aſſiſting him; yet, notwithſtanding *Hugh Goodacre*'s Conſecration, *George Browne* then held the Title of Primacy of all *Ireland*.

This Reformation and Alteration having not Time to ſettle, or to take Root, it was ſoon quaſhed and pulled down by that lamentable Loſs of that hopeful Prince, King *Edward the Sixth*, who died at *Greenwich*, the Sixth of *June*, 1553.

Upon

Upon King *Edward*'s Deceaſe, the Council having met to conſult together upon the Affairs of theſe Dominions, as alſo how they might confirm and eſtabliſh what they had already ordered and enacted, as well in Eccleſiaſtical Matters as Temporal, a Diviſion ſoon ſprung up, ſome being for the Choice of the Lady *Jane Grey*, others for Queen *Mary*; at laſt, upon Concluſion, *Mary*, the King's Siſter, was voted Queen, upon the Propoſals and Promiſes, which ſhe made to the Council, to confirm all that had been perfected by her Father King *Henry the Eighth* and her Brother King *Edward*, and his honoured Council.

After ſhe had been crowned and inthroned, ſhe, for the Space of three or four Months, ſeemed moderate to the Proteſtant Reformers, yet all that While combined with *Rome* and her Emiſſaries; but, having accompliſhed her Deſigns, ſhe revoked her fair Promiſes (which with Papiſts is a Rule) eſteeming it no Sin to break Contracts or Covenants with Hereticks and Proteſtants, numbered with ſuch Sort of People, eſpecially with Papiſts, theſe Promiſes vaniſhed; and then began the *Romiſh* Church not only to undo what King *Henry*, and his Son King *Edward* had reformed, but to proſecute the Reformers and Reformed with Fire and Faggot.

But to our Purpoſe: Upon the Eleventh of *November*, *Anno* 1553, ſhe recalled Sir *James Crofts*, and ſent over Sir *Anthony St. Leger* Lord-Deputy into *Ireland*. This Sir *Anthony* had not been half a Year Chief Governor of *Ireland*, before Queen *Mary* revoked the Title of Primacy from *George Browne*, expelling *Hugh Goodacre* out of the Archbiſhoprick of *Armagh*, and recalling *George Dowdall* to his See, and reſtoring him to the Primacy of all *Ireland*, as formerly; which Title hath ever ſince ſtood firm in *Armagh*, without any Revocation either by Queen *Eliſabeth*, or by any of her Succeſſors.

George Browne, upon this Revocation, was by *George Dowdall* expelled, and not thought fit to continue in his See of *Dublin*, as being a married Man; and it is thought, had he not been married, he had been expelled, having appeared ſo much for the Reformation, in both theſe former Kings Days. Upon the Expelling of this *George Browne*, all the Temporalities belonging to the Archbiſhoprick were diſpoſed of unto *Thomas Lockwood*, then Dean of *Chriſt-Church* in *Dublin*; it having been an ancient Cuſtom ever, upon the Tranſlation, or Death of any of thoſe Archbiſhops, to depoſit the Temporalities into the Hands of the Priors formerly of that Cathedral, when it was a Priory, and called by the Name of *The Cathedral of the* Bleſſed Trinity: And it is obſervable, the laſt Prior became the firſt Dean, upon the Alteration as aforeſaid.

The See of *Dublin*, after this Expulſion, lay vacant for two Years or thereabouts, until *Hugh Corrin*, alias *Corwin*, was placed therein: This *Hugh* was born in *Weſtmoreland*, a Doctor of the Law, being formerly Archdeacon of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Hereford*; he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Dublin* in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s in *London*, on the Eighth of *September*, *Anno* 1555. He after, upon the Thirteenth of the ſame Month, was by Queen *Mary*, made Chancellor of *Ireland*; and, upon the Twenty-fifth of the ſaid *September*, he received this Letter from the Queen, directed to *Thomas Lockwood*, the Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, it being an ancient Cuſtom formerly, to recommend the Archbiſhop, whenſoever conſtituted for that See, to the Prior of that ſaid Cathedral.

Queen Mary's *Letter to the Dean and Chapter of* Chriſt-Church *in* Dublin, *to receive the Archbiſhop of* Dublin *honourably, and with due Reſpect.* Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sanctæ Trinitatis Dublinii.

'To our truſty and well beloved the Dean and 'Chapter of the Cathedral of *Chriſt-Church*, 'within our Realm of *Ireland*.

'Mary *the Queen*,

'TRuſty and Well-beloved, we greet you 'well; and foraſmuch as the Right Re- 'verend Father in God, our right truſty and 'well-beloved Counſellor the Archbiſhop of '*Dublin*, being lately choſen for that See, 'repaireth ſpeedily to that our Realm of *Ire-* 'land, as well to reſide upon the Cure of his 'Biſhoprick, which now of long Time hath 'been deſtitute of a Catholick Biſhop, as alſo 'to occupy the Office of our High Chancellor of 'that our Realm; albeit we have good Hopes

'ye

'ye will, in all Things of yourſelves, carry 'yourſelves towards him, as becometh you; 'yet, to the Intent he might the better govern 'the Charge committed unto him, to the Ho-'nour of Almighty God, and for the Remain of 'our Service, we have thought fit to require 'and charge you, that for your Part ye do 'reverently receive him, honour, and humbly 'obey him in all Things, as appertaineth to 'your Duties tending to God's Glory, our 'Honour, and the Commonweal of that our 'Realm; whereby ye ſhall pleaſe God, and 'do us acceptable Service.

'Given under our Signet at the Mannor of 'Greenwich, the Twenty-fifth of *Septem-*'*ber*, in the Second and Third Years of 'our Reign.'

I have here inſerted this Letter, upon two Accounts: Firſt, As being a Record remaining in the Cathedral: Secondly, Becauſe there hath been ſome Diſcourſe of late, whether the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* had Power herein, or whether it was upon King *Henry*'s Mutation made a Deanery, as *Whitehall* Chapel is, and no Cathedral; but, by this Letter, it ſhews it is both ſtill a Cathedral, and ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

George Browne lived not long after the Conſecration of this *Hugh Corwin*; yet I have, amongſt my Manuſcripts, a Writing of a Papiſt, who would fain have perſuaded the World, that this *George Browne* died through Joy, having had a Bull from the Pope to be reſtored to his See of *Dublin*, which muſt needs be falſe, upon this Account of Sir *James Ware*, who writeth theſe very Words of him, in his Book, entitled, *De Præſulibus Hiberniæ*, Pag. 120, 1554, *Circa tempus Georgius Browneus (quod conjugatus eſſet) per Dowdallum Archiepiſcopum Armachanum & alios Delegatos exauthoritatus eſt*; otherwiſe the Pope, if he had granted ſuch a Bull, muſt likewiſe have diſpenſed with his Marriage, it being contrary to the *Romiſh* Tenets for Biſhops to marry. Having related thus much of *George Browne*, and of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, during his Life, we ſhall proceed a little further concerning a ſhort Sermon of his, preached unto the People in *Chriſt-Church*, upon the Firſt *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, *Anno* 1551, being a Copy of the ſame given to Sir *James Ware*, Knight, by *Anthony Martin*, late Biſhop of *Meath*, who formerly was Tutor to the ſaid Sir *James Ware*, when he was a Student of *Trinity-College*, *Dublin*.

The TEXT, Pſal. cxix. Ver. 18.

Open mine Eyes, that I may ſee the Wonders of thy Law.

THE Wonders of the Lord God have for a long Time been hid from the Children of Men, which hath happened by *Rome*'s not permitting the common People to read the holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the Comfort of your Salvation, but to depend wholly on the Church of *Rome*, they will not permit it to be in any Tongue but in the *Latin*, ſaying that *Latin* was the *Roman* Tongue: But the wonderful God inſpired the holy Apoſtles with the Knowledge of all Languages, that they might teach all People in their proper Tongue and Language; which cauſed our wiſe King *Henry*, before his Death, to have the holy Scriptures tranſcribed into the *Engliſh* Tongue, for the Good of his Subjects, that their *Eyes may be opened to behold the wondrous Things out of the Law of the Lord.* But there are falſe Prophets at this Inſtant, and will be to the End of the World, that ſhall deceive you with falſe Doctrines, expounding this Text, or that, purpoſely to confound your Underſtandings, and to lead you captive into a Wilderneſs of Confuſion; whom you ſhall take as your Friends, but they ſhall be your greateſt Enemies, ſpeaking againſt the Tenents of *Rome*, and yet be ſet on by *Rome*; theſe ſhall be a rigid People, full of Fury and Envy.

But, to prevent theſe Things that are to come, obſerve *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles: *Let all things be done with Decency, with Mildneſs, and in Order*; fervently crying unto God, *Open thou mine Eyes, that I may behold the wondrous Things out of thy Law*; then ſhould you rightly keep the Law and the Prophets. It is the Part of a Prince to be wiſe, for he hath a great Charge to rule and govern a Nation: Your late King foreſeeing *Rome* and her Pope's Intentions, how that he intended to inſlave his Subjects, and to keep them in the State of Ignorance, conſulted with the Learned of his Realm, knowing that Youth might quickly be wrought on; therefore he prepared, before his Death, a wiſe and learned Sort of Counſellors for his Son's Overſeers; not truſting to one or two, but to ſeveral, that he might

might the better rule his People; whoſe Eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened betimes, to behold his *wondrous Works*.

Though the Words of my Text be plainly thus *(Open thou mine Eyes)* the meaneſt of you that hear me have Eyes, but the true Meaning of the Words is, Endue us with Underſtanding; for a Fool hath Eyes, and ſees Men, Women, Beaſts, Birds, and other Things, but yet wants Underſtanding: So, when we ſay, *Open thou our Eyes*, we deſire the Lord God to inſtruct and teach us the Knowledge of his Laws.

When you were lately led in Blindneſs, your Eyes beheld the Images that then ſtood in ſeveral of the Monaſteries and Churches, until they were removed; yet all this While were your Underſtandings blinded, becauſe ye believed in them, and placed your Truſt in them.

Suppoſe an Artiſt or Workman make an Image either of Man or Woman, and at laſt a Clergyman of *Rome* give it ſuch a Name, calling it St. *Peter*, or St. *Paul*, or St. *Mary*, or St. *Anne*; Muſt not that Man, though he behold his own Handy-work, and knows in his Heart that it was his own Work, be blind, and void of Reaſon and Underſtanding of the Law of God, and of the *wondrous Things that are contained in the Law of the Lord?* Yes, ſurely, he muſt be blind, and void of Reaſon, and of the true Faith, that would worſhip the ſame.

The Workman carved the Eyes, but theſe Eyes ſee not; he likewiſe carved the Ears, but they hear not; the Noſe, and it ſmells not; the Mouth, and it neither breathes nor ſpeaks; the Hands, they feel not; the Feet, but they ſtand ſtock ſtill.

How therefore can your Prayers be acceptable unto this Image, that ſees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that ſmells not the ſweet Smells, be they of Myrrh or Frankincenſe burning before it? How can it abſolve you, when the Mouth is not able to ſay, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee?* And if you place a certain Sum of Money in the Palm of the Hand of that Image; come you again To-morrow, the Money, it is true, ſhall find a Cuſtomer, but the Image never the wiſer, who took it; and, if you deſire to have it come unto you, it cannot without Help; therefore the Workman, that made this Image, is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of Senſe as the Image itſelf, and ſo be ye all that put your Truſt in them.

Therefore of late new Artificers by Springs have made artificial ones, which for a certain Time ſhall move, and ye ſhall believe it to be real and certain: But beware, good People, for they be but lying Wonders, purpoſely that ye may break the Law of God. And thus hath the Devil deviſed a lying Wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the Law of the Lord, which is, *Thou ſhalt not make unto thyſelf any Graven Image.* O Lord, *open thou our Eyes, our Ears, and our Underſtanding, that we may behold the wondrous Things that are in thy Law. The Law of God is an undefiled Law.* Oh! why ſhould we be ſo wicked then as to defile that Law, which the Almighty God hath made ſo pure without Blemiſh. *Jeſus came to fulfil the Law, and not to aboliſh the Law.* But there are a new Fraternity of late ſprung up, who call themſelves *Jeſuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Phariſees Manner: Amongſt the *Jews* they ſhall ſtrive to aboliſh the Truth, and ſhall come very near to do it; for theſe Sorts will turn themſelves into ſeveral Forms, with the Heathen, an Heatheniſt; with Atheiſts, an Atheiſt; with the *Jews*, a *Jew*; and with the Reformers, a Reformade; purpoſely to know your Intentions, your Minds, your Hearts, and your Inclinations, and thereby bring you at laſt to be like the Fool that *ſaid in his Heart there was no God.* Theſe ſhall ſpread over the whole World, ſhall be admitted into the Councils of Princes, and they never the wiſer; charming of them, yea, making your Princes reveal their Hearts, and the Secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the Law of God, by Neglect of fulfilling of the Law of God, and by winking at their Sins; yet in the End, God, to juſtify his Law, ſhall ſuddenly cut off this Society even by the Hands of thoſe who have moſt ſuccoured them, and made Uſe of them; ſo that at the End they ſhall become odious to all Nations: They ſhall be worſe than *Jews*, having no Reſting-place upon Earth, and then ſhall a *Jew* have more Favour than a Jeſuit. Now, to arm you all good Chriſtians againſt theſe Things that are to come, leſt ye be led into Temptation: Cry unto the Lord your God,

God, and heartily pray that he would be ſo merciful unto you as to *open the Eyes of your Underſtanding, that you may behold the Wonders and Pleaſantneſs that is in his Law.* Which God of his Mercy grant that you may all do.

Thus concluding with the Acts and Deeds of this Reverend Father, we ſhall end with Queen *Mary*'s Deſigns, how ſhe intended to have perſecuted the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, but was by Providence prevented; as you ſhall further know by this following Relation, being averred by ſeveral ſufficient Perſons as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil:

Queen *Mary*, having dealt ſeverely with the Proteſtants in *England*, about the latter of her Reign, ſigned a Commiſſion for to take the ſame Courſe with them in *Ireland*, and, to execute the ſame with greater Force, ſhe nominates Doctor *Cole* one of the Commiſſioners, ſending the Commiſſion by this Doctor, who in his Journey coming to *Cheſter*, the Mayor of that City, hearing that her Majeſty was ſending a Meſſenger into *Ireland*, and he being a Churchman, waited on the Doctor, who in Diſcourſe with the Mayor taketh out of a Cloke-bag a Leather Box, ſaying unto him, *Here is a Commiſſion that ſhall laſh the Hereticks of* Ireland, calling the Proteſtants by that Title: The good Woman of the Houſe, being well affected to the Proteſtant Religion, and alſo having a Brother named *John Edmonds* of the ſame, then a Citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the Doctor's Words; but watching her convenient Time, whilſt the Mayor took his Leave, and the Doctor complimented him down the Stairs, ſhe opens the Box and takes the Commiſſion out, placing in Lieu thereof a Sheet of Paper with a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs faced uppermoſt, wrapped up. The Doctor coming up to his Chamber, ſuſpecting nothing of what had been done, put up the Box as formerly. The next Day, going to the Water-ſide, Wind and Weather ſerving him, he ſails towards *Ireland*, and landed on the Seventh of *October*, 1558, at *Dublin*; then coming to the Caſtle, the Lord *Fitz-Walters*, being Lord Deputy, ſent for him to come before him and the Privy-Council; who coming in, after he had made a Speech relating upon what Account he came over, he preſents the Box unto the Lord Deputy, who cauſing it to be opened, that the Secretary might read the Commiſſion, there was nothing ſave a Pack of Cards with the Knave of Clubs uppermoſt; which not only ſtartled the Lord Deputy and Council, but the Doctor, who aſſured them he had a Commiſſion, but knew not how it was gone; then the Lord Deputy made Anſwer, *Let us have another Commiſſion, and we will ſhuffle the Cards in the mean While:* The Doctor being troubled in his Mind went away, and returned into *England*; and coming to the Court obtained another Commiſſion; but, ſtaying for a Wind at the Water-ſide, News came unto him, that the Queen was dead, and thus God preſerved the Proteſtants in *Ireland.*

This being a Copy of *Richard* Earl of *Cork*'s Memorials, as alſo of *Henry Uſher*, ſometime Lord Primate of *Armagh*, being alſo entered amongſt Sir *James Ware*'s Manuſcripts, who hath often heard the late *James Uſher*, Nephew to the ſaid *Henry*, and alſo Primate of *Armagh*, aver the ſame, and wondered that Mr. *Fox* had not inſerted it in his *Acts* and *Monuments*; there is yet living a Reverend Father of the Church, *Henry* now Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, who can affirm this Relation from the ſaid *James Uſher*, late Lord Primate of all *Ireland.*

Upon the Recalling of the Lord *Fitz-Walters* into *England*, Queen *Eliſabeth*, who ſucceeded her Siſter, diſcourſing with the ſaid Lord, concerning ſeveral Paſſages in *Ireland*, amongſt other Diſcourſes he related the aforeſaid Paſſage that had happened in *Ireland*; which ſo delighted the Queen, that her Majeſty ſent for the good Woman, named *Eliſabeth Edmonds*, but by her Huſband named *Matterſhad*, and gave her a Penſion of forty Pounds *durante Vita*, for ſaving her Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland.*

The

A Word for the Army. And two Words to the Kingdom. To clear the one, and cure the other. Forced in much Plainneſs and Brevity from their faithful Servant, *Hugh Peters.*

—— Nunc nunc properandus & acri
Fingendus ſine ſine rotâ. ——

London, Printed by *M. Simmons*, for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black Spread-Eagle*, at the Weſt End of *Paul's*, 1647. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

THOUGH I have looked upon the Scribblings of this Age as the Fruits of ſome Men's Idleneſs, and moſt Men's Folly, and therefore ſhould not willingly have owned myſelf, if found among that Rabble: Yet, when it grows ſo unlimitedly high, and impudently brazen, that ſome Men I know, Men even above Flattery, and ſo ſleek and ſmooth, in their Uprightneſs (among whom I place the preſent General and his Second) that I had thought nothing of that Kind could ſtick, and yet theſe beſmeared by uncircumciſed Pens.

I. Two Things I reſolved, which now I offer to the World. The Firſt is an humble Petition to the Parliament, that they would pleaſe to try their now well-backed Authority, that ſome one faithful diſcreet Man may be choſen to divulge Gazettes, Courants, or News, who ſhall be accountable to the State, for what he prints or communicates to the Kingdom; and that two of each Party (for Parties there are) ſhall undertake for what is printed on the Behalf of either, that ſo all ſcandalous and ſlanderous perſonal Affronts may be avoided, and Matters worth Time and Reading may be publiſhed: Or, if none of theſe may be gotten, at leaſt Men may put their Names to their Papers, that honeſt Men may know where to find an Accuſer; for, *ſi ſat ſit accuſare, quis erit innocens?* I liſt not to anſwer Objections may be made hereunto; ſincē this boundleſs Kind of Boldneſs were better curbed to ſome Inconvenience, then continued to a Miſchief, even the Poiſoning the whole Nation: It ſhould not be a wiſe Man's Quære, What Strength, Wit, Acuteneſs, *&c.* runs through ſuch a Paper? But, *cui bono?*

II. My Second Reſolve is, Though not to anſwer every late Pamphlet punctually, which rather than do, I might undertake to cleanſe the Stable in the Story: Yea, though my Share lies ſo much in them, that it would be coſtly to purchaſe clean Handkerchiefs to wipe off every Spattering on my Face, and I could as ſhortly, and more truly, anſwer all, as he did *Bellarmine*, with, *Thou lyeſt*; knowing no publick Inſtrument, in no Age, in no Place, can travel without others daſhing and Dogs barking: Yet, to prevent Stones from ſpeaking, and Graves from opening, or ſome horrid unheard of Thing from appearing, to ſatisfy the wide-mouthed World, and the black-mouthed Pamphleteers; I ſhall, in Plainneſs and Faithfulneſs, ſhew you the Army's Wounds ſince they put up their Sword, and, with them, the State's Diſeaſe; and, in Humility, offer the Cure, and leave all to a Wonder-working God.

Firſt, Let me tell you, Negatively, the Evils, commonly charged upon the Army, are not the Army's Evils. We have generally *Cauſam pro non cauſa*, in which Mr. *Prynne* was wont to exceed, who ſpoke much more than he

he meant to ſtand to: The Sum of all his is the Army's Rebellion: Another Pedantick ſounds a Retreat, who, being nameleſs, will not endure a Charge; the Marrow of his Divinity, Non-obedience. Another brings the Army to the Bar, where he pleads with a Company of bilked Threatenings, and would fright *Fairfax* with a Sight of a King at *Whitehall*. One cries, they ſin againſt *Cæſar*; another, they have deflowered the Parliament; another, they have raviſhed the City; another, they are Sectaries, Enemies to Government, falſe to God, to Man, Friends, Enemies to themſelves. They have loſt *Ireland*, ruined *England*: Oh! Taxes and Free-quarter: Oh! this Trinkling with the Court, cries one: Oh! their doubtful Carriage with the Court, cries another: Cavaliers ſhall up, cries one: We ſhall never ſee good Day, ſays another. I do not think *Paul* heard ſuch a confuſed Noiſe, when himſelf could hardly get Leave to ſpeak: That the Word *Army* muſt anſwer all the doubtful miſchievous deadly Queſtions in the World: For Example;

Who brings Famine? The Army.
Who the Plague? The Army.
Who the Sword? The Army.
Who hinders Trade? The Army.
Who incenſeth *Scotland*? The Army.
Who hardens the King? The Army.
Who confounds all? The Army.

And if it ſhould be aſked the Cavaliers and Malignants, Who conquered you? They would anſwer, The Army: If the Preſbyters, Who diſappointed you? The Army: If the Independents, Who leaves you in the Dark? The Army: And if *Haman* were aſked, What he would do with theſe *Jews*? We know the Anſwer: Alas, poor Army: *Qualis de te narratur Fabula?* But to my Purpoſe; the grand Complaint (which, as moſt inſiſted upon, ſo is moſt likely to have vulgar Acceptance) is the Army's Diſobedience to the Parliament, by which the State was endangered to loſe all Conſiſtency; in Reſpect of which, the Apprentices Routing the Houſe is but Duty or Innocency; or, at worſt, a parallel Practice.

To which this is my plain and full Anſwer.

It is confeſſed they were not willing to diſband at *Walden*, being urged thereunto, and denied in *Eſſex*, when expected and preſſed: But conſider, 1*ſt*, It was required but conditionally, with Regard to their Security, Indemnity, and Arrears, and none of theſe performed; it was not ſuch a *Monſtrum horrendum*.

2*dly*, They were free *Engliſhmen* as Soldiers, and muſt maintain their Obligation to the State, as well as anſwer the Major and more corrupt Votes of the Houſe.

3*dly*, Nature commanded their Self-preſervation, when ſuch Inſtruments were ſent to diſband them, and command them for *Ireland*, of whoſe Non-Integrity they had good Experience.

4*thly*, When not long before they could not have Leave to petition their faithful General, how ſhould they expect any Thing, being diſbanded?

5*thly*, This Piece of Diſobedience was not new unto them, when the ſame Practice was familiar from Men more mercenary in the North, and their Denial never counted Rebellion, but glibly ſwallowed.

6*thly*, I anſwer, and I deſire it may be obſerved: The firſt Force ever put upon the Parliament was long before this, and that nearer Hand: Did not the City Remonſtrance hang like a Petard upon the Parliament Door Week after Week, and every Ward in Courſe, to attend and fire it? Speak, Gentlemen of the Houſe, how you were accoſted and ſaluted, and in what Language, till you were forced to ſpeak pure *London*.

7*thly*, I do here offer to make good upon Oath, that the Commanding Party, in the Houſe, had more Force upon them to diſband us, than we put upon the Houſe in Refuſing. For Proof whereof, Maſter *Anthony Nicholls*, lately with us at *Kingſton*, before his Flight, being urged by myſelf, before another ſufficient Witneſs, to ſpeak to this Point, calling for a Teſtimony from Heaven, profeſſed, that, when the Army offered at firſt to go for *Ireland*, he with the other impeached Members fully condeſcended to it, and they gave him the Agitation thereof; but, as he proteſted, the Miniſters in *London* came to them with Violence, preſſing the Contrary upon this Ground: That this Army would ſoon conquer *Ireland*, fill it with Schiſms, and not only command it, but in a ſhort Time give Law to *England*; and therefore would hear of nothing but the Diſbanding it, which, quoth he,

he, put us upon that violent Courſe: Now who forced theſe Miniſters? I do not ſay; but you ſee who forced thoſe Parliament-men, and we know they would force the Army; and upon Denial the Army are the Forcers. And, if the City Remonſtraters durſt ſpeak, they can tell you who forced them to force the Parliament: And, if the Apprentices would break Silence, they could tell you who ſpit in their Mouths, and clapped them on the Back.

In all this I ſpeak not my Delight, but my Grief, that ſo many Pulpits ſhould plainly witneſs this Force, as Hiſtory tells us who poiſoned King *John*. And though we have not been ignorant of this Kind of Violence (which I had rather attribute to my Brethren's Zeal, than their Malice) yet you ſee how tenderly we have dealed with thoſe: We knowing many Godly amongſt them, who have not yet declared againſt them, complained of one of them; nay, though this Army, from firſt to laſt, never had any of theſe Brethren to offer one Sermon to us to encourage us in Dangers, to rejoice with us in our Succeſs; nay, though they know we want Helps, and have been forced to uſe ſuch Help, as they have reviled us for, and ſo would have us make Brick without Straw; nay, though we know moſt hard Meaſure met us; I do profeſs I conceive even *Gangræna* himſelf might have marched through the Army unmoleſted, though we are not ignorant, *hinc noſtri fundi calamitas*. The Lord pity and pardon, the Army doth.

8*thly*, *Laſtly*, The Army durſt not diſband, not ſeeing a ſuitable Power to ſtand betwixt honeſt Men and their Dangers; the Gariſons not poſſeſſed by Men of Truſt, and the Five-thouſand Horſe intended not in ſuch Hands as to be wiſhed; and the beſt of them might be ſoon diſbanded, when the Foot ſcattered.

No, no, this is not the Army's Wound or Sore; and, to anſwer the Retreater's grand Queſtion, Whence are Wars? I anſwer with the Apoſtle *James*, and add: 'Peace begets Plenty, Plenty Pride, and Pride War, and War begets Peace, and ſo round again. The School-boy, that helped him to ſo many *Latin* Ends out of *Tully*, can anſwer a harder Query; but, ſince he pretends to Religion, I wonder this offended Brother doth not attend the Rule, *Matth.* xviii. Why cannot he as well ſpeak to a Brother offending, and ſo tell him, as to tell all the World of him? I have been ſatisfied in my own Spirit, that the Godly could not be much offended with us, ſince none have taken the Liberty of ſpeaking to us; which, I dare ſay, from the General to the meaneſt Officer profeſſing Godlineſs, had not been unwelcome.

But I look upon that Author to be as great a Stranger to the Army, as he is often to his own Principles, and his whole Courſe to be a Trade of Retreating, and leave him to another Pen. Nor is a general Toleration the Army's *Gangræna*, whenas they never hindered the State from a State-religion, having only wiſhed to enjoy now what the Puritans begged under the Prelates; when we deſire more, blame us and ſhame us. Neither was it the Evil of the Army, that, being modelled, they ſuddenly cloſed, and marched at that Time, when the boldeſt Complainer now would have given them two Parts of what they had, to have ſecured the third. Friends, it was not their Evil to divide Part of their Force to *Taunton*, and, with another Part, to fight at *Naſeby*, and after that, by God's Bleſſing, to deliver up a free Kingdom to an ungrateful Inhabitant, and to an envious cruel Piece of a Parliament; nor did thoſe honeſt-hearted, ſo much aſperſed, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* ſin in owning the Army at *New-market*; nor in their March from thence towards *London*; nor in their Reſpects to thoſe noble Commiſſioners of Parliament ſent to them; nor in their Courteſy to thoſe diſcreet Citizens from *London*, who deſerve much; nor their Condeſcending to their Deſires to march off upon Promiſe of two Things: *Firſt*, That they would put out the imperious Reformadoes. *Secondly*, In ſecuring the Houſe, though neither performed; nor in ſcattering their Forces at two-hundred Miles Diſtance, and providing for *Ireland*; nor in their Return upon thoſe confeſſed Inſolencies; nor in marching unto and through the City, to ſhew their harmleſs Intentions; nor in ſecuring the King in that Juncture; nor in hearkening to their Agitators in their juſt Propoſals; nor in aſking Money to avoid free Quarter, and other Burdens; nor in bringing thoſe of the Houſe, that fled to them, Home again; nor in deſiring a ſound Parliament, and clearing it from ſuch Perſons as had ſhaken their publick Inte-

reſt; nor, in propounding wholeſome Means to the Houſe, and leaving them to their Feet, to be enlarged, altered, or explained, to the Kingdom's Advantage; nor, *laſtly*, are Complaints againſt private Soldiers the proper Evil of the Army, ſince, when I ſpeak of the Army, I mainly intend their Counſel and Conduct; for you know, in ſuch a Body, that Sickneſs in Pay cauſeth Death in Diſcipline. But poſitively we will turn up our Lap, and ſhew you our Nakedneſs, *& habebitis confitentes reos.* We acknowledge, we are reaping the ill Fruits of our Want of Action: *Sævior armis luxuria incubuit, victoſque ulciſcitur.*

It may be, ſome of us have had our lordly Diſh in *Jael*'s Tent, and our Head may be nailed to the Ground; we may think, the War being ended, we may begin to look to our own Comforts and Subſiſtence; and we are apt to plead, Who ſhall enjoy Honour, and other Advantages, but thoſe that have won them through Hazards? And think they may be confided in. It may be, ſome of us look upon our Shops and Trades, as Things below us. We want that Communion with God, and one with another, which we had in ſad Hours; we are forgetful of our Mercies; we may be apt to quarrel one with the other, for Want of an Enemy.

We may have ſuch a Neighbour of the Court, that ſome of us may be Planet ſtruck, yet I hope not Principle-ſhaken; we may wander too much from our own firſt Undertakings, in the Opinion of others.

We are not without Varieties of Thoughts about the Matters of God, which never appeared when we had no Time for Talking, having ſo much to do and act. We cannot, we confeſs, live beyond our Frailties, in many Kinds: To be ſhort, we have prayed more, loved more, believed more, than we do. We are grown effeminate with Eaſe, and are more cowed with a dead Dog, than we have been with a living Lion; we are leſs in Heaven, and more on Earth; and theſe, truly, are our Wounds, dear Friends.

Some other Diſeaſes there are as much conſiderable amongſt others, which may be of greater and ſtranger Influence, as,

1. All Men's Unbelief in God for the Carrying on his Work; he is not minded in the whole Buſineſs.

2. Our not Deſigning a Government from firſt to laſt.

3. Our general, proud, and careleſs Carriages towards the preſent Differences, which make ſo much Noiſe amongſt us.

4. A Selfiſhneſs and Negligence in Committees, and Men intruſted, behaving themſelves as if they could keep their painted and well-ſtuffed Cabbins when the Ship is ſinking.

5. A general Want of the Fear of God, and that Spirit of Trembling before him, which, whilſt it was upon *Ephraim*, he was a glorious Tribe.

6. An oſcitant and untruſſed Kind of Deportment in all Men towards publick Affairs; the Truth is, the Want of a publick Spirit threatens Ruin very much.

7. Unwarranted Jealouſies of all Men, and all Actions; yea, though convinced of each others Faithfulneſs.

8. Common Unthankfulneſs and Ingratitude to God and Man; I fear, ſhortly, the greateſt Error, in the Kingdom, will be the Famine of Love.

9. Delay to the Diſtreſſed, making them more miſerable than the Matter of their Complaints doth.

10. A Spirit of Lying and falſe Witneſs-bearing, reaching to the Undervaluing of our Enjoyments; to ſay *England* is grown ſo poor by the War, is falſe; excepting what is blaſted by ſome Northern Winds, our Treaſure is yet in the Kingdom: *London* as rich as before; witneſs Cloaths and Diet; witneſs Marriages and Diſpoſing of Children, where Piety, Proportion, and Parentage take little Place, unleſs mingled with much red Clay; witneſs the ready Money for Purchaſes, if cheap, though ſhaken Titles in tottering Times.

The Cure may lie in theſe.

The Army, you ſay, muſt yet be maintained, and we have thought of Eſtabliſhments, *&c.* to take off all Offences occaſioned by the Army; either you muſt find Action for it, which will anſwer much, or repartite it upon ſeveral Counties, according to Proportion, that every County may know their own Men and their Charge, by which the *Hollanders* have kept their Army theſe ſeventy or eighty Years: I have formerly anſwered all Objections may be made againſt it. The immediate Pay of the Soldier in every County, will cut off many unneceſſary Charges, ſo it will be eaſy and contentful to both Parties, I mean the Soldier and the Landlord.

2*dly*, Good Men, not good Laws, muſt ſave Kingdoms; not that I would ſeparate them; therefore, I think that the firſt Work to be attended: For, as the *Venetians* live upon their curious Elections, ſo the *Netherlands*, by keeping their Government in ſuch Hands as they do, though Perpetuating Offices to them hath proved dangerous. Good Juſtices, good Mayors, &c. had it been our firſt Work, it would have been our beſt, and *Engliſhmen* can as ſoon conform to juſt and honeſt Government, as any other People. See it in the Army, how ſerviceable the worſt impreſſed Men have been under Example; and Characters to be given out for the Elector, and Elected, and for the Managing of chiefer Burgeſſes. What if every fifty, in every County, choſe one to chooſe for them, &c. moſt Men being ignorant of the worthieſt of Men.

3*dly*, That all Men, from the higheſt to the loweſt, may know what they may truſt to without Delay, and to truſt God with the Management of it, if according to his Will.

4*thly*, Tythes, or ſomething of Analogy to them, brought into a common Stock in every County, will do two Things, *viz.* Keep a good Proportion of Money ready in every County, and content the Preacher and his Widow better; when in Towns Two hundred Pounds, or One hundred and Fifty Pounds *per Annum*, and in the Pariſh One-hundred Pounds ſhall be certainly paid, and Forty Pounds to the Widow, &c. as in other Countries they do; and hence raiſe a Stock to ſet the Poor on Work in every County, the Want of which hath been ſo much complained of.

5*thly*, That Salaries may be appointed to all Places of Truſt, that Temptations to Deceit take not Hold of Officers.

6*thly*, A Committee for Union betwixt all Men truly godly; that we may ſwim in one Channel (which is in Hand) with free and loving Debates allowed in every County, that we may convince, not confound each other: Two or three itinerary Preachers, ſent by the State into every County; and a Committee of godly Men, Miniſters, Gentlemen, and others, to ſend out Men of Honeſty, Holineſs, and Parts, into all Countries, recommended from their Teſt.

7*thly*, Three Men yearly choſen in every Pariſh, to take up Differences, which may be called Friend-makers, as they do in other Places with good Succeſs.

8*thly*, That the Cuſtoms (by which great Sums come to Hand) may be in very choice Hands, and their Under-officers, in all Parts, may be preſented from thoſe Parts to them; and out of Two or Three, ſo preſented, they chooſe one, if not juſt Exception againſt him.

9*thly*, That my former Model for the Navy may be reviewed and accepted, which was preſented about two Years ſince; whereby the Navy's Debts may be paid, and two Parts of three in the Charge ſaved for the Future, and the Work better done.

10*thly*, That Merchants may have all Manner of Encouragement; the Law of Merchants ſet up, and Strangers, even *Jews*, admitted to trade, and live with us; that it may not be ſaid, we pray for their Converſion, with whom we will not converſe, we being all but Strangers on the Earth.

11*thly*, That Foreign Nations may have due Reſpect by all fair Correſpondences with them, and Intelligencers kept among them; eſpecially that *Scotland* may be uſed in all Things as Neighbours and Friends, though not as Maſters and Commanders.

12*thly*, That Academies may be ſet up for Nobility and Gentry, where they may know Piety and Righteouſneſs, as well as Gallantry and Courtſhip (we commonly fetch over the Dirt of *France*, rather than their Excellencies) and that ſhorter Ways to Learning may be advanced; and that Godlineſs in Youth give them Place in Colleges before Letters and Importunity of Men.

13*thly*, That the Work of *Ireland* may not thus ſtill be made a Mock-work; but that the Buſineſs may be carried on ſtrenuouſly and vigorouſly by Men to be confided in; who may take it upon them by the Great, or Day-Work, either of theſe; there are good Men will undertake it upon them, if fully countenanced with a good Magazine and ſome Money; for what we ſend now is but like a Worm in a hollow Tooth, it takes up no Jaw.

14*thly*, That no Magiſtrates in Matters of Religion meddle further than as a nurſing Father, and then all Children ſhall be fed, though they have ſeveral Faces and Shapes.

15*thly*, That all Men intruſted may have ſet Time, Place, and Perſons appointed, to give up their Accounts unto of their Employments.

16*thly*,

16*thly*, Since the vaſt and even incomprehenſible Affairs of this Kingdom, by the preſent Council, muſt have ſo many Agitations and ſo many Varieties paſs upon them; two Ways it may be cured:

1. If nothing be taken into the Houſe's Conſideration but *res vere arduæ*, wherein the Heart-blood of the Kingdom runs, and no petty Matters.

2. If a Council of State of ten or twelve honeſt and godly well-byaſſed Men might ſit near the Houſe, and theſe, not inveſted with Power, might commend Matters of high Concernment to the Houſe, and receive their Scruples, and thoſe to ſtate alſo Government of Churches.

17*thly*, That Burgeſſes of Parliament may be better proportioned, ſix, four, or two for Shires, and ſome for great Cities; that they give Monthly ſome Account to the Places intruſting them, and that ſome Laws may be Probationers for a Month or two.

18*thly*, That ſome of the Parliament may be appointed to receive ſuch Suggeſtions from Friends for the Good of the Whole, which they cannot conſtantly bring in by Way of Petition.

19*thly*, That Priſoners, eſpecially for Debt, may have Diſpatches, and not loſe Heads, Hearts, and Hands as well as Heels, in Gaols; and that the Creditor may maintain them in Priſon: That poor Thieves may not be hanged for thirteen Pence Half-penny; but that a Gally or two may be provided to row in the River or Channel, to which they may be committed, or employed in draining Lands, or baniſhed.

It were alſo to be wiſhed, that our Gentry find out Callings, and that younger Brothers may be better provided for by their Parents, that ſome of them fall not on Learning and the Miniſtry as a Shift, and ſome, which is worſe, take up their Employments in Highways, or, at beſt, peſter *Ireland*, or foreign Plantations; and all to maintain the Paintry and Gliſter of the Family, and too often to keep up the Name and Honour of it in a ſottiſh and luxurious Hire.

20*thly*, Quick Juſtice makes quiet Common-wealths; I look upon that as contenting the *Hollanders*, under their vaſt Taxes, and Exciſes; what they have they can keep, where, in every Town, you may get Juſtice as often and as naturally, as their Cows give Milk: The few Advocates in *Amſterdam* will tell you what little Uſe they make of Lawyers, where I have known a Merchant dealing for thirty-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and in ſeven Years not ſpend twenty Shillings in Law.

And, if I might not offend the Court and Gentry, I would ſay the Wrapping up of ſo many of them in Gowns, and ſcuffling at *Weſtminſter*, is rather a Mark of their Meanneſs and Jejuneneſs, and our Slavery and Folly, than of any National Glory: That, to this Day, we can neither buy nor ſell, convey nor make Teſtaments, without great and queſtionable Parchments: And for Law muſt *jurare in verba*, either of *Littleton*, *Cook*, or a Caſuiſt, *ejuſdem farinæ*, which would find a Cure in keeping Records in all Counties of all Men's Eſtates and Alienations, *&c.* and thoſe tranſmitted to a grand or leiger Record at *Weſtminſter*; the Strength and Time, ſpent in Term Quarrels, were better beſtowed upon the *Weſt-Indies*, to which we have been ſo often called, and would ſoon make an End of *Europe*'s Troubles by drying up that *Euphrates*.

I know not what Engagements the King hath upon any, nor how the Intercourſe lies; but, before the Cloſe of new Addreſſes, I wiſh the People might have two Things granted them, *viz.*

1. To underſtand by ſome wiſe Statiſt what the true *Engliſh* of Prerogative, Privilege, and Liberty is. If theſe three bawling Children were well brought to Bed, the whole Houſe would be quiet.

2. That a certain Time might be appointed to chuſe their Burgeſſes undeniably, if they pleaſe to make Uſe of it, with Writs or without; what Year this ſhall begin I ſay not; but, if not granted, you ſhall hardly keep Tyranny out of Doors.

To cloſe all and cure all; would this Nation but follow the plain Footſteps of Providence in one Thing, the Work were done.

Let us but conſider, whether the Lord hath not pointed out his Work unto us, *viz.* putting righteous Men into Places of Truſt, making Way thereunto; as if the Fulfilling of the many Prophecies, and the Expectation of the Juſt, were now to be anſwered. Witneſs the firſt and now ſecond Gaubling the Parlia-

ment,

ment, the like in the City, the ſame in the Army, no leſs in the Miniſtry, as in the Choice of *Jeſſe*'s Sons: Neither this nor that muſt ſerve but the leaſt, that the whole Kingdom hath been in the Refiners Fire. The Lord would do us Good againſt our Wills: But we content ourſelves to give him a Female when we have a Male in the Flock: This broke the Axle-tree of the *Jewiſh* State and Church, and that bought *Aceldama*.

However I am confident; God will carry on this Work, which is his own; and to that End I look above all preſent Agitations, knowing if we enter into our Chambers, and ſhut our Doors for a little Moment, the Indignation ſhall be overpaſt.

The Character of *Holland*. *London*, Printed by *T. Mabb* for *Robert Horn*, at the *Angel* in *Pope's-Head-Alley*, 1665. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

HOLLAND, that ſcarce deſerves the Name of Land,
As but th' Off-ſcowring of the *Britiſh* Sand;
And ſo much Earth as was contributed
By *Engliſh* Pilots, when they heav'd the Lead;
Or what by th' Ocean's ſlow Alluvion fell
Of ſhipwreck'd Cockle and the Muſcle Shell;
This indigeſted Vomit of the Sea
Fell to the *Dutch* by juſt Propriety.

Glad then, as Miners that have found the Ore,
They with mad Labour fiſh'd the Land to Shore;
And div'd as deſperately for each Piece
Of Earth, as if 't had been of Ambergris;
Collecting anxiouſly ſmall Loads of Clay,
Leſs than what building Swallows bear away;
Or than thoſe Piles which ſordid Beetles roul
Transfuſing into them their Dunghill Soul.
How did they rivet with Gigantick Piles
Thorough the Center their new-catched Miles:
And to the Stake a ſtruggling Country bound,
Where barking Waves ſtill bait the forced Ground;
Building their wat'ry *Babel* far more high
To reach the Sea, than thoſe to ſcale the Sky?

Yet ſtill his Claim the injur'd Ocean laid,
And oft at Leap-Frog o'er their Steeples play'd;
As if on purpoſe it on Land had come
To ſhew them what's their *Mare Liberum*.
A daily Deluge over them does boil:
The Earth and Water play at Level-coil.
The Fiſh oft-times the Burgher diſpoſſeſt,
And fat not as a Meat, but as a Gueſt:
And oft the Tritons and the Sea-Nymphs ſaw
Whole Sholes of *Dutch* ſerv'd up for *Cabillau*.
Or, as they over the new Level rang'd,
For pickled *Herring*, pickled *Heeren* chang'd.
Nature, it ſeem'd, aſham'd of her Miſtake,
Would throw their Land away at Duck and Drake.

Therefore Neceſſity, that firſt made Kings,
Something like Government among them brings.
For as with Pygmies, who beſt kills the Crane;
Among the Hungry, he that treaſures Grain;
Among the Blind, the one-ey'd Blinkard reigns;
So rules, among the Drowned, he that drains.
Not who firſt ſees the riſing Sun commands,
But who could firſt diſcern the riſing Lands,
Who beſt could know to pump an Earth ſo leak,
Him they their Lord and Country's Father ſpeak.
To make a Bank was a great Plot of State,
Invent a Shovel and be Magiſtrate.
Hence ſome ſmall Dyke-grave, unperceiv'd, invades
The Power, and grows as 't were a King of Spades:
But for leſs Envy ſome joint State endures,
Who look like a Commiſſion of the Sewers.
For theſe *Half-anders*, half wet, and half dry,
Nor bear ſtrict Service nor pure Liberty.

'Tis

'Tis probable Religion after this
Came next in Order, which they could not miſs:
How could the *Dutch* but be converted, when
Th' Apoſtles were ſo many Fiſher-men?
Beſide, the Waters of themſelves did riſe,
And, as their Land, ſo them did re-baptiſe.
Though *Herring* for their God few Voices miſt,
And *Poor John* to have been th' Evangeliſt.
Faith, that could never Twins conceive before,
Never ſo fertile, ſpawn'd upon this Shore:
More pregnant than their *Marg'et*; that laid down
For *Hans-in-Kelder* of a whole *Hans-Town*.

Sure, when Religion did itſelf embark,
And from the Eaſt would Weſtward ſteer its Ark,
It ſtruck; and, ſplitting on this unknown Ground,
Each one thence pillag'd the firſt Piece he found:
Hence *Amſterdam Turk-Chriſtian-Pagan-Jew*,
Staple of Sects, and Mint of Schiſm grew;
That Bank of Conſcience, where not one ſo ſtrange
Opinion, but finds Credit and Exchange.
In vain for Catholicks ourſelves we bear,
The Univerſal Church is only there.

Nor can Civility there want for Tillage,
Where wiſely for their Court they choſe a Village:
How fit a Title clothes their Governors!
Themſelves the *Hogs*, as all their Subjects *Boors*.

Let it ſuffice to give their Country Fame,
That it had one *Civilis* call'd by Name,
Some fifteen-hundred and more Years ago,
But, ſurely, never any that was ſo.

See but their Mermaids, with their Tails of Fiſh
Reeking at Church over the Chafing-diſh.
A Veſtal Turf, enſhrin'd in earthen Ware,
Fumes through the Loop-holes of a wooden Square;
Each to the Temple with theſe Altars tend
(But ſtill do place it at her Weſtern End)
While the fat Steam of Female Sacrifice
Fills the Prieſt's Noſtrils, and puts out his Eyes.

Or what a Spectacle the Skipper groſs,
A Water-*Hercules*, Butter-*Coloſs*,
Tunn'd up with all their ſeveral Towns of Beer;
When, ſtagg'ring upon ſome Land, *Snick and Sneer*,
They try, like Statuaries, if they can
Cut out each other's *Athos* to a Man;
And carve in their large Bodies, where they pleaſe,
The Arms of the *United Provinces*.

Vainly did this Slap-Dragon Fury hope
With ſober *Engliſh* Valour e'er to cope;
Not though they prim'd their barbarous Morning's Draught
With Powder, and with Pipes of Brandy fraught;
Yet *Rupert*, *Sandwich*, and, of all, the *Duke*,
The *Duke* has made their Sea-ſick Courage puke,
Like the three Comets ſent from Heaven down,
With fiery Flails, to ſwinge th' ungrateful Clown.

The End of the Fifth Volume.

N. B. *The Publication of this* Fifth Volume, *without an* Index, *is occaſioned by the ſudden Illneſs of the Gentleman, who had promiſed to compile it; and, as this is an unforeſeen and unavoidable Accident, it is humbly hoped, the Subſcribers to the* Harleian Miſcellany *will be ſo good as to excuſe the Omiſſion; eſpecially as they may be aſſured, that particular Care will be taken to have the ſaid* Index *printed at the End of the next Volume.*

Continued. NUMBER XXII.

313. A moſt ſtraunge and true *Diſcourſe* of the wonderfull Judgment of God, of a Monſtrous Deformed *Infant*, begotten by inceſtuous Copulation, betweene the Brother's Sonne, and the Siſter's Daughter, being both unmarried Perſons. Which *Child* was born at *Colwall*, in the County and Dioceſſe of *Hereford*, upon the ſixt Day of *January* laſt, being the Feaſt of the *Epiphany*, commonly called *Twelfth-Day*, 1599. A notable and moſt terrible Example againſt Inceſt and Whoredom. Imprinted at *London* for *Richard Jones*. (In nine Leaves) *Quarto*, 1600

This Pamphlet was publiſhed by a Preacher of the Goſpel, who ſigns himſelf at the End of his Epiſtle to the Godly Reader, *J. R.* And has included the Deſcription of this imperfect and deformed Child, which was communicated by a Gentleman of good Credit and Worſhip in that Neighbourhood. The Mother of that Child was a Yeoman's Daughter, but ſhe is not named; and two of her Couſin Germans lived incontinently with her, while ſhe was Servant in her Uncle's Houſe at *Mathen* in *Worceſterſhire*; but it was at her other Uncle's Houſe, at *Colwell* before-named, that ſhe was delivered of the Child; which was baptiſed by the Paſtor of the Pariſh, and named, *What Godwill*; but it died on the Third Day. The Editor concludes the Narrative with a Chriſtian *Diſcourſe* againſt all *Uncleanneſs*, ariſing from the Seven Cauſes here diſtinguiſhed. Then recommends ſome Books, which have notably handled this Point; as, *Stubb*'s *Anatomy of Abuſes*; Hergeſt's *Right Rule of Chriſtian Chaſtity*; Bateman's *Doom Warning to Judgment*; Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgment*; Parſon's *Chriſtian Reſolution*; and more particularly ſays, "Read, I pray you, "*Thomas Naſhe*'s Book, entitled, *The Tears* "*of Chriſt over* Jeruſalem: Which Book, "if you have any Grace in you, will make "you to ſhed Tears for your Sins, *&c.*" After which follows an Invective Concluſion.

314. A *Welch* Bayte to ſpare Provender: Or, a Looking back upon Times paſt. Written Dialogue wiſe. This Book is divided into *Three Parts*. The *Firſt*, A Brief Diſcourſe of *England*'s *Security*, while her late *Majeſtie* was living; with the Manner of her Proceeding in *Government*, eſpecially towards the *Papiſts* and *Puritans* of *England*: whereof a *Letter*, written late before her Death, ſpecifies, as followeth in this firſt Part. The *Second*, A Deſcription of the *Diſtractions* during her Majeſty's *Sickneſs*, with the *Compoſing* of them. The *Third*, Of the Aptneſs of the *Engliſh* and the *Scotte* to *incorporate*, and become one entire Monarchie: With the Meanes of preſerving their *Union* everlaſtingly, added thereunto. Printed at *London* by *Valentine Simmes*. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1603

This Tract is dedicated in Verſe, to *Henry Wriotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*, Baron of *Tichfield*, and of the Noble *Order* of the *Garter*. By *Thomas Powell*, the Author, who was a *Welſhman*. The ſeveral Diſcourſes alſo, as mentioned in the Title, are interſperſed with Verſes; and, in the Concluſion, the Author has three Copies, upon the Lady *Elizabeth Bridges*; the Noble Sir *Thomas Knevet*, and the Right Worſhipful Sir *Edward Dyer*.

315. *The Court of Good Counſell:* Wherein is ſet downe the True *Rules*, How a *Man* ſhould *chooſe a Good Wife from a Bad*; and a *Woman* a *Good Huſband from a Bad*. Wherein is alſo expreſſed, The Great Care that *Parents* ſhould have, for the *Beſtowing* of their *Children* in *Mariage*: And likewiſe, How *Children* ought to *behave* Themſelves towards their *Parents*: And how *Maiſters* ought to *govern* their *Servants*; and how *Servants* ought to be *Obedient* to their Maiſters. Set forth as a *Patterne* for all People to learne *Wit* by: Publiſhed by One that hath dearly bought it, by *Experience*. Printed by *Ralph Blower*, and ſolde by *William Barley*, at his Shop in *Gratious Streete*. (In 36 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1607

Theſe *Moral Diſcourſes* and *Counſells* upon thoſe important Subjects, coming into the Hands of *W. B.* to be imprinted; whom we therefore conjecture to be *William Barley*, the Bookſeller aforeſaid, he has prefixed a Dedication of them To Sir *John Joles*, one

of the Aldermen of *London:* Wherein, obſerving That the Duty of all Sorts of People is moſt lively ſet forth, and thinking that for their Excellency they deſerve a Patron of Judicial Cenſure, he has choſen to dedicate Them to Him, wiſhing them as worthy of his Worſhip's Acceptance as the ſaid Publiſher deſires they ſhould be, *&c.*

316. The Helliſh and Horrible *Councell, practiſed* and *uſed* by the *Jeſuites*, in their Private *Conſultations, when They would have a Man to Murther a King.* According to thoſe Damnable *Inſtructions* given by Them to that *Bloody Villaine Francis Ravilliacke*, who *murdered Henry the Fourth*, the late King of *France. Sent* to the *Queene Regent*, in *Anſwere* to that Impudent *Pamphlet* publiſhed by *Peter Cotton* Jeſuite in *Defence* of the *Jeſuites*, and their *Doctrine:* Which alſo is here annexed. Tranſlated out of *French.* Printed for *T. B.* and to be ſold by *John Wright*, at his Shop by *Chriſt-Church* Gate. (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1610

This curious Tract is dedicated to the Queen-Mother of the young King, and to the Regent of *France*; and notwithſtanding that notorious *Letter* of Father *Cotton*, ſo much cried up by his *Society*, for clearing them of the King-killing Doctrine: Yet the *Anſwers*, which have been made thereto, have not only laid thoſe black and monſtrous Principles at the Door of their true Parents, but proved that the horrid Practiſes of them had been in many other Examples effected, through thoſe Religious Deluſions wherewith they ſo ſolemnly poiſoned the Minds of their ignorant and bigotted Inſtruments.

317. Sir *Anthony Sherley*'s *Relation* of his *Travels* into *Perſia*. The *Dangers* and *Diſtreſſes* which befell him in his Paſſage both by *Sea* and *Land*; and his ſtrange and unexpected *Deliverances*: His Magnificent *Entertainment* in *Perſia*; his Honourable *Imployment* there ſince, as *Embaſſador* to the Princes of *Chriſtendome*; the Cauſe of his Diſappointment therein; with his Advice to his Brother, Sir *Robert Sherley*. Alſo a true *Relation* of the great Magnificence, Valour, Prudence, Juſtice, Temperance, and other manifold Vertues of *Abas*, now King of *Perſia*; with his great Conqueſts, whereby he hath enlarged his Dominions. Penned by Sir *Anthony Sherley*; and recommended to his Brother Sir *Robert Sherley*, being now in Proſecution of the like Honourable Imployment. *London*, Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*, and *Joſeph Bagſet.* (In 74 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1613

This Voyage, Sir *Anthony Sherley*, ſet out from *Venice*, on the 24th of *May*, 1599. It has never been intirely reprinted, but an Abſtract of it may be found in *Samuel Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, Volume the 2d, *Folio* 1625, *Lib.* 9. The Editor, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, informs us, that the Author's Brother, Sir *Robert Shirley*, promiſed an *Addition* to this *Relation*, which is but a former Part; but that ſuch *Addition* was ever publiſhed by him, or in his Names, does not appear.

318. The *Life* and *Death* of the Reverend Father, and faithfull Servant of God, Mr. *William Cowper*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, who departed this Life at *Edinburgh*, the 15th of *February*, 1619. Whereunto is added, A *Reſolution* penned by Himſelf, ſome few Days before his Death, touching The *Articles* concluded in the late *General Aſſembly* holden at *Perth*. *London*, Printed by *George Purſlowe* for *John Budge*, &c. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1619

The Diſcourſe of the Life of his *Scotch* Biſhop was alſo penned by Himſelf on the Firſt of *January*, 1616. and ſome other Papers of his Meditations alſo here printed. To which is added, An Account of his Death by the Publiſher. His *Anſwer* to the *Scruples* againſt the *Acts* of the *Aſſembly* aforeſaid, which alſo contains a *Catalogue* of his *Writings*, containing his Opinion of *Holydays*, *Baptiſm*, *Private Communion*, and *Kneeling* at the *Communion*.

319. *The Favorites Chronicle:* Printed according to the *French* Copy. (In 21 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1621

This ſevere and ſatyrical Piece of Hiſtory contains what had happened in the *French* Court within the two laſt Years: Alſo the Rencounter of ſeveral *French* Noblemen in the

the other World, with the late Marquis *D'Ancre*, and the Lord *Counſtable*, *Luynes*, &c. It is very ſcarce in the Original, and ſeems to have been privately printed in *Engliſh*.

320. The *Circle* of *Commerce:* Or, the *Ballance* of *Trade*, in Defence of *Free Trade*. Oppoſed to *Malyne's Little Fiſh*, and his *Great Whale*, and poiſed againſt them in the *Scale*. Wherein alſo, *Exchanges* in general are conſidered; and therein, the whole *Trade* of this Kingdom with foreign Countries, is digeſted into a *Ballance* of *Trade*, for the Benefit of the Publick. Neceſſary for the preſent and future Times. By *E. M*, Merchant. Printed by *John Dawſon* for *Nic. Bourne*. (In 80 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1623

This curious and uſeful Tract was written by *Edward Miſſelden*, an eminent Merchant, who then lived at *Hackney*. He had variety of Reading at his Command, ſufficient Ingenuity to apply it, and was ſingularly well acquainted with the Commerce and Intereſt of the Nation. He has properly dedicated it to *Lionel Cranfield*, Earl of *Middleſex*, and Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; whom he praiſes liberally for his *Mercantile* Knowledge. He had before publiſhed a little *Treatiſe of Free Trade*, and there were ſome Objections made to certain Arguments therein, in two Tracts, intitled, *The Little Fiſh*, and *The Great Whale*, written by *Gerard Malynes*, an old *Dutch* Merchant, who had publiſhed ſeveral Books upon Trade for thirty or forty Years in *England*, and eſpecially in *Defence of Exchange*, which he propheſied would irritate the Merchants, as it came to paſs, for he is here very roughly handled throughout this whole Treatiſe.

321. *The Cities Advocate*, in this *Caſe*, or *Queſtion* of Honour and Arms, *Whether Apprenticeſhip extinguiſheth Gentry?* Containing a clear Refutation of the pernicious common Error, *affirming* it, ſwallowed by *Eraſmus* of *Rotterdam*; Sir *Thomas Smith*, in his *Commonwealth*; Sir *John Fern*, in his *Blazon*; *Ralph Brooke*, *York* Herald, and others. With the Copies or Tranſcripts of Three *Letters*, which gave Occaſion to this Work. Printed for *W. Lee*, &c. (In 40 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1629

The Author has not prefixed his Name to this Learned and Ingenious Work, in Honour of our Citizens, but it is known to have been written by *John Philpot*, *Somerſet*-Herald, who died at or near the College of Arms in *London*, *Anno* 1645. With the Three Anonymous Letters of Inducement to publiſh this Tract; there is another alſo printed, written to the Author by Sir *William Segar*, Knight, Garter, Principal King of Arms, containing his Approbation thereof and Perſuaſion to his ſaid loving Friend, that he would let it receive the Glory of publick Light, and this renowned City thereby an Encreaſe to her Honour. It is divided into *Four Parts*; and on the ſixth Page, there is an Impreſſion, from a Copper-Plate, of the *Arms* of *London*, "as they are diſplayed in "ancient *Heraldry*, and as commented upon, "out of authentick Monuments in that wor-"thily well commended Survey of *Lon-"don*, compoſed by that diligent Chrono-"loger and vertuous Citizen Mr. *John* "*Stowe*." There is alſo the Figure of the Lord *Fitzwalter*, Bannerer of the City of *London*, in his Coat of Armour, Sword in one Hand, and in the other the Banner of the ſaid City, containing the Effigies of St. *Paul*; being a Copy of that which an old imperfect Leiger Book in the *Office of Arms* contains.

322. *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo:* Or, *London's* Fountain of Arts and Sciences: Expreſſed in ſundry Triumphs, Pageants, and Showes, at the Initiation of the Right Honourable *Nicholas Raynton* into the Maiorty of the famous and far-renowned City, *London*. All the Charge and Expence of the laborious Projects both by Water and Land being the ſole Undertaking of the Right Worſhipful Company of Haberdaſhers. Written by *Thomas Haywood*. Printed by *Nicholas Okes*. (In 10 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1632

This *T. Haywood* was a Writer of many Plays, as we have taken Notice of in his Deſcription of that Majeſtick Ship, which was called *The Royal Sovereign of the Seas*, which he publiſhed two Years after, and whereof

whereof a ſpacious *Sculpture* was alſo engraved, and publiſhed in two large Sheets, by *John Payne*, if we miſtake not his Name. And, as the ſaid *Haywood* alſo publiſhed Deſcriptions of ſeveral other Lord Mayor's Shows, we ſuppoſe he might be the *City Poet*, at that Time. Among the Speeches in Verſe, he has one in Honour of the *Number Twelve*, in Compliment to the chief City *Companies*. At the End of this Pamphlet, as well as the other, he has a Panegyrick upon Maſter *Gerard Chriſtmas*, for bringing the Pageants, and Figures in them, to ſuch great Perfection, both in Symmetry and Subſtance; being before but miſhapen Monſters, and only made of ſlight Wicker and Paper. The Author dedicates this Pamphlet to the ſaid *Lord-Mayor*, who being a *Lincolnſhire* Man, he makes a Remark in Honour of that County of many eminent Perſons, eſpecially in the like high Degree of Magiſtracy who were Natives thereof; "as, Sir *John Stockton*, Mercer, "born at *Bratoft*, Lord Mayor, 1470. Sir "*Nicholas Aldwin*, Mercer, born at *Spald*-"*ing*, Lord Mayor, 1499. Sir *William* "*Rennington*, Fiſhmonger, at *Boſton*, Lord "Mayor, 1500. Sir *William Forman*, Ha-"berdaſher, at *Gainsborough*, Lord Mayor, "1538. Sir *Henry Hobberthorne*, Merchant-"Taylor, at *Wadingworth*, Lord Mayor, "1546. Sir *Henry Amcoats*, Fiſhmonger, "at *Aſtrop*, Lord Mayor, 1548. Sir *John* "*Langley*, Goldſmith, at *Althrop*, Lord "Mayor, 1576. Sir *John Allot*, Fiſhmonger, "at *Lunbergh*, Lord Mayor, 1590. Sir *George* "*Bowles*, Grocer, at *Goſperton*, Lord Mayor, "1617. and now in preſent, your honoured "ſelf, *Nicholas Raynton*, born at *Heighington*, "Lord Mayor, 1632. Not ſo many having "attained to the ſame Dignity bred in any "other County, the City of *London* ex-"cepted. Worthy Obſervation it is alſo, "that at one Time, in the Reign of Queen "*Elizabeth*, moſt of the Prime Officers of "State were Countrymen of the ſame "County; As, the Archbiſhop of *Can*-"*terbury*, *Whitgift*: The Lord High "Treaſurer of *England*, Lord *Burghley*, "*Cecill*: The Lord Keeper of the Great "Seal, Sir *John Puckering*: Vice-Cham-"berlain and Chancellor of the Duchy, Sir "*Thomas Heneage*, one of her Majeſty's "Privy-Council: The Lord Chief Juſtice "*Wraye*, &c. &c."

323. A *Proteſtation* of the moſt High and Mighty Prince, *Charles Lodowicke*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *Archidapifer*, and Prince *Elector* of the Sacred *Empire*, Duke of *Bavaria*, &c. *Tranſlated* out of the *High Dutch*, into *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Latine*; and printed at *London*, by *Richard Whitaker*. (In 15 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1637.

This *Proteſtation* is againſt all the unlawful and violent Proceedings and Actions intended and practiſed to his *Highneſs*, his Brethren, and near Kindred's Prejudice; particularly againſt the ſecret and invalid Diſpoſitions and Decrees of the *Emperor*, in the *Tranſlation* of the *Electoral Dignity* and *Dominions* upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, &c. Secondly, The unlawful and vain *Election* of a *King* of the *Romans*, where his *Highneſs* and the Elector of *Triers* were excluded. Laſtly, The violent and unjuſt *Uſurpation* and *Poſſeſſion* of the *Electoral Dignity*, Title, Voice, and Seſſion, by the Duke of *Bavaria*. Before the ſaid *Proteſtation*, there is printed the *Definition* of one, from the Civilians; and an Example from the Bible, of *Sampſon's* making a *Proteſtation* againſt the *Philiſtines*.

324. The Charge of the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners againſt *Canterburie*, and the *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*. Together with their Demand concerning the Sixt Article of the *Treaty*. Printed (in 28 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1641.

Much of their Charge againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is, for his Impoſition of the *Service Book*, with his *Alterations* upon them: And, in their Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, there is this Paragraph: 'When he found that the *Reformation*, be-'gun in *Scotland*, did ſtand in his Way, he 'left no Means unaſſaied to rub Diſgrace 'upon us, and our Cauſe. The Pieces 'printed at *Dublin*, *Examen Conjurationis* '*Scoticanæ*; *The Ungirding of the* Scottiſh '*Armour*; the Pamphlet bearing the Coun-'terfeit Name of *Lyſimachus Nicanor*; all 'Three ſo full of Calumnies, Slanders, and 'Scurrilities againſt our Country, and Re-'formation, that the Jeſuites, in their 'greateſt Spite, could not have ſaid more: 'Yet, not only the *Authors* were Counte-'nanced and rewarded by Him, but the '*Books* muſt bear his Name, as the Great 'Patron both of the *Work* and *Workmen*.'

325.

325. A Perfect *Declaration* of the barbarous and cruel *Practices* committed by Prince *Robert*, the Cavalliers, and others in his Majesty's Army; from the Time of the King's going from his Parliament, until this present Day. Also the Names and Places of all Those, whose *Houses* have been plundered, and lost their Lives and Estates, compared with the bloody Cruelties of the *Rebels* in *Ireland*, whose Examples they follow, and make Use of them as their Agents to act their Cruelties in *England*. Together with the New *Oaths* and blasphemous Speeches they do daily invent; and how Prince *Robert's* Captains offered Summes of Money to those that can study new *Execrations* against the *Round-heads*. Collected by *R. Andrewes*, Chyrurgion; who is now a Prisoner amongst the Cavalliers, and was taken at *Kynton* Battell. *London*, Printed for *Fr. Coule*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1642

326. A *Remonstrance* of the Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Castlehaven*, and Lord *Audley*, concerning his *Imprisonment* in *Dublin*, and *Escape* from thence. Reviewed, Corrected, and Augmented. Printed at *Waterford*, by *Thomas Bourke*. (In 23 Pages) *Quarto*, 1643

327. The *Last Speeches* and *Confession* of the Lord *Macguire* the *Irish* Rebel, that was Hanged at *Tyburne*, and Drawne and Quartered on *Thursday* last, the 20th of *February*, 1644. With all the *Questions* that were put to him, and his several *Answers*. And the Coppies of those *Letters* and other Papers which he then had in his Hands, and made Use of, that were afterwards delivered to Sheriffe *Gibbes*. And his *Directory* from the *Romish* Priests, that gave him Notice by the said Papers to know them, in passing to *Tyburne* with him: Also his several *Absolutions* secretly given him, and all other Passages at his Death. Printed and Published according to Order. Imprinted by *Jane Coe*. (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*,

At the End is this Advertisement—'The 'whole *Triall* of the Lord *Macguire* should 'have been published e're this, but it could 'not be ready so suddenly: This, being of 'such Concernment, is thought fit to be 'published in the Interim.'

328. The Whole *Triall* of *Connor* Lord *Macguire*: With the perfect *Copies* of the *Indictment*, and all the *Evidences* against him. Also the *Copies* of Sir *Philome Oneale's Commission*, the Pope's *Bull* to the Confederate *Catholickes* in *Ireland*, with many remarkable *Passages* of the Grand *Rebellion* there, from the first Rise thereof, to this Present. His Plea of *Peerage*, and several *Answers*: With the several *Replies* made to him; By The King's Sergeant at Law, and Sergeant *Roll*: *William Prynne*, Esq; and M. *Nudigate*. And the Copies of the several Testimonies brought in against him at his Triall at the *King's Bench* Barre, in *Hilarie* Term last: By The Lord *Blaney*, Lady *Calfield*, Sir *Arthur Loftus*, Sir *John Temple*, Sir *William Stewart*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Sir *Edward Borlacey*, Sir *William Cole*, Sir *Charles Coot*, Mrs. *Wordrofe*, *John Carmicke*, *Walter Gubson*, *M. Bunbury*, Capt. *Mich. Balfoure*, and Capt. *Beresford*. *London*, Printed for *Robert Austin*, in the *Old-Baily*. (In 25 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1645

This Triall of *Connor*, alias *Cornelius Macguire*, Baron of *Eneskellin* in *Ireland*, began at the King's Bench Bar at *Westminster*, on *Monday February* 10, and ended the next Day. He Pleaded that he ought, and therefore prayed to be judged by his Peers: But Mr. Justice *Bacon* delivered his Judgment, that a Baron of *Ireland* was tryable by a *Jury* in this Kingdom. And the *House* of *Commons* declared their Assent to his Opinion, in over-ruling the Plea, and in the Manner of the Tryall upon the Indictment of High Treason in the King's Bench, requiring him to proceed speedily thereupon, according to Law and Justice.

329. The Religious and Loyal *Protestation* of *John Gauden*, Doctor in *Divinity*, against the present Declared Purposes and *Proceedings* of the *Army* and *Others*; about the *Trying* and *Destroying* our Soveraign Lord the *King*. Sent to a *Colonel*, to be Presented to the Lord *Fairfax*, and His Generall Councell of Officers, the Fift of *January*, 1648. *Imprimatur*, *Ja. Cranford*. *London*, Printed for *Richard Royston*, in *Ivie Lane*. (In seven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1648

330. A

330. A *Hue* and *Crie* after *Cromwell*: Or, The Cities *Lamentation* for the Loſs of their *Coyne* and their *Conſcience*. *Nol-nod*, Printed in the Year of no Liberty. (In One Sheet) *Quarto*, 1649

There is alſo, in the Title page of this Pamphlet, this pretended Order——Ordered by the *Supreme Authority*, that this *Hue and Crie* be ſpeedily directed to all the People's Officers, whether Mayors, Sheriffs, Conſtables, *&c.* to be proclaimed in all Cities, Counties, Townes, Boroughs in *England* and *Wales*. *Henry Scobel* Cler. de Com. The Author, in the Manner of a Beadle or Cryer, having begun with *O Yes*, makes a large Deſcription both of the Perſon and Principles of *Oliver Cromwell*; and, though it is a rough one, there are bold Strokes of Truth in it. He calls him, "A certain "Beaſt with a triangular Jeſuitical Head, "a toting red Noſe, a long meagre Face, "Red fiery Eyes, Iron-ſtreaked on the "Sides; a broad Back, long Runnagade "Legs, Bloody Pawes, *&c.*"——And a "little further, "His Mouth is an open "*Sepulchre*, which never divides itſelf but "to Deceive. His Tongue is tipped with "Rhetorical *Rhapſodies* to ruin Kingdoms, "diſſemble with *God*, equivocate and jug-"gle with *Men*. His *Face* is the Map of "Impudence, and his *Noſe* the flaming "*Beacon* to Raiſe a Country to *Rebellion*; "or a Sea Mark for *Sectaries* to ſail by, "*&c.*" In Page three, there is a Circumſtance which has not been touched upon, that we remember, by other Authors.—— *Viz.* All theſe are ſufficient Marks to know him by. Some ſay, he was conveyed away in a Chariot drawn by ſix *Flanders* Mares, with one *Ireton*, the Devil's Godſon, and *Harriſon*, the Jeſuite, his Life-Guard of ninety 'Squires of the laſt Edition; when indeed it had been far better and more pleaſing to God and Man that he had been drawn *like his Son on a Sledge*, with three black *Dray Horſes*, and *Herrick*, and his Man for his Companions; and the *Harlets* about him with a Guard of Halberts; as being the greateſt Injuſtice, *That* Young Cromwell *ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for Poyſoning the Maſter* of one ſingle Family, *and that* Old Cromwell *ſhould eſcape for Murthering his Lord and Sovereign, that was the Maſter of* all *the private* Families *of* England. *O Tempora! O Mores!*

Young *Noll* at *Tyburne* ſuffer'd for his Fact:
Old *Noll*'s Unhang'd, has done the baſer Act.

331. *Propoſals* concerning the *Chancery*. Wherein is ſet forth the *Deſires* of divers well-affected Perſons, for the *Regulating* of the *High Court of Chancery*, and the *Proceedings* there; and *Aboliſhing* of ſeverall *Fees*, *Offices* and *Officers* thereunto belonging. Tendred to the *Conſideration* of the Honourable *Commitee* for *regulating Courts of Juſtice*; and all Others whom it may concern. And Publiſhed to the View of the Nation; whereby every well-meaning Man to the Publique may joyn, in all lawfull Wayes, for obteyning a juſt Settlement and Regulation of the ſaid Court. With a very Uſefull *Table* thereto annexed. Printed by *W. Ellis*, &c. (In 15 Leaves, beſides the *Table*, in one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1650

This uſefull *Table* of *Fees* in the *Six Clerks Office*, then worth upwards of two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* a-piece, contains, in the *Firſt* Column, the *Great Exacted-Fees*, which the Grand or Head Officers belonging to the *Chancery take from the Commonwealth* in every *Cauſe*; and for which *they take no Pains* at all, ſave only attending to *Receive* them. The *Second* Column, how little thereof the *Clerks* and *Labourers*, who do all the Service, have thereout, to maintain Themſelves, their Wives and Families. The *Third* Column, how much will ſatisfy the true *Labourers*, to do all the Buſineſs: And the *Fourth*, how much thereby, out of every *Fee*, may be *ſaved* to the *Commonwealth*, and Particularly to all *Parties*; *Plantiffs*, and *Defendants* in the ſaid *Court*; with far more *Facility*, and quicker *Diſpatch* of their Buſineſs.

332. An *Advertiſement* to the *Jurymen* of *England* touching *Witches*. Together with a *Difference* between [illegible] *English* and *Hebrew Witch*. Printed by *J.* [illegible] *Richard Royſton*, &c. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1653

Although

Although this Pamphlet be *Anonymous*, there is a MS. Note upon the Copy here uſed, informing us, That it was written by Sir *Robert Filmer*, Author of the *Animadverſions* on *Milton*, *Hobbes*, &c. and of ſome Pieces upon *Government*, &c. His Writing this Tract, was occaſioned by the Execution of ſome Perſons for *Witches*, at the Summer Aſſizes before, in *Kent*, the County in which this Author was born. His chief Purpoſe is to Examine and Confute an old Treatiſe upon the Subject written by Mr. *William Perkins*; who therein, though he produces Eighteen Signs for the Diſcovery of a Witch, he rejects Fourteen or Fifteen himſelf; the Sixteenth, which is the *Party's own Confeſſion*, that Author alſo confeſſes inſufficient; the Seventeenth, two *credible Witneſſes*, he grants, can hardly be produced; becauſe of the Secrecy of Diabolical Compacts; and the laſt, *Satan's own Diſcovery*; which, how it can be done, ſays our Author, except the Devil be bound over to give in Evidence againſt the Witch, cannot be underſtood. And as Mr. *Perkins* diſcredited his own Proofs; ſo does he likewiſe thoſe of King *James*; which are, The *Marks* of a *Witch*; The *Diſcovery* of a *Fellow-Witch*, and the *Swimming* of a *Witch*, with her *Inability* to ſhed *Tears*; all which, with other like wiſe and weighty Arguments upon this Topic, his Majeſty ſo handles, as would make ſome think he was himſelf bewitched. In ſhort, our Author judiciouſly Diſtinguiſhes of this Doctrine of *Witchcraft*: That *Ignorance* in the Times of Darkneſs brought it forth; and *Credulity* in theſe Days of Light hath continued it.

333. The *Speech* of Colonel *Hugh Grove* upon the Scaffold at *Exeter* on *Monday* laſt, immediately before his Head was ſevered from his Body. With his *Prayer* a little before Death, and his Declaration and Proteſt to the People, touching a *Loyal Heart*, a *Faithful Conſcience*, a *Bloody Scaffold*, and a *Fatal Axe*. Taken by an impartial Hand, and tranſmitted to the Preſs; to the End, it might be Printed, Publiſhed, and Diſperſed throughout the Three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. *London*, Printed for *Sam. Burdet*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1655

334. The Tryals of Sir *Henry Slingſby*, Knt. and *John Hewet*, D. D. for High Treaſon, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. Together with the Lord *Preſident's Speech* before the Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt the aforenamed Sir *Henry Slingſby* and Dr. *Hewet*, being *June* 2, 1658. At which Time Mr. *Mordaunt* was by the ſaid Court Acquitted. As alſo the Manner of their Execution on *Tower-Hill* the Eighth of *June* following. (In 20 Pages) *Quarto*, 1658

335. *A Word* to *Purpoſe*: Or, a *Parthian Dart* ſhot back to 1642, and from thence ſhot back again to 1659, ſwiftly glancing upon ſome Remarkable Occurrences of the Times; and now ſticks faſt in two ſubſtantial *Queries*, 1. Concerning the *Legality* of the *Second Meeting* of ſome of the *Long Parliament* Members: Alſo, A Fool's Bolt ſhot into *Wallingford* Houſe, by as good a Friend to *England* as any is there, concerning a *Free State*. (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1659

More expreſly, this Pamphlet diſcuſſes the Point, I. Whether the *Men* met together in the Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where uſually the *Commons* ſat, were at that Day a Lawful *Parliament*, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, to bind the People to obey their Commands? 2. Whether, as Things then ſtood, it was likely they ſhould Compaſs the Deſign of ſetting up a *Free State*; as well in reſpect to Thoſe who were to do it by greateſt Pretence, as Thoſe who would do it without any Pretence, and in reſpect of the Thing itſelf to be done. Towards the latter End, ſpeaking of a *Democracy*, he ſays, 'It ſquares not with the *Ge-* 'nius of this People; and while Mr. *Har-* 'rington (ſpeaking well of a Common- 'wealth in general) would fit and calculate 'it for our Horizon, becauſe it ſuits with 'other Nations, he talks like an Aſs; for 'the Laws of every Nation are ſuited to the 'Conſtitution of the People. Were it poſ- 'ſible now to alter the Fundamental Poſi- 'tive ancient Common Law of this Nation 'concerning Men and Times? It is im- 'poſſible; however eager Wolves may 'bark at the Moon: And it is as impoſſible 'to ſubdue the Hearts of the People to an- 'other Frame of Government, to have it

'continue

'continue long. Alas! after the King's 'Death, the People poor, beaten, tyred 'Parliament-ridden Wretches, were content 'to have any Thing to be quiet; but, as ſoon 'as *Oliver* ſtepped up into the Chair, ſee how 'willingly they complied with Him. How 'chearfully they embraced him! Which was 'only becauſe of the Government, and the 'Reduction of the ancient known Laws and 'Supremacy into the ancient Channel; for, 'as to his Perſon, they deemed him a Trai-'tor.' And a little further——'Let them, 'that wiſh for *Charles Stuart*'s Coming in 'again, make all they can for in *Oligarchy*; 'however, a *Democracy* will do it: And let 'the *Soldiers* alone and be quiet. For let 'them have a Common Enemy, or any 'Power to oppoſe; they'll join, and be Una-'nimous in ſuch a Buſineſs: But let them 'reſt, and have nothing to do, and they'll 'make ſomething to do: Let them be Idle, 'and they'll be Buſy; and, if they can find 'no Buſineſs, they'll make ſome; give them 'no Occaſion of fighting with *Others*, and, 'my Life for it, they will fight with *Them-'ſelves*: And, *when Thieves fall out, Honeſt 'Men will come by their own.*'

337. The *Rump*'s Laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, which the Executors herein Named (being out of Hopes of the *Monſter*'s Recovery) have thought good to Publiſh and Exhibit. Printed by *John Taylor*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1660.

This *Rump* of the long Sitting Parliament, conſidering the Uncertainty of its noiſome Continuance, and ſenſible of its approaching Diſſolution, after having made this comical *Will*, conſtitutes its loving Friends *Praiſe-God Barebones*, with his late Rabble of Fellow-Petitioners, to be *Executors* thereof; giving them the Thanks of the Houſe for their good Infections, and gives them a Copy of its Countenance, as a Commiſſion to carry on their damnable, curſed, and Cut-throat Deſign. There is a *Poſtſcript* at the End, which is ſigned by the Author, *S. P.*

338. The Horrid *Conſpiracie* of ſuch Impenitent *Traytors* as intended a New *Rebellion* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. With a *Liſt* of the *Priſoners*, and the Particular Manner of Seizing *Dublin Caſtle* by *Ludlow*, and his Accomplices, *Verbatim*, out of the *Expreſſes* ſent to his Majeſty from the Duke of *Ormond*. Publiſhed by Authority. *London*, Printed for *Sam. Speed*. (In 10 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1663.

After the Narrative of this Conſpiracy, we have two Declarations by the Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant, and the Council in *Ireland*; in one of which there is a Reward offered of one-hundred Pounds each, for apprehending *Thomas Blood*, late of *Sarny*, near *Dunboine*, in the County of *Meath*; Major *Abel Warren*, *Andrew Mac Cormock*, and *Robert Chambers*, Miniſters, and Colonel *Gilbert Carr*. And the End, where there is an Advertiſement, obſerving, 'It was too plain, that the Royal 'Parliaments of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ire-'land* had too much Reaſon to order a '*Renunciation* of the *Solemn League* and *Co-'venant*, when thoſe very Rebells which 'Abhor and Deſpiſe it; as if they were Ho-'neſt Men, do to this Hour make it the 'Bottom for a New Rebellion, &c.'

339. A *Narrative* Panegyrical of the *Life*, *Sickneſs*, and *Death*, of *George*, by Divine Providence, Lord Biſhop of *Derry* in *Ireland*. As it was delivered at his *Funerals* in the Cathedral Church of the *Holy Trinity*, commonly called *Chriſt-Church* in *Dublin*, on *Friday* the 12 of *January*, *Anno Domini* 1665-6. By *R. Moſſom*, D. D. Dean of the ſaid Cathedral Church. *London* Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, &c. (In 10 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1665-6.

This Biſhop of *London-Derry* was Dr. *George Wilde*; born in *Middleſex*, bred in St. *John*'s College, *Oxon*; ſometime Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Laud*, and Vicar of St. *Giles*'s in *Reading*. He ſuffered much for the Royal Cauſe, and therefore, as well as for his Learning and Abilities, was requited with that Biſhoprick in *Ireland*, after the Reſtoration; and there he was much valued for his publick Spirit, and exemplary Piety. *A. Wood*, ſays, He was accounted, in his younger Years, a Perſon of great Ingenuity, and in his elder, a Man of ſingular Prudence, &c. He mentions two Plays written by him in his Youth, and a Sermon; but ſeems to be under a Miſtake, in ſaying, That his *Funeral Sermon* was preached by Mr. *George Seignior*, his Chaplain, 'To 'which, ſays he, I refer the Reader for his 'further Character, *as it is ſaid*, made 'publick.'

340. *England's Wants*: Or, Several *Propoſals* probably *Beneficial* for *England*; humbly offered to the Conſideration of all Good *Patriots* in both Houſes of *Parliament*. By a *True Lover of his Country*. *London*, Printed for *Jo. Martyn*. (In 23 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1667

This we take to be the firſt Edition of the ſaid Work, becauſe we have met with two or three Editions printed after it in the Title-page, where it is ſaid to be written by the Author of *The Preſent State of* England, who thereby appears to have been Doctor *Edward Chamberlayne*. This Copy before us had been the Author's own. There are in it Abundance of Additions of his own Hand-writing on the Tops, Sides, and Bottoms of the Leaves; which we find, upon Collating it, are printed in the ſubſequent Impreſſions, and a *Poſtſcript* beſides.

341. The *Neceſſity* of *Abating Uſury* Reaſſerted; In a *Reply* to the *Diſcourſe* of Mr. *Thomas Manly*, entitled, *Uſury at Six* per Cent. *Examined*, &c. Together with a Familiar and Inoffenſive Way propounded for the future *Diſcovery* of *Summes* at *Intereſt*; that ſo they may be charged with their *equal Share* of Publick *Taxes* and *Burthens*; the long Defeat whereof hath exceedingly fomented *Uſury*, embaſed *Land*, and much decayed the better Half of the Kingdom. By Sir *Thomas Culpeper*, Jun. Knight. Printed by *T. L.* for *Chriſtopher Wilkinſon*. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1670

The Author's Father had written a Treatiſe upon this Subject, which was firſt Publiſhed in 1620; and the Author himſelf had printed another before this; which produced Mr. *Manley's* Anſwer; and that, this *Reply*.

342. *The Preſent Intereſt of* England *Stated*: By a *Lover* of his *King* and *Country*. (In 21 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1671

The Author's Name is not printed to this Pamphlet, but there is a Manuſcript Note in the Title-page, that it was written by *William Penn*, the Quaker. It was much talked of, at its Publication, for favouring the *Hollanders* ſo much above the *French*, that it produced the following Tract upon that Subject.

343. A *Letter* to Sir *Thomas Oſborn*, one of his Majeſties *Privy-Council*, upon the Reading of a Book, called, *The Preſent State of* England *Stated*. Printed for *Henry Brome*. (In 19 Pages) *Quarto*, 1672

England being now engaged in a War with the *Dutch*, the Author thinks he could not more ſeaſonably than now tranſmit theſe Papers to the ſaid Sir *Thomas*. And in the 4th Page thus characteriſes the Writer of the foregoing Pamphlet and his Work: 'This Author treats of our Domeſtick Affairs not only more Rationally, but more like a Man concerned for the Good of *England* than he does of our Intereſts *Abroad*. For then, inſtead of examining calmly, how far the Friendſhip of other Countries would at this preſent be uſeful to us, he falls into paſſionate Expreſſions of Kindneſs for the *Hollanders*; as if our principal Deſign, in ſeeking *Foreign Alliances*, ought not to be the Encreaſe of our Wealth and Power, but the Finding out Humours in another Nation that pleaſe us, and the being civil to thoſe with whom we have been longeſt acquainted.' And, Page 6, he obſerves upon the Author's Argument, *That we ought to keep Friends with the* Dutch, *becauſe they are Traders*, that it is in plain *Engliſh* no more than 'Becauſe we love Trade therefore we love Thoſe that take it from us.' And goes on thus: 'Had the Author been a *Lover* inſtead of a *Politician*, he would have known that Rivals are the Things in this World which Men do and ought moſt to hate.' And that, 'It were certainly better for us if no People in the World traded by Sea but Ourſelves.' This Pamphlet gave Occaſion to the Publication of the next.

344. *Obſervations* on the *Letter* written to Sir *Thomas Oſborn*, upon the Reading of a Book, called, *The Preſent Intereſt of* England *Stated*. Written in a *Letter* to a *Friend*. Printed for *J. B.* (In 11 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1673

Herein vindicating the firſt Writer, this Author ſays, 'All the Arguments made uſe

' of by the *Pamphlet* againſt the Deſtroying of ' the *Hollanders*, are either upon the Ac- ' count of *Juſtice* and *Righteouſneſs*, which ' eſtabliſh a Nation, or clearly in Reference ' to the *Safety* and *Utility* of this Kingdom, ' both in Church and State; and not in the ' leaſt upon any *particular Affection* to the ' People of that Country, as the *Letter* doth ' inſinuate, the *Pamphlet* being no otherwiſe ' concerned for them, than as it is for preſerving ' the Ballance of *Chriſtendom*, in Oppoſition ' of *Popery* and *Slavery*.' Page 15, He obſerves how careful *France* was, that no Nation ſhould *thrive* by *them*, out of a Book publiſhed in 1663, by Mr. *Samuel Fortrey*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy Chamber, and dedicated to the King. For, ſuſpecting that the *Engliſh* had the Advantage in Trade, the *French* were in Conſultation to prohibit it, till, upon ſtrict Examination, they found *England* vented of their Commodities into *France* not above the Value of *Ten Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum*; and that *France* vented of theirs to the *Engliſh*, *Six and Twenty Hundred Thouſand Pounds*. The Whole concludes with a flagrant Inſtance of the Injuries and Injuſtice committed in Trade by the *French* upon Sir *Francis Toppe*, and Company, as they appear in the Certificate of the Lord Ambaſſador *Hollis*.

345. A *Declaration* of *Letters Patents* of the *Election* of this preſent King of *Poland*, *John the Third*, Elected on the 22d of *May* laſt-paſt, *Anno Dom.* 1674. Containing the *Reaſons* of this *Election*; the great *Vertues* and *Merits* of the ſaid *Serene* Elect; his eminent *Services* in *War*, eſpecially in this laſt great *Victory* againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whereof many *Particulars* are here related, not publiſhed before. Now faithfully *Tranſlated* from the *Latin* Copy. Printed for *Brabazon Aylmer*. (In 12 Pages) *Quarto*, 1674

The Name of the Tranſlator is not prefixed to this Tract. But, in the Catalogue of *John Milton*'s Works, at the End of his *Life*, written by his Nephew *Edward Philips*, we find the ſaid Tranſlation inſerted, as made by him. And it ſeems to have been one of the laſt Pieces of his Writing.

346. The *Downfall* of the *Bailiffs*: Or, A *Laſh* for *Bumms*. Wherein the Oppreſſions, Extortions, and Villanies of Catch-Poles, Serjeants, Bailiffs, and Marſhals-Men; with their Yeomen Followers and Under-Litter of Setting-Dogs, are fully Expoſed and Detected in their proper Colours. By *Goodlove Freeman*, Eſq; *London*, Printed for *Tho. Grumbleton*. (In One Sheet) *Quarto*, 1675

And indeed, for ſo ſhort a Compaſs, they are expoſed in their proper Colours, which could ſcarcely be performed from the Inſtructions of any other Maſter than *Experience*. The Author allows, That *Officers* for executing Proceſſes at Law are *Neceſſary Evils*, as *Hangmen* are, and, ſo far as they perform their *Charge honeſtly*, and according to the Intent of their *Inſtitution*, he has nothing to ſay to them: But his Buſineſs is to diſcover their *villainous* Practices, which the Law condemns: And yet ſuffers! Nay, were they not to act more rigorouſly than the Law would authoriſe, the Law itſelf is thought too rigorous, and unreaſonable, in that it often occaſions the deplorable Ruin of an whole Family, by burying one inſolvent Man alive, for a meer Trifle of a Debt, which is yet thereby further from being ſatisfied to the Creditor than before.

347. A *Narrative* of the *Proceſs* againſt Madam *Brinvilliers*, and of her Condemnation and Execution, for having Poiſoned her Father and Two Brothers. Tranſlated out of *French*. Printed for *Jonathan Edwyn*, &c. (In 24 Pages) *Quarto*, 1676

This *French* Lady had been married about twenty-five Years to the Marquis of *Brinvilliers*; with whom, one *St. Croix* had got acquainted in the Army, for his Intereſt; being a Man more conſiderable for his Parts and his Perſon than his Birth or Fortune. This Acquaintance extended to the Lady, till it became criminal in them, and ſcandalous to the Family: Inſomuch that her Father, the Sieur *D'Aubray*, had him arreſted, and ſent to the *Baſtile*, where he learnt, of an *Italian*, thoſe ſtrange Leſſons, ſoon after put in Practice. For, upon his Releaſe, this Gallant, and the Lady, reſolving to revenge themſelves for the Obſtruction of their Pleaſure, paſt, and prevent the like for the future, procured a Prepara-

tion,

tion, which ſhe gave her Father in a Meſs of Broth; whereof, after much Torment, he died in 1666. Then they got one *La Chauſſée*, who had been Servant to St. *Croix*, into the Family of one of her Brothers, a Counſellor; and when both the Brothers were at Dinner, with other Company, they all taſted of a fatal Pie, which, after about two or three Months painful Sufferings, carried them both off in 1670; and five others narrowly eſcaped the like untimely End at the ſame Meal. *La Chauſſée* had ſo cunningly avoided all *Suſpicion* before the Deed, that his Maſter left him a Legacy of an Hundred Crowns. But now mark a Puniſhment, Extraordinary! of one of theſe Principals, by no human Hand! and which, at the ſame Time, makes a Diſcovery of the other Two, and brings them alſo to Puniſhment! *St. Croix* was ſo ſuffocated or infected with the Steam and Vapours of the Poyſons he had ſo much dealt in, that, after he had bequeathed a Cabinet he had to that Lady in 1672, he died ſo ſuddenly, that all his Goods were ſealed up by the Officers. Then *La Chauſſée* and Madam *Brinvilliers* are ſo *infatuated*, and make ſuch *ſuſpicious Importunities* for this Cabinet as were alone ſufficient to make them thought Criminal. But when this Infernal Cabinet, this *Pandora*'s Box was opened; there lay the Engagements to, and the Ingredients of this Deſtruction: There was her Promiſſory *Note*, to *St. Croix*, of *Thirty Thouſand* Livres for his Reward; with her *Letters* to him: And there lay the Packets, Boxes, and Viols of thoſe murdering Powders, Drugs, and Waters, which were employed upon this wicked Occaſion. *La Chauſſée* was ſeized, condemned, and, having made Confeſſion, was racked to Death. The Lady, ſpurred by Fear and Guilt, fled to Foreign Countries; was a While at *London*, then in *Germany*; and was at laſt arreſted at *Liege*. She would confeſs nothing at firſt, but, being threatened with the Torture, ſhe made an open Confeſſion and Repentance, and on the 17th of *July* walked bare-footed from the Priſon in a Linnen Robe, with a Wax Taper in her Hand, to the Church Gate of *Noſtre Dame*, where kneeling, ſhe made her Confeſſion; then, in a Cart, was carried to the *Greve*, the Place of Execution; where ſhe at large recounted the remarkable Incidents of her Life, yet with a great Senſe of the Wickedneſs which brought her to this End; and, concluding with the uſual Acts of Devotion, ſubmitted her Neck to the Axe. Her Head, with her Body, was burnt, and their Aſhes thrown in the Air.

348. *The Good Wives Lamentation:* Or, The *Womens Complaint*, on the Account of their being to be *Buried* in *Woollen*. With Allowance. *London*, Printed for *L. C.* (In One Sheet) *Quarto*, 1678

The *pleaſant Author* of this Pamphlet, though he approves, in his own Perſon, the late Act for *Burying in Woollen*; whereby that Manufacture would be encouraged, and vaſt Quantities of *Linnen*, heretofore idly waſted in the Earth, would be preſerved for making of *Paper*: Yet he very naturally expoſes the obſtinate Simplicity of the *People*, and the Tyranny of *Cuſtom*, in the Converſation of ſome glib-lip'd *Goſſips*, over a Cordial Bowl of *Burnt-Claret*, againſt this Innovation. One grieves that ever ſhe ſhould think of *living* to ſee herſelf *buried* in ſuch coarſe and incommodious Stuff, and tenderly wiſhes, her *Husband*, who could not endure it neither, had *died* before the *Act*. Another is reſolved to forfeit the Five Pound *Penalty*, rather than her's, who had always loved *clean Linnen*, ſhould travel ſo far as into the other World, like a *Beggar*, without a *Shirt* to his *Back*: That the *Worms* themſelves, who have not ſuch *ſweet* and *cleanly* Fare of us, will expect *Table Linnen* at their Meals; to which they had been ſo conſtantly uſed. Another has ſuch a delicate Hide, that, if ſhe don't wear *Holland Smocks* of twenty Shillings an Ell, ſhe fears *Bliſtering*; ſhe can't *ſleep* without fine *Sheets*, and ſhould never lie *quiet* in her *Grave*; nay, rather than ſhe'll be Tuſſed up in a frowzy ſtifling *Flannel* Shift, ſhe'll *never Die at all, if ſhe can help it*. Another elderly Gentlewoman, for the Refreſhment of her *Memory*, againſt *Melancholy*, is reſolved to be buried in her *Wedding Smocks*; and ſhe has ſeven of them, that ſhall ride *one* upon *t'other*. The laſt exclaims againſt it as downright *Idolatry*: That ſhe'll as ſoon ſacrifice her Children to *Moloch*, as ſuffer them to be ſwaddled up in ſuch *Welſh Abominations*: That it is all a

Popiſh

Popiſh Device; a *Jeſuitical* Trick, only to make us do *Pennance* after we are Dead. Theſe affecting *Arguments*, and the *Zeal* they inſpired, together with the aggravating Inſinuations of the *Burnt Wine*, ſo overpowered their Spirits, and threw them into ſuch a *Maudlin* Condition, that, between *Weeping* and *Sleeping*, they were forced to be led, *reeling* and *ſtaggering*, under the Weight of their Oppreſſions, home to their reſpective Dwellings.

349. A *Collection* of certain Horrid *Murthers* in ſeveral *Counties* of *Ireland*, committed ſince the 23d of *October*, 1641. *Abſtracted* out of certain *Examinations* taken by Vertue of ſeveral *Commiſſions* under the *Great Seal* of *Ireland*. Printed for *Henry Brome*. (In 17 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1679

This Collection of more cruel and inhuman *Murders*, in that grand *Maſſacre* of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, than the moſt ſavage Brutes could have been guilty of, ſeems to be authentickly Extracted, 'out of the Voluminous *Records*, remaining in the *Clerk* 'of the *Council*'s Hands in *Dublin*. The Earl 'of *Eſſex*, when Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 'did peruſe them Himſelf, and compare 'many of them with the Originals; finding 'all that he compared to be true: If any 'doubt, they may have Recourſe to the 'Books themſelves; which, being Publick 'Remembrances, may be ſeen by any; the 'Citations directing to the Volume, Page, 'and Mark where each is to be found.' In the Beginning, there is a *Depoſition* made by Mr. *Hugh Cunningham*, on the 21ſt of *April*, 1642. That an Account was returned, by the Prieſts of every Pariſh in *Ulſter*, according to the Command of Sir *Phelim O Neile*; wherein it appeared, that ten-thouſand five-hundred *Britiſh* Proteſtants, Men, Women, and Children, were killed by the *Iriſh*, in that Province. And in another *Depoſition*, by Mr. *Maxwell*, That, by the Rebels Account of the Murders they had committed upon the *Britiſh* Proteſtants in the *North*, there were ſlaughtered one-hundred-fifty-thouſand. There is a Note written on the Title of this Copy, ſignifying, that this Collection was drawn up *by the Earl of Eſſex*.

350. A Pleaſant *Battle* between Two *Lap-Dogs* of the *Utopian* Court: Or, A *Dialogue* between Sleep and Awake, Jeſt and Earneſt, Reality and Fancy: Being fought upon the new-erected *Dog-Pit*, lately contrived purpoſely upon this Occaſion, as aforeſaid, in the Antichamber of the ſaid Court; where it was fought with great Applauſe, Satisfaction, and Content of the Company there preſent: But by Reaſon of the Author's drowſy Diſpoſition, being late at Night, and he inclined to Sleep; he would crave your favourable Cenſures of this his Pains, and judge of them as you find Occaſion. Printed for *R. B.* (In One Sheet) *Folio* 1681

This *Dialogue* is between *Nell Gwyn*'s Lap-Dog *Tutty*; and *Snapſhort*, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s: And does probably allude to ſome real Fray between two of their Servants, or Gallants. *Tutty* upbraids t'other with her *French* Lady's Looking like one of *Pharaoh*'s lean Kine, and with ſuch a ſharp Countenance as if ſhe would devour him, as ſhe had almoſt devoured the Nation; and of her ſending *Guinea-Pies* to her Countrymen. *Snapſhort* ſays of the *Engliſh* Madam, That ſhe hopes to ſee her Tail ſet up once more on a Dunghill; that ſhe lately came from ſelling of Oranges and Lemons about the Streets; and now, being advanced to a Royal Bed, forgets her Mechanic Condition: That *French* Dogs, Ladies and Catholicks, will put the *Engliſh* Court all to a *Nonplus*: That it is not *Ten-thouſand* Pounds a Year will protect her for ever; and that his Lady has taken a wiſer Courſe, who has tranſported Forty times the Sum; and intends to follow it ſoon after herſelf. Good Riddance, ſays *Tutty*! When the Salt Bitches leave the Kingdom, it is more than probable the *Romiſh* Wolf Dogs will follow them; but he rather believes, the *French* Miſtreſs is making Proviſion for the Reception of the *French* Monarch, than for her Departure to *France*; where he thinks ſhe will be pelted like an Owl in an Ivy-buſh. But *Snapſhort* anſwers, He miſtakes the Caſe; for his Lady has Abſolution and Diſpenſation from the Pope; and did not come into *England* barely to be a Whore, ſhe came as a Spy, to betray the Kingdom's Intereſt. That *Alexander the Great* had a Brace of notorious Whores

Whores ſent him for the ſame Purpoſe; but he had Senſe to perceive their Intrigues, and prevent them. This ſo inrages *Tutty*, that he vows to ſeize his Antagoniſt by the Throat: *Snapſhort* ſtrips off his Crucifix, and to it they go; ſnarling, barking, biting, and tearing one another; till the *French* Whore ſpeaks, and calls out for fair Play: The *Engliſh* one anſwers, She knows *Dog-fighting* as well as her Ladyſhip, and *Halloo's* them both very fairly; offering to lay two to one, on *Tutty*'s Head: A *Monſieur* crys *Done*; but when it appeared that little *Tutty* got the Victory; he cried out, *Pox take te Begar, me have loſt near Touſand Pound.*

351. The *Forfeitures* of *London's Charter*: Or, An Impartial *Account* of the ſeveral *Seiſures* of the *City Charter*: Together with the Means and Methods that were uſed for the *Recovery* of the ſame; with the *Cauſes* by which it came *forfeited*; as likewiſe the Impriſonments, Depoſing, and Fining the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, ſince the Reign of King *Henry* III. to this preſent Year 1682. Being faithfully collected out of Ancient and Modern *Hiſtories*, and now *Seaſonably Publiſhed* for the Satisfaction of the Inquiſitive, upon the late *Arreſt* made upon the ſaid *Charter*, by Writ of *Quo Warranto*. Printed for the Author, and Sold by *Daniel Brown*, &c. (In 19 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1682

352. A Brief *Account* of the Firſt *Riſe* of the Name *Proteſtant*, and what *Proteſtantiſm* is: With a Juſtification of it; and an earneſt *Exhortation* to all *Proteſtants* to perſiſt in that Holy Religion. By a Profeſſed *Enemy* to *Perſecution*. (In 24 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1688

353. The *Dying Speeches* of ſeveral *Excellent Perſons*, who ſuffered for their Zeal againſt *Popery*, and *Arbitrary* Government; *viz.* I. Mr. *Stephen Colledge*, at *Oxford*, *Auguſt* 31, 1681. II. The Lord *Ruſſel*, in *Lincoln's Inn Fields*, *July* 21, 1683. III. Colonel *Sidney*, on *Tower-Hill*, *December* the 7th, 1683. IV. Colonel *Rumbald*, at *Edinburgh*, *June* 26, 1685. V. The Lady *Liſle*, at *Wincheſter*, in *September* 1685. VI. Alderman *Corniſh*, in *Cheapſide*, *October* 23, 1685. VII. Capt. *Walcat*, at *Tyburn*, *July* 20, 1683. (In twenty Leaves) *Quarto*, 1689

Though ſome of theſe *Speeches* were printed before, yet, being in ſeparate Sheets, they were here collected together, as the Author of the *Preface* ſays, for their better Preſervation, and that we then *Preſent*, as well as *Future*, might with Abhorrence behold the Iniquity of the paſt violent Times; when ſo many excellent Perſons were deſtroyed by *Forms* and *Subtilties* of Law; and *Scribere eſt Agere*, was brought in for Evidence; as in the Caſe of Col. *Sidney*, when no other could be found. And whereas the Buſineſs of the *Rye-Houſe Plot* had been received by ſome, as an Article of Faith, and a ſmooth *Hiſtory* of it impoſed upon the Nation; therefore the ſaid Author thought good to add Colonel *Rumbald*'s Speech, to undeceive the World; by which it is evident, ſays he, if we may believe the dying Words of a good Man, that it was a meer ſham Contrivance, to bring an Odium upon the Proteſtants, *&c.*

354. A Plea for the City; and Priſoners for Debt; humbly offered to this Preſent Parliament. With Allowance. Printed and ſold by *Randal Taylor*. (In ſeventeen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1690

355. The Plagiary Expoſed: Or, An Old *Anſwer* to a newly revived *Calumny* againſt the Memory of King *Charles* I. Being a Reply to a Book, intitled, *King* Charles's *Caſe*, formerly written by *John Cook*, of *Gray's Inn*, Barriſter; and ſince Copied out, under the Title of Colonel *Ludlow's Letter*. Written by Mr. *Butler*, the Author of *Hudibraſs*. Printed for *Thomas Bennet*, &c. (In 12 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1691

That Libel of *Cook*'s, intitled *King Charles*'s *Caſe*, &c. is to be ſeen in the 193d *Article* of this *Catalogue*. The Publiſher of this *Reply*, Penn'd (as it is in his Preface ſaid) *forty Years ſince by the celebrated Author of* Hudibras, thinks there would have been little Occaſion, at this Time of Day, to produce ſo great an Advocate for the King's Memory; but that there is riſen, among us, a New Race of the

Old *Republican* Stamp, who have revived the Quarrel, and copied out the obſolete Scandal of our *Libeller*, and made it their own; among the firſt of whom is reckoned the Author of *Ludlow*'s *Letter*, &c. a Copier of *Milton*'s, and our *Libeller*'s Malice, at leaſt, though not of their Wit; therefore leaſt pointed at by our *Anſwerer*. He concludes, 'That it was Mr. *Butler*'s Deſign to print 'this Diſcourſe himſelf, had not Death pre-'vented him; and, ſince it has fell into the 'Editor's Hands, it is but a Piece of Juſtice 'to his Memory, to let the World make 'their Advantage of it.'

356. The True *Cauſes* of the *Preſent Scarcity of Money*; and the *Proper Remedies* for it. Printed by *Benj. Motte*, for *Randal Taylor*, in the Year 1690. Reprinted (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1692

There are ſome Arguments and Propoſitions in this little Tract worthy of Conſideration; concerning our *Buying* more than we ſell abroad; and Sending Armies to *Flanders*, as Cauſes of this preſent *Scarcity*: And our having Encouragement for a free *Exportation of Silver*, and the *Sugar Plantations*, as the Cauſes of *Plenty* in former Reigns.

357. *Fatal Friendſhip*: Or, The *Drunkard*'s *Miſery*; Being a *Satyre* againſt *Hard Drinking*. By the Author of the *Search after Claret*. Printed for *Randal Taylor* (In 15 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1693

This is a Poem, in Twenty-two Stanza's; and it has been thought that it was written by the late Mr. *Edward Ward*, Author of the *London Spy*, and many other Pieces.

358. *Truth brought to Light*: Or, the *Corrupt Practices* of ſome *Perſons* at *Court laid open*. Whereby their Majeſties, and the Kingdom, have been prejudiced near *One Hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds* this Year; beſides other *Evils* that have, and do attend it. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1694

This Pamphlet is Dedicated to the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, by the Author, *Robert Croſfeild*; who had, for ſome Time, zealouſly endeavoured to detect, and root out, ſome publick Corruptions. But it appears, that his Advertiſements to the State, met with more Regard, than Reward: For he obſerves, that his Tract, entitled, *England*'s *Glory Reviewed*, which he publiſhed the preceding Seſſion, had ſeveral Regulations propoſed in it, which were now put in Practice, though he received not ſo much as Thanks for them. He had, amongſt other Things, obſerved, that the greateſt Part of the Charge and Trouble of *Collecting the Land Tax* might be ſaved, by laying the *Receiver-Generals* wholly aſide; and had applied to the Council about it; but, the Matter being put off, he here revives the *Propoſal*; ſhewing how, if he had been regarded, *Fifty Thouſand Pounds* might have been ſaved that Year. He ſhews, alſo, the great Danger there was in *Selling of Imployments*; whereby Enemies to the Government, getting into Offices, communicated the Secrets of it to its Enemies. He alſo lays open the great Remiſſneſs of the State, in not regarding the *Propoſals* of Mr. *George Everett*, an eminent Shipwright (publiſhed laſt Seſſion) wherein he ſo evidently demonſtrated, how he could ſave an *Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year*, by the Means offered in the ſaid Tract, for *building and repairing the Royal Navy*, that here are produced the Names of above forty Perſons of Honour, Quality, and Experience; Lords of the Admiralty, Aldermen and Merchants of *London*, and ſeveral Shipwrights; who, by their Certificates, *&c.* have ſhewed their abſolute Approbation thereof: And yet no Encouragement had He. (See another Propoſal of his to the State; to Facilitate the *Manning of our Fleets*, in the 170th *Article* of this *Catalogue*.) Our Author then recounts how he had reflected (in a Book publiſhed the laſt Seſſion) upon the miſchievous Indolence of our Fleets, the two preceding Years; though they were of ſtronger Force than the Enemy. And, to his having laid that Matter open to the View of the World, aſcribes the Sending of Admiral *Ruſſel* into the *Streights*, with ſuch a Power, as ſaved an Ally from Ruin: Then recites his Propoſal for laying aſide the *Preſs-Ketches*, and for taking up the Sailors in the ſeveral Ports, by the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers. He alſo recites the Demonſtration he had made of the Injuries which the Nation had received from the great *Imbargoes laid upon Shipping*; the

the Conſequence of which was, that there had been none laid this Year: Inſomuch that the Lords of the Admiralty had ordered no Preſs-Maſter ſhould preſume to meddle with any Sailors on Board of any Outward-bound Shipping. He likewiſe propoſed an *Act of Tunnage*, for laying Sixpence *per* Tun upon all Coaſters, *&c.* which is here repeated.

359. Juſtice *Perverted*, and Innocence and Loyalty *Oppreſſed:* Or, A Detection of the *Corruptions* of ſome Perſons in Places of great Truſt in the Government; which would have been laid open the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, according to the Intention of both Houſes, had it not been prevented. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1695

This Pamphlet is dedicated to both Houſes of Parliament, alſo by *Robert Crosfeild*. And here he more expreſly detects ſeveral Male-Practices; eſpecially many Embezzlements of the *Naval Stores* in his Majeſty's Yard at *Portſmouth*, and it is laid heavily upon Captain *Wilſhaw*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Navy. And when Sir *Richard Haddock* was ſollicited to encourage the Apprehenſion of ſome Perſons who had, by ſiniſter Means, obtained ſome of thoſe Stores; he only, after near an Hour's Diſcourſe upon it, anſwered, *That Kings and Princes were born to be cheated.* But he acknowledges the Lords of the Admiralty gave all imaginable Encouragement to thoſe who made ſuch Diſcoveries, as long as the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Cornwallis*, and Sir *Richard Onſlow* were in Commiſſion; but, upon their leaving the Board, the Scene changed, and ſome Perſons were turned out of their Employments for their Faithfulneſs to his Majeſty's Intereſt and their Truſts. He next touches upon Mr. *George Everett*'s Propoſal to ſave One-hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, in building and repairing the Royal Navy, which having produced a *Report* from the Navy Board to the Lords of the Privy-Council, ſigned *R. Haddock*, *E. Dummer*, *C. Sergiſon*, *T. Wilſhaw*, *D. Liddall*, *J. Hill*, *S. Pett*, and *G. St. Loe*, their Lordſhips are here ſaid to have looked upon it to be a ſcandalous One; and the ſaid Mr. *Everett* delivered them a *Memorial* in Anſwer to it, which is here printed by our Author, who obſerves how the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Navy prevaricated with Mr. *Everett*, by aſſerting, that the Whole Charge of building and repairing of the Navy did not amount annually to One-hundred thouſand Pounds, when they knew, ſays he, that the Eſtimate given unto the Houſe of Commons for the Wear and Tare of the Royal Navy, for this preſent Year, was Seven-hundred-eighty thouſand Pounds. Then he proceeds to ſhew, That the *Sailors* being inhumanly and barbarouſly treated, is the only true Cauſe why they decline the Publick Service: And, to this Purpoſe, we have here a Letter written by Mr. *John Trevor* to the Lords of the Admiralty, laying open the Frauds uſed in the Payment of Seamens *Tickets*; alſo by *Queries* and *Runs*, and other Grievances; and towards the End there is a *Petition*, which the Author *Robert Crosfeild* had delivered to the Houſe of Lords, complaining of the Commiſſioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen, *&c.* for their great Miſcarriages here mentioned; alſo againſt the Lords of the Admiralty and Commiſſioners of the Navy for conniving at Frauds, ſupporting of Criminals, perſecuting their Diſcoverers, and turning juſt Men out of Offices, *&c.* with the Examination thereupon of the ſaid Author and one Mr. *Baſton*, who had publiſhed a Detection of thoſe Miſcarriages, and did hereafter publiſh more thereof, as will in this Catalogue appear.

360. A Short *Hiſtory* of the *Horrid Conſpiracy* to aſſaſſinate his Sacred Majeſty King *William*; to raiſe *Rebellion*, and to procure an *Invaſion* from *France*. Being a faithful Collection from the *Depoſitions* of the *Witneſſes* at the *Trials* of the *Conſpirators*. With an Account of the Laſt *Speeches* and *Papers* left by thoſe who have been *Executed*. And a *Journal* of the moſt remarkable *Proceedings* both at Home and Beyond Sea, relating to the *Plot*, to *Saturday*, *May* 30, 1696. Printed for *John Saluſbury*. (In 34 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1696

The Author calls this a *faithful Collection*, as publiſhed in Foreign *Gazettes*, and the Current News at Home: But, at the Bottom of his *Preface*, there is a Manuſcript Note, written in a Hand, very much like that of the Earl of *Oxford*, who was Lord Treaſurer,

Treaſurer, containing theſe Words: 'This 'Book is, for the moſt Part, collected from 'the *Flying-Poſt*, and other Weekly News-'Papers: Is full of Miſtakes, as to Dates 'and Perſons; and is not compoſed with any 'Care, or Judgment.'

361. *England's Calamities Diſcovered:* With the proper *Remedy* to *Reſtore* her ancient *Grandeur* and *Policy*. Humbly preſented by *James Whiſton*. Printed for the Author, and Sold by *Joſeph Fox*, &c. (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1696

This Author here attempts to be a *Reformer* of the *City* of *London*, which is the grand Pattern of other Corporations, and chiefly in their pernicious Practice of *Selling Offices*, or *Employments*; to the great Encouragement of Injuſtice, Extortion, and Oppreſſion: Daily Complaints ariſing, through the exceſſive ſtraining and advancing the exorbitant Fees of *Counſellors*, *Attornies*, *Clerks*, Serjeants, Gaolers, and other Officers in this City. He argues, that a Man who beſtows his Time and Toil on a Buſineſs, ought in Reaſon to make double as much *per Annum* of his Money, as in a lazy Annuity; ſo that a *Serjeant* for his Five-hundred Pounds ſeems to have a juſt Pretenſion to get about One-hundred-fifty Pounds a Year; a round Income for a Man in his Poſt and Character. And how muſt he raiſe it at *Half a Crown* for every Arreſt, of which his *Yeoman*, who gives about Two hundred Pounds for his Place, partakes One-third? So that, not arreſting ſix Men every Day, one with another, to raiſe the Profits of his *Purchaſe* Money, he extorts *Civility-Money*, &c. inſtead of Half-Crowns, half Pounds, and whole Pounds, beſides ſeveral other Demands, too unreaſonable for the Rich to ſuffer, but what throws the Poor often into inextricable Ruin. He informs us a little farther, that the *Keeper*'s Place of *Newgate* was lately ſold for Three-thouſand five-hundred Pounds, and aſks what an annual Income muſt the Fees amount to, to ſatisfy that ſaucy Purchaſe, and all the ſubordinate Blood-ſuckers in that one Gaol? So he tells us alſo, that One-thouſand five-hundred Pounds is paid for a *City-Council* or *Attorney*'s Place; as well as divers other Offices; which muſt raiſe near Five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, from their miſerable Clients, to ballance the exceſſive Price they pay for them. Here are many other Intimations of the moſt deteſtable Barbarity uſed by ſuch as have bought themſelves a Power over the Poor; inſomuch that the Common *Hangman*, encouraged by theſe Examples, will ſcarcely give a *Malefactor* a Caſt of his *Office*, without a *Bribe*; very formally demanding his Fees, and *Higgling* too, as nicely with him, as if he was going to do him ſome mighty Favour. Towards the End, we have a *Recital* of the *Act* which was made *Anno* 5, 6, of *Edward* VI. Cap. xvi. *Againſt the Sale of Offices*. And in the Concluſion a *Diſcourſe*, drawn from the Common Law, *&c. Upon the Duty of a Gaoler to his Priſoners, with his and other Officers Fees due by Law.*

362. A *Dialogue* between a Modern *Courtier*, and an *Honeſt Engliſh Gentleman*. To which is added, The Author's *Dedication* to both Houſes of Parliament; to whom he appeals for *Juſtice*. By *Samuel Baſton*, Gent. (In 22 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1697

This Author was a Clerk in ſome Office, and he has very vigorouſly laid open the Miſmanagements of many Perſons who were too powerful for him to ſtruggle with, particularly in a Pamphlet he publiſhed the laſt Year, entitled, *Baſton's Caſe:* Or, *A Brief Account of the evil Practices of the Preſent* Commiſſioners *for* Sick *and* Wounded; *as they were proved before the Lords of the Admiralty, Lords of the Council, and the Commiſſioners for Stating the Publick Accounts*. And now again he is for further pointing out the Cauſers of our Miſery in this Dialogue: Containing, 1. *Bare Matter of Fact, againſt the Lords of the Admiralty, Commiſſioners of the Navy, Commiſſioners of the Poſt-Office, and Commiſſioners of the Sick and Wounded Seamen; with the foul Practices of the Commiſſioners of the Publick Accounts, for Concealing and Juſtifying the ſaid Crimes.* 2. Natural *Conſequences* and *Arguments* drawn from the ſaid *Matter of Fact*, in Reference to *Religion*, *Law*, *Policy*, and the True *Intereſt* and *Safety* of the *King* and *Kingdom*. As ſoon as the Tract was out, it was ſeized by Meſſengers; Mr. *Crosfeild* (beforementioned) was committed to the *Poultry Compter*, and the Author into the

the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger from the 26th of *October*, 1696, to the 29th of *January* following, and then was diſcharged upon giving a Recognizance of five-hundred Pounds, to appear the firſt Day of next Term at the *King's Bench* Bar, to anſwer to this *ſeditious and ſcandalous Libel*, againſt his Majeſty and Government, as it was ſtiled in the Warrant for his Commitment. He avers in his ſaid *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to the *Lords*, that the Matters of Fact, related in this *Dialogue*, are no more than what are contained in a *Petition* and *Articles* exhibited by Mr. *Croſfeild* aforeſaid, and others; and only intreats their Lordſhips would prevent his Proſecution till his Witneſſes were heard, and he had proved, by them, the Truth of his Aſſertions.

363. The *State* of the *Navy Conſidered*, in Relation to the *Victualling*, particularly in the *Straits*, and the *Weſt Indies*. With ſome Thoughts on the *Miſmanagements* of the *Admiralty*, for ſeveral Years paſt; and a *Propoſal* to *prevent* the like for the *future*. Humbly offered to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, by an *Engliſh* Sailor. The Second Edition. Printed for *A. Baldwin*, in *Warwick-Lane*. (In 16 Pages) *Quarto*, 1699

This Tract was certainly written by a Man of Knowledge and Experience in this Subject, and it contains many important *Obſervations*, which may be applicable and uſeful in other Times than thoſe which occaſioned them. He cenſures our Suffering the Eſcape of the *Thoulon* Fleet in *Breſt*, very juſtly, lays open the miſerable Caſe of the Sailors who are poiſoned and ſtarved with bad Proviſions or Want of good, in a very lively Manner, and ſhews why ſo little Redreſs was had from the Parliament. What Profits the Victualling Office made in buying of Cattle at *Smithfield*; and how prepoſterous their Contracts with the Dealers to the Office were; particularly he informs us, that *Thomas Middleton*, the Hogman, got of them four or five-thouſand Pounds by his Contract one Year of them; and the next Year was a Loſer by them; and, when he complained of his Loſs, the Commiſſioners procured him two thouſand five-hundred Pounds out of the King's Pocket; ſo that, being burdened with Riches, he took Occaſion to hang himſelf. (*Quere*, Whether this is not the ſame Hogman that a late noble Duke is ſaid to have trundled about with him in his Chariot, till he had won all his Money of him; and whether this was not the Occaſion that he hanged himſelf?) But our Author is perhaps as ſharp upon the *Admiralty*, as any other Topick he touches upon, where he calls it, 'An Office, ma-'naged we know not how, nor to what 'Purpoſe; for I dare engage to pick out as 'many Old Women in *Wapping*, that 'ſhould have managed that Affair more for 'the Honour, Glory, and Advantage of the '*Engliſh* Nation.' And a little further, ſpeaking of *Solomon's* and *Hiram's* Navy, obſerves, 'That the Scripture tells us, 'They were under the Conduct of *Ship-'Men that had Knowledge of the Sea*; and, 'in another Place, that Part of this Lading 'was Apes and Peacocks; but tells us no 'where, that *Apes* or *Peacocks* had the So-'vereign Command in Sea Affairs; or that 'Land-men were proper Perſons to com-'mand Men of War.' But there is no giving a juſt View of the obſervable Particulars in this Tract without quoting the Whole.

364. The ſix diſtinguiſhing Characters of a Parliament-man: Addreſſed to the good People of *England*. (In 13 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1700

Theſe Characters are, 1. That the Candidates be Proteſtants, and ſatisfied in the preſent Eſtabliſhment of Government. 2. Men of Religion. 3. Men of Senſe, general Knowledge, and receptive of the general Notions of Things; acquainted with the true Intereſt of his native Country, and the general State of it, as to Trade, Liberties, Laws, and common Circumſtances; eſpecially that Part of it, for which he ſerves; and ought to know how to deliver his Mind with Freedom and Boldneſs, and pertinent to the Caſe, *&c.* 4. To be Men of Years, *&c.* 5. Men of Honeſty. 6. Men of Morals.

365. The *French* King's Reaſons for owning the pretended *Prince of Wales*, King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Communicated in a Letter from *Paris* to a Gentleman in *London*, &c. Printed for *J. N.* near *Ludgate*. (In Half a Sheet) *Quarto*, 1701

366. A *Funeral Oration* upon the late King *James*. Compoſed from *Memoirs* furniſhed by Mr. *Porter*, his great Chamberlain. Printed by the Conſent of the late Queen. Dedicated to the *French* King, and publiſhed by Authority. Wherein it is owned, That the late King reconciled his Brother King *Charles the Second* to the Church of *Rome*; that he himſelf deſigned to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and to reduce theſe Kingdoms to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*, according to the Example of *Louis le Grand*; who, they hope, will effect it, and puniſh theſe rebellious Nations, as they are pleaſed to call them. With *Remarks* upon the Whole. Printed and ſold by *A. Baldwin*, in *Warwick-Lane*. (In twenty-eight Pages) *Quarto*, 1702

367. A Letter from a *Country* Divine, to his Friend in *London*, concerning the *Education* of the *Diſſenters*, in their *private Academies*, in ſeveral Parts of this Nation. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the grand Committee of *Parliament*, for *Religion*, now ſitting. Printed for *R. Clavel*, at the *Peacock* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. (In fifteen Pages) *Quarto*, 1703

The Author did not prefix his Name to this Pamphlet, but it was written by Mr. *Samuel Weſley* the Elder, who died a little While before his *Latin* Diſſertations upon the Book of *Job* were publiſhed. In this Pamphlet, he has given us an Hiſtorical Account of his Education among the Diſſenters, till he left them, and went to *Exeter* College, in *Oxford*, in 1683, whence returning to *London*, he was ordained Prieſt of the Church of *England* in *February* 1688.

368. A *Defence* of the *Diſſenters* Education in their *private Academies*; in Anſwer to Mr. *W——y*'s diſingenuous, and unchriſtian Reflections upon them. In a Letter to a noble Lord. (In twenty-four Pages) *Quarto*, 1703

369. Royal Religion: Being ſome Enquiries after the Piety of Princes. With Remarks on a Book, intitled, *A Form of Prayer uſed by King* William. (In fourteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1704

The Uſe of that Form of Prayer by the ſaid King, or his Uſe of any Form of Prayer, having been queſtioned, here are produced the Teſtimonies of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, That he was a very devout Prince, and a conſtant Obſerver of religious Duties, both in publick and private. Here is alſo recited the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Preface to the ſaid *Manual*, wherein he ſays, Theſe Prayers are faithfully printed from the Original Papers, which his Majeſty conſtantly uſed; and ſays afterwards, There is good Reaſon to believe he made Uſe of ſome of them every Morning and Evening, when he retired into his Cloſet to pray, *&c.* Our Author alſo appeals to Eye-witneſſes of his Majeſty's Actions, in the Field, particularly, at the great Battle of *Landen*, where, the Night before it was fought, his Majeſty lodged in his Coach, and, in the Morning, had his Chaplain called into the Coach, to pray with him.

370. *The Patriots Propoſal* to the People of *England*, concerning *The Ballot*; the Beſt Way of Chooſing their *Repreſentatives* in *Parliament*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1705

There are ſome good Obſervations in this Pamphlet upon the Corruption, Partiality, and hereditary Monopoly of Seats in *Parliament*: And this Way of Election, by the *Ballot*, is propoſed as the only Expedient to prevent thoſe fatal Miſchiefs of having the Rights and Liberties of the People betrayed, by thoſe who are made the Guardians of them. He would propoſe the Examples of other States, as *Venice*, &c. who are, by the Uſe of *Ballotting*, as free as poſſible from *Factions*, *Animoſities*, *Tumults*, &c. if we were apt to imitate other Nations in any thing but their Follies. But he obſerves it to have been practiſed, alſo in Part amongſt ourſelves.

ourſelves. It has been uſed in the *Houſe of Lords*; alſo in ſeveral of the *Publick Companies*, and other *Bodies Corporate*; and ſhall the whole Body of the People neglect, or be diverted from the ſame Means; the moſt *eaſy*, *juſt*, and *neceſſary*, to get them ſuch a *free elected* Body of *Repreſentatives*, as will act to the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation; be tender of their *Privileges* and *Properties*; and not burden them with unreaſonable or unneceſſary *Impoſitions*, to ſerve only their own private Ends, or particular Perſons, rather than the Publick Good? In the latter End of his Pamphlet he gives us an exact *Deſcription* of the *Method of the Ballot*, with a Sculpture repreſenting the Form of the *Balloting Box*; containing two Boxes within it; that on the Right Side, for the *Ayes*; on the Left, for the *Noes*; as directed by Inſcriptions on the outward Box; into either of which, the Voter can, by an Hole towards the Top, between both, put his Hand, and drop his Roll or Pellet; and none of the Company be able to perceive into which Box he delivered it. With other Particulars too circumſtantial for this Place.

371. *Eſſay upon the Union.* Shewing, That the Subjects of Both Nations have been, by the Union of the Two Crowns, juſtly entitled to all Manner of Privileges, which the enſuing Treaty can give them. Therefore the Work of the enſuing Treaty is, not ſo much to treat of new Privileges, as to provide for the Security of the Old ones. And the beſt Security againſt Incroachments on both Sides, is, to have *ſeparate Parliaments*, with an expreſs Proviſo, That no Laws about Trade, or the other common Concerns of the united Nations, ſhall be of Force, unleſs agreed to by both Parliaments. *Edinburgh*; Reprinted by the Heirs and Succeſſors of *Andrew Anderſon*, Printer to the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, *&c.* (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1706

372. The *London Belles:* Or, A Deſcription of the moſt celebrated Beauties in the Metropolis of *Great Britain*, &c. Printed for, and ſold at the *Publiſhing Office* in *Dove-Court* near *Bearbinder-Lane*. (In 16 Pages) *Folio*, 1707

This is a Poem, in which there are forty-one Ladies celebrated for their Beauty, who were Inhabitants of this City; and their Names are all as well printed in the Title-page as in the Body of the Poem; among whom there is the Lady *Child*, Mrs. *Gouldſtous*, Mrs. *Daſhwood*, Mrs. *Furneſſe*, Mrs. *Vernon*, Mrs. *Hublon*, Mrs. *Aſhurſt*, Mrs. *Benſon*, Mrs. *Crawley*, &c.

373. The ſureſt Way of *Proſpering* in our *Military Affairs* the enſuing *Campaignes*, and thereby of putting a ſpeedy *Concluſion* to the *Expenſive* and *Bloody War* which, at *preſent*, we are *Involved* in. For the Uſe of all her Majeſty's Subjects, eſpecially *Thoſe* in her *Armies*. By *John Edwards*, D. D. Printed for *Jonathan Robinſon*, &c. (In 24 Pages) *Octavo*, 1708

374. The *Circus:* Or, *Britiſh Olympicks*. A Satyr, on the *Ring* in *Hyde-Park*. (In 16 Pages) *Octavo*, 1709

This is a Poem, ſatyrizing many Fops under fictitious Names, who, in their fine Dreſs and Equipage, reſorted ſo much to this *Ring*; which, at that Time, ſo much attracted the *Beaux* and *Belles*, thither to ogle one another, that near a thouſand Coaches have been ſeen there in an Evening.

375. An *Account* of *Charity Schools* lately erected in *Great Britain* and *Ireland:* With the *Benefactions* thereto; and of the Methods whereby they were ſet up, and are governed. Alſo a *Propoſal* for adding ſome *Work* to the Children's *Learning*; thereby to render their *Education* more uſeful to the *Publick*. The Ninth Edition, with large Additions. Printed and Sold by *Joſeph Downing* in *Bartholomew-Cloſe*. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1710

This Work gives an Account of the Methods taken in raiſing Charity Schools; of electing Maſters; with the Orders for them, the Scholars, and their Parents. An Alphabetical Liſt of the Pariſh Schools in *London*, and within ten Miles; Number of Boys and Girls in them; Subſcriptions to, and Collections for them; and how many from each have been put out Apprentices. The Charge of a School in *London*, for fifty Boys or Girls. The Form of leaving them Legacies. Alphabetical Liſt of the Cities and Towns

Towns in *England*, that have Charity Schools; with an Account of them; alſo in *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; with an Account of the like Charities in *Germany*, *New England*, the *Eaſt Indies*, &c. Alſo a Form of Subſcription for Charity Schools. Charge of Cloathing the Children. Method of Regiſtring their Behaviour. Churches where Lectures are read, to encourage ſuch Charities; and where the Children are publickly Examined. Propoſals for teaching poor Children, in ſmall Villages, to read, *&c.* The Whole ending with an Hymn that was ſung by the Children in *Whitſon-Week* the Year aforeſaid.

376. The *Taxes not Grievous*; and therefore *not a Reaſon* for an *Unſafe Peace*. Printed and Sold by *A. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. (In 22 Pages) *Octavo*, 1711.

This Author undertakes to ſhew the Falſhood of the Aſſertion, That we were ſo exhauſted by Taxes to maintain our Wars, that Peace muſt be had upon the beſt Terms we could, for theſe Reaſons; 1. Becauſe, if that Doctrine were believed by the Enemy Abroad, it muſt make him ſtill ſtiffer in his Terms. 2. The Belief of it at Home would make the People more impatient, if the Treaty were broke off. So proceeds to examine the Grounds of Complaint in the People under this Diviſion of them—The landed Men; the Clergy; Merchants; Manufacturers; Shopkeepers, and Farmers. He concludes, with the Advantages which have been produced by the War and Taxes; and thinks, 'The benign Providence, which 'hath ſhewn us the Means of carrying on 'the War nine Years, with ſo little Grief 'and Oppreſſion to the People, will not de'ſert us, if it be found neceſſary to continue 'it another Year. That our good *Queen* 'has *no Views*, but the Welfare of her Peo'ple; nor any Ends to purſue, by continu'ing the War unneceſſarily: And, as God 'forbid the War ſhould be continued a 'Month, if a ſafe and good Peace can be 'had now; ſo, on the other Hand, let not 'not the miſtaken Notion, of Taxes be'ing grievous, cauſe it to be concluded un'timely.'

377. The New Way of *Selling Places* at *Court*. In a Letter from a Small *Courtier* to a Great *Stock-Jobber*. Printed for *John Morphew*, near *Stationers Hall*. (In 8 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1712.

This Pamphlet was written to expoſe the Arts and Practices of a certain petty Retainer to the Court, who had no Employment himſelf, but was Partner for Life to one that had; and here called by the Name of *Guzman*, in Imitation of a famous *Spaniſh* Deceiver of that *Name*. He had, belike, heard of the Pranks played by *Harry Killigrew*, *Fleetwood*, *Shepherd*, and others before him, who had ſold ſome Places that were never in Being, and diſpoſed of others, good Pennyworths, before they were vacant: How the Privy-Garden at *Whitehall* was actually ſold, and an Artiſt ſent to meaſure the Ground. How one Man was made Curtain-lifter to King *Charles*; another, his Gold-finder; and his Oyſter-cracker another: So he, not able to recover ſome Employment he had been diſcarded from, employed his Wits to ſerve others; and, where he could not advance them in Reality, would do it in their Imagination; with prudent Regard to his own Intereſt; though, whoever he trafficked with, could not but own he ſold at reaſonable Rates; and was ſo modeſt, as to be content the Credit of Receiving the Preſent, or Purchaſe Money, ſhould reſt on the greateſt Men in *England*, rather than himſelf. So proceeds to give ſeveral Examples of this Place—*Jobber's* Dexterity among the reſt; one of Selling, about two Months before, the Place of *Vice-Chamberlain*, to a Gentleman, who was to have given for it four-thouſand Pounds to a Lady, who was Foſter-Siſter to the Queen. Two-thouſand to the then Vice-Chamberlain, in Conſideration of his being turned out, and One-thouſand to be divided between Don *Guzman*, and his Agents. But, the Matter reaching the *Vice-Chamberlain's* Ear, the Don and his Agents were examined before one of the Secretaries of State, where, after much Shuffling and Confuſion, he owned the Fact, but, Abroad, reported himſelf to be Party injured, and went on with his Trade. For the Vice-Chamberlain, between Generoſity and Contempt, ſeems to have dropped, at leaſt hitherto, the Proſecution; and the reſt of the Court to have contented themſelves, ſome with Laughing, and ſome with Lifting up their Eyes in Admiration.

I

378. The *Tranſlation* of a *Letter*, written by a *French* Gentilwoman to another Gentilwoman, her Frind, upon the Death of the moſt Excellent and Vertuous Ladye, *Elenor* of *Roye*, Princes of *Conde*; contayning her Laſt *Wyll* and *Teſtament*. Doone by *Henry Myddelmore*, Gentylman, at the Requeſt of the Ladye *Anne Throkmorton*. Imprinted at *London* by *John Daye*, for *Humfrey Toye*, dwellyng in *Paules* Churchyarde. *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis.* (In 32 Leaves.) *Octavo*, 1564.

379. A *Declaration* and *Publication* of the moſt worthy Prince of *Orange*: Contayning the Cauſe of this Neceſſary *Defence* againſt the Duke of *Alba*. Tranſlated out of *French* into *Engliſh*, and compared by other Copies in other Languages. Imprinted at *London* by *John Day*, beneath S. *Martins* over *Alderſgate*. (In 11 Leaves) *Octavo*, without Date.

But there is this Date at the End, when the ſaid *Declaration* was made, in theſe Words ——Geven the 20 of *July*, 1568.

380. A *Letter* ſent by *J. B.* Gentleman, unto his very Frende Mayſter *R. C.* Eſquire; wherein is contained a Large Diſcourſe of the *Peopling* and *Inhabiting* the Countrie called the *Ardes*, and other Adjacent, in the North of *Ireland*; and taken in Hand by Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the Queene's Majeſties Privie Counſel, and *Thomas Smith*, Eſquire, his Son. Imprinted at *London*, by *Henry Binneman*, &c. (In 31 Leaves) *Octavo*, no Date.

By the Account which *Camden* gives of this Undertaking, in his *Annals* of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1572, it both appears, that this *Letter* was written in that Year, and that he drew his ſaid Account from it; where he ſays, That 'at this Time Sir '*Thomas Smith*, Secretary to the Queen, 'a wiſe and learned Man, taking Pity of '*Ireland*, which had been neglected, obtained 'of the Queen, that a Colony might be 'tranſported into a *Peninſula* of *Ireland*, 'which they call *Ardes*, on the Eaſtern 'Coaſt of *Ulſter*, under the Conduct of his 'Natural Son, the only Son he had; that 'ſo thoſe half barbarous People might be 'taught ſome Civility. His Hope was, that 'the Place might eaſily be defended by Gar'riſons planted in the ſtrait Neck of Land, 'by which it is joined to the reſt of the 'Iſland. To every Footman he granted '120 Acres, and to every Horſeman 240; 'which are as much as 500 *Engliſh* Acres: 'For which, they were to pay yearly a 'Penny an Acre. But it failed of the wiſhed 'Succeſs: For his Son *Thomas*, when he had 'carried over the Colony, was intercepted 'and ſlain by the Treachery of *Neal Brian* '*Artho*. But *Malbey*, an *Engliſhman*, who 'was Governour of *Lecale* hard by, ſup'poſing that no unjuſt Death could be in'flicted upon a treacherous Villain, ſoon 'after ſlew him, leaving him to be devoured 'by Wolves.

381. A *Supplication* to the Kinge's Majeſtie of *Spayne*, made by the Prince of *Orange*, the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, with all other his faithfull Subjectes of the *Low-Countrie*, preſently ſuppreſſed by the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alba* and the *Spaniards*. By which is declared the originall Beginning of all the Commotions and Troubles happened in the ſaid *Low-Countrie*: To the Relief whereof, they require his Majeſties ſpeedy Redreſſe and Remedie. Faithfully tranſlated out of *Duytſch* into *Engliſh*, by *T. W.* Imprinted at *London*, by *Henry Middleton*. (In 23 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1573.

382. A brief and true Reherſall of the Noble Victory and Overthrow, which, by the Grace of God, the Proteſtants of the North Partes of *Holland* had againſt the Duke of *Alba* his Ships of *Amſterdam*; with the Taking of the Earl of *Boſſu*, and their Admiral *Boſſhuyſen*, with divers other Gentlemen, the 12 of *October*, 1573. Imprinted at *London* in *Fleeteſtreet*, at the Sign of the *Faucon*, by *Henry Middleton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in St. *Dunſtanes* Churchyarde. (In 7 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1573.

383. A *Declaration* concerning the *Needfulneſſe of Peace* to be made in *Fraunce*, and the Means for the Making of the ſame: Exhibited to the moſt

Chriſtian King, *Henry the Second* of that Name, King of *Fraunce* and *Poland*, upon Two *Edicts* put forth by his Majeſtie; the one the Tenth of *September*, the other the Thirteenth of *October*, 1574. Tranſlated out of *French*, by *G. H.* Eſquire. Imprinted by *Henry Bynneman*, &c. (In fourſcore Leaves) *Octavo.*

This *Declaration* is dedicated by *George Harte*, who was the Tranſlator of it, to his Father, Sir *Percivall Hart*, Knight, one of the Sewars and Knight Harbinger to her Majeſtie, on the Firſt of *January*, 1575. The King's *Edicts*, aforeſaid, are prefixed; and the *Declaration* contains many good Arguments, and Examples ancient and modern, for Promoting the Peace propoſed.

384. A *Juſtification* or Cleering of the Prince of *Orendge*, againſt the falſe *Sclaunders* wherwith his Illwillers goe about to charge him wrongfully. Imprinted at *London* by *John Day*, dwelling over *Alderſgate*. (*Black Letter*, in 94 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1575

That *Juſtification* was written by the ſaid *William* Prince of *Orange* himſelf, chiefly to clear him of the Imputations of Rebellion charged upon him by King *Philip*; as if he uſurped the whole Government of the *Low Countries*, under a Pretence that the *Spaniſh Inquiſition* was, or would be there introduced; which Imputations were laid to his Charge in *The Summons, or Citation, ſent out againſt the Prince of Orange* in that King's Name. Dated from *Bruſſels*, 19 *January*, 1567, with Orders to attach and apprehend his Perſon. And the ſame is here printed, after his *Juſtification*, in the 73d Page; as alſo a Copy of the Serjeant at Arms his Execution of the ſaid Citation. Beſides an Abſtract of the laſt *Letters*, &c. ſent by the King of *Spain* to *Margaret* Princeſs of *Parma*, Regent in the *Low-Countries*, concerning the Caſe of Religion. Her *Letter* to the Chancellor, and King's Council in *Brabant*, dated 18 *December*, 1565. A *Supplication* of the Nobles in the *Low-Countries* to the ſaid Lady Regent, 5 *April*, 1566. A *Replication* to the ſame. Her *Letters* of Aſſurance to the Confederates. The King of *Spain*'s Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, approving his Duty and Loyalty. Dated *Auguſt* 1, 1566. A *Letter* of the King's Ambaſſador in *France* to the Lady Regent. The Prince of *Orange*'s Anſwer to the Attorney's Citation, 3 *March*, 1568. The Prince's Anſwer to the Duke of *Alva*, upon that Citation. Another *Letter* from *Francis* of *Alva*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *France*, to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, from *Paris*, 29 *Auguſt*, 1566. Letter from the Prince of *Orange* to the ſaid Lady Regent, concerning the Council of *Trent*, *Inquiſition*, &c. From *Bruſſels* 24 of *January*, 1565, according to the Computation of *Brabant*, but, according to that of the Empire, it is 1566. The Regent's Anſwer. *Extracts* of certain Points compriſed in the Injunctions and Edicts, ſet forth in the *Low-Countries*, by the Decree of the Emperor *Charles*, in 1540, concerning Religion; after the Pattern of another as rigorous, publiſhed nine Years before; alſo of the Perpetual *Decree* ſet forth in 1550, after the Form of other rigorous Decrees. Alſo of another Decree ſet forth the ſame Year, and afterward confirmed againſt Hereſy, *&c.* Copy of the Confederates Anſwer to the Lady Regent. Her Letter to the Counſellors and Towns of the *Low Countries.*

385. Of the *Knowledge* and *Conduct* of *Warres*; Two Bookes; lately wrytten and ſet foorth; profitable for ſuche as delight in *Hyſtoryes*, or Martyall Affayres, and neceſſary for this preſent Time. *In ædibus Richardi Tottelli.* (In 54 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1578

In the next Leaf to the Title page, there is a wooden Print of the Author's Arms, with this *Motto*, *Virtus ſuperat Arduа*; and the initial Letters of his Name, T. P. on each Side. On the Back of the ſame Leaf, he has a Copy of Verſes, recommending his ſaid Work to the Service of his Country, and ſubſcribes them at the Bottom with thoſe two Letters again. In his Preface, he tells us, This Work may be a Beginning to encourage others to make large Additions, for, as yet, he finds only *Vegetius*, an ancient Writer, and *Machiavell* of theſe Affairs, well tranſlated into *Engliſh*: Who being expert and learned, their Induſtry is commendable; yet, becauſe *Machiavell* is deemed

deemed ſomewhat diffuſe, and his Opinions not agreeing with all Judgments, nor reaching ſo many Matters, meet for our *Engliſh* Wars; and *Vegetius*, being a Writer when Wars were uſed in another Courſe than they are now-a-Days: 'Tis therefore wiſhed more were done in this Behalf. And, it is a Marvel, to ſee how the Studies of many Men had been addicted, in his Time, abounding in Store of ripe Wits. Yet, amongſt ſo many Books as were daily written of Dreams and Fancies; Introductions to Pleaſure; familiar fruitleſs Talkings; eloquent formal Orations, little material, of pleaſant Meetings and Fables amongſt Women, of *Canterbury*, or coarſer Tales; with divers Jeſts, and vain Deviſes: In earneſt, there is leaſt Labour laid on that Art, whereby Kings rule, and are ruled and conquered. Which erecteth, buildeth, eſtabliſheth, encreaſeth, beatifieth Eſtates; the End and Fruits whereof is Honour moſt high, flowing Wealth, Fame neverfailing or forgotten, Victory and Dominion without Bounds: The Contrary, and Want whereof, is Captivity, Ruin, Diſhonour, and Deſolation, *&c.*

386. The Firſt Part of the *Eyghth Liberal Science:* Entituled, *Ars Adulandi*; with the *Confutation* thereof; both very pleaſaunt and profitable; deviſed and compiled by *Ulpian Fulwell.* Newly corrected and augmented. Imprinted by *Richard Jones*, &c. (In 37 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1579.

This Treatiſe begins with a Dialogue in Verſe, between the Author and his Muſe, who encourages him to dedicate it to the Lady therein propoſed. Then follows the Dedication to the Lady *Mildred Burgley*, Wife to the Lord Treaſurer, to whom he gives this Reaſon, why he calls it a *Liberal Science*; becauſe Benefits are ſo liberally contributed to it. And tells her, That tho' he may ſeem very preſumptuous to aſpire with ſo ſlender a Preſent to ſo learned a Lady; yet the great Courteſy, he had both ſeen and received at her Hands, enforced him to expreſs his dutiful Gratitude, with this his ſimple and unpoliſhed Piece of Work. The Work itſelf, after the Author's Epiſtle to the Reader, begins with a Deſcription of the Seven Liberal Sciences, in ſo many Stanzas of Verſe, and ends with this Eighth, which has intruded itſelf into their Company. So proceeds more particularly, to expatiate thereon, in Eight Dialogues, chiefly in Proſe. 1. Between the *Author* and his *Printer*. 2. Between the Author and Lady *Fortune*. 3. Between the Author and and a *Frier*. 4. Between the Author and *Fortunatus*. 5. Between *Pierce Pickthank*, drunken *Dickon*, Dame *Annat* the Alewife, and the Author. 6. Between *Diogenes* and *Ulpianus:* Wherein is expreſſed, under the Perſon of the Author, the Simplicity of ſuch as think the Court will prefer all who flock to it, which is found an unfit Place for ſimple Perſons of groſs Education. This is all in Verſe. 7. Between *Tom Tapſter*, *Miles Makeſhift*, *Wat Wily*, and the Author. 8. Between Sir *Simon*, the Parſon of *Poll Jobbam*, and the Author: Before which, is printed a ſhort Dialogue in Verſe, between the *Author* and his *Book*; wherein is ſhewed, ſundry Opinions that were uttered of the firſt Impreſſion, *&c.* which Dialogue ſhould have been printed laſt of all. The Author, who was a *Somerſetſhire* Man, was, at this Time, a Gentleman Commoner of St. *Mary's-Hall*, *Oxon*, aged 33 Years. He publiſhed alſo, Eight Years afterwards, an Interlude, called *Like will to like, quoth the Devil to the Collier*, as may be ſeen in *Langbain*. His Authority is cited by *John Speed*, in his Life of King *Edward* VI. in his *Chronicle*; for Nothing, in either of theſe Pamphlets, as *A. Wood* rightly conjectures; but in another, which we ſhall give a Sketch of, as ſoon as it comes to Hand.

387. *The Jeſuites Banner.* Diſplaying their *Original* and *Succeſs*; their *Vow* and *Othe*; their *Hypocriſie* and *Superſtition*; their *Doctrine* and *Poſitions*. With a Confutation of a late Pamphlet, ſecretly imprinted and entituled, *A Brief Cenſure upon Two Books written in Anſweare to* M. Campion's *Offer of Diſputation*, *&c.* Compiled by *Meredith Hanmer* M of Arte, and Student in Divinity. Imprinted by *Tho. Dawſon* and *Richard Vernon*, &c. (In 46 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1581.

This Author had written an *Anſwer* to *Campian's* ſaid *Challenge* to a *Diſputation*; and

and being charged, in that *Brief Cenſure* of his ſaid *Anſwer*, with an Untruth, in ſaying that Pope *Paul the Fourth* had been a Jeſuite, it produced this Diſplay of the Jeſuites Banner, wherein he has both cleared himſelf fully of whatever was objected to him, and confuted the ſaid *Cenſure* under the ſeveral Heads mentioned in the Title. He dedicates his Work to Sir *Thomas Bromley*, Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley*, and the reſt of the Privy-Counſell: Then introduces it with an Epiſtle Exhortatory, in *Latin*, to the Jeſuites themſelves.

388. An *Oration* or *Funerall Sermon*, uttered at *Roome* at the Buriall of the holy Father *Gregorie* the XIII, who departed in *Jeſus Chriſt*, the 11 of *Aprill*, 1585. Conteyning his *Manners*, *Life*, *Deeds*, and *laſt Words* at his *Death*, concerning the Affairs of this *preſent Time*: Together with the *Lamentations* of the *Cardinalls* and whole Clergie. Faithfully tranſlated out of the *French* Copie, printed at *Paris*, for *Peter Jobert*, dwelling in *Harp ſtreat*, 1585, with the King's Priviledge. Otherwiſe, to be intituled——A *Sermon* full of *Papiſtical Adulation*, and Matter ſufficient to procure the Wiſe and Virtuous-minded to contemn ſuch groſs and palpable Blindneſs; and all Perſons to laugh at their abſurd and erroneous Follies. Imprinted (In 15 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1585

The Tranſlator of this Oration was, as appears by his Epiſtle to the Reader, *Robert Greene*, before-mentioned in this Catalogue; one of the greateſt Pamphleteers, and Refiners of our Language in his Time, though ſeldom in ſuch grave and ſerious Subjects. Beſides his Preface, giving a further Character of this Sermon, to the Senſe aforeſaid; he has alſo prefixed ſome *Latin* Verſes, written by *Theodore Beza* upon the Pope.

389. *Perimedes* the *Blacke Smith*: A Golden Methode, how to uſe the Minde in pleaſant and profitable Exerciſe. Wherein is contained ſpeciall Principles fit for the Higheſt to Imitate, and the Meaneſt to put in Practiſe; how beſt to ſpend the wearie Winter Nights, or the longeſt Summer Evenings, in honeſt and delightfull Recreation. Wherein we may learn to avoid Idleneſs and wanton Scurrilitie, which divers appoint as the End of their Paſtimes. Herein are interlaced three Merrie and Neceſſarie Diſcourſes fit for our Time. With certain pleaſant Hiſtories and tragicall Tales, which may breed Delight to all, and Offence to none. *Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit Utile Dulci.* Printed by *John Wolfe*, &c. (In 31 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1588

This Pamphlet is dedicated to *Gervis Clifton*, Eſq; by the Author *Robert Greene*, lately abovementioned; who, in his Preface to his Gentlemen-Readers, vows, if it neither Pleaſe, nor Paſs, that he will make them Amends in his *Oepharion*, and Merry with it too, the next Term; *for it* was pretty cuſtomary with him, to bring out four Pamphlets in a Year; but, whether this was ever publiſhed, we have not yet found. After the ſaid Preface, here is a Copy of Verſes in the Author's Praiſe, written in *French*, by *J. Eliote*; wherein having ſtyled the then well-known and much-admired Book, called *Euphues* (written by *John Lilly*, in a new Kind of ſententious Phraſe) the firſt-born, or eldeſt Offſpring of Eloquence, he adds, That Author might well acknowledge this to be his own younger Brother: And that, by his fine Writings, he had made it appear, that he derived his Birth from the Muſes. So compares them to ſeveral famous Authors, who had improved and poliſhed the other Languages in their reſpective Countries, as the *French*, by *Marot* and *De Mornay*; the *Spaniſh*, by *Guevara*; the *Tuſcan*, by *Boccace*; and the *German* by *Sleedan*: ſo *Greene & Lylli, tous deux Raffineurs de l'Anglois*. Both Refiners of the *Engliſh*, &c. At the End of this Tract there is a Letter written by *William Bubb*, Gentleman, to the Author, intreating him to publiſh certain *Sonnets*, which he had ſeen of his, that lay in his Desk, and they are accordingly here ſet forth, being four in Number; and they were ſo well eſteemed, that Extracts from them have been quoted, as well as from other Sonnets of his in like Manner interſperſed among his Proſe Writings, in ſome Common-Place Books of Poetry, and other Miſcellaneous Collections, which were not many Years afterwards publiſhed.

390.

Continued. NUMBER XXVIII.

390. A *Letter* written by the King of *Navarre* to the Three Eſtates of *France*: Containing a moſt lively *Deſcription* of the *Diſcommodities* and *Dangers* of *Civill Warre*; and a very forcible *Perſwaſion* to *Obedience*, *Unitie* and *Peace*. Together with a Brief Declaration upon the Matters happened in *Fraunce*, ſithence the 23 Day of *December*, 1588. Tranſlated out of *French* by *G. R.* Printed by *Tho. Purfoot*. (In 10 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1589

391. A *Myrror* for *Martiniſts*, and all other *Schiſmatiques*, which in theſe dangerous *Daies* doe breake the *Godlie Unity*, and diſturbe the Chriſtian *Peace* of the *Church*. Publiſhed by *T. T.* Printed by *John Wolfe*. (In 19 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1590

392. Newes out of *France* for the Gentlemen of *England*. A Stratagem moſt ventrouſly attempted, and valiantly atchived by the *French* King the 27 Day of *July*, 1591. Wherein is deſciphered, what Truſt his Royal Majeſtie repoſeth on the Valour of the *Engliſh*, and their dutifull Service unto Him at all Aſſayes. Newes alſo touching *Sixteen Ships taken* nigh the Haven of *Deepe*, and the Diſcomfiture of the Pope's Forces tranſported into *France*, towards the Aide of the *Leaguers*, both concurring on the 28 of *July* laſt paſt. With a Report of the Princely Meeting and Honorable Conjoyning of the whole Power of the *French* King, the ſixt Day of this preſent Moneth of *Auguſt*, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *German*, and his own People. Printed for *John Kid*. (In 10 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto* ——

It was printed the ſame Year as is mentioned in the Title. The Author ſubſcribes himſelf to his Epiſtle *G. B.* M. of Arte. He has ſome *Latin* Verſes at the Beginning, in Praiſe of *England*; and others at the End, by Way of Prayer, for the Safety of our Country in the Miſeries of thoſe Times. Here is mentioned a gallant Action, ſucceſsfully performed under the ſaid King, by a brave *Britiſh* Commander, Sir *Roger Williams*, near the Town of *Noyan* againſt the *Leaguers*, the Day and Year above mentioned.

393. A True *Confeſſion* of the *Faith*, and humble Acknowledgement of the *Allegeance*, which wee hir Majeſties Subjects, falſely called *Browniſts*, doo hould, towards *God*, and yeild to hir *Majeſtie*, and all other that are over us in the *Lord*. Set down in *Articles* or Poſitions for the better and more eaſie Underſtanding of thoſe that ſhall read yt: And publiſhed for the Cleering of Ourſelves from thoſe Unchriſtian Slanders of Hereſie, Schiſme, Pryde, Obſtinacie, Diſloyaltie, Sedition, *&c.* which, by our Adverſaries, are in all Places given out againſt us. (In 11 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1596

Herein, this Sect ſet forth their Sufferings under the Severities of the Prelates and Chief Clergy, even to Exile, Impriſonment, Fetters, and violent Death itſelf; by the heavy Decrees they procured, for them to forſwear and forſake their own Country, or elſe be ſlain therein; as that in *April*, 1903. But, that the Cauſes of their Injuſtice may appear, they have here publiſhed this *Confeſſion of their Faith*; and alſo to ſet forth the miſerable State of their poor Countrymen, under the intolerable Yoke of their Popiſh Canons and Decrees; ſubjecting them, every Day they riſe, to *Thirty-eight* Antichriſtian *Eccleſiaſtical Officers*; who are all named in the Margent, from the Archbiſhop to the Sexton; and ſtigmatizing them with the Titles of *Donatiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Schiſmaticks*, &c. which they here doubt not but to clear themſelves of; proteſting, they always accounted it unlawful to ſeparate from any true Church of Chriſt, till, by their Iniquities, they ceaſe to be a true viſible Church: But for this our renowned Church of *England*, that they have, both by Word and Writing, proved it to be falſe and counterfeit; ſo refer to their *Conferences* between certain Preachers and Priſoners, in *March*, 1590. Their Pamphlet entitled, *A Diſcovery of the Falſe Church*, printed the ſame Year; and their *Refutation of Mr Giffard*, Quarto, 1591. All which, inſtead of producing any humane Toleration or Conviction of them, only irritated their ſaid Prelatical and Prieſtly Adverſaries to behave themſelves like ſavage Beaſts, rending and tearing them to Pieces. So that, through their barbarous Cruelty, no

leſs than *Twenty-four* Souls have periſhed in their Priſons; who are all named here, in the Margent, and where they died, in the Priſons of *London* only, beſides other Parts of the Land; and beſides the Condemnations and Executions, as Felons, which they procured of *Henry Barrow*, *John Greenwode*, and *John Penry*; 'whoſe particular Examinations, Arraignments, and Manner of 'Execution, with the Circumſtances about 'them, if thou didſt truly underſtand, gentle 'Reader, it would make thy Heart bleed.' About the ſame Time they executed alſo *William Dennis*, at *Thetford* in *Norfolk*; and, long before, they killed at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, *Coppyn* and *Elias*, for the like Teſtimony. Then having cenſured Dr. *Robert Some*, and Mr. *Giffard*, for their ſlanderous and diſingenuous Writings; alſo all the Degrees of Clergy, as a Pack of Rabble; and their Rites and Ceremonies as only ſo much Trumpery; meer Reliques, or Diſguiſes of the *Romiſh* Beaſt; as Inventions of human Pride and Vanity, and no way founded on Divine Authority; they challenge the Clergy to ſhew them their Errors by the Scripture, or any one Truth held by them, in which They agree not. Then ſhews them the Ignorance and Corruptions of their Flocks from Members of their own Church, and their Tracts here quoted. And concludes, with acknowledging the Diſcord which Satan has ſown among themſelves alſo. Then follows their *Confeſſion of Faith*, fortified and fenced in, as thick with Scripture Authorities, all down the Margin, as if it were with the cloſeſt, and moſt impenetrable Hedge.

394. A *Caveat* for *France*, upon the preſent *Evils* that it now ſuffereth. Together with the *Remedies* neceſſarie for the ſame. Tranſlated out of *French* into *Engliſh* by *E. Aggas*. Imprinted by *John Wolfe*. (In 29 Pages) *Quarto*, 1588

This Pamphlet very ſenſibly ſets forth the Cauſes and Miſeries of that deſtructive *War* then raiſed in *France* for above three Years paſt, by the Faction of the *Guizards*, which was called the *Holy League*; who when they ſaw the Duke of *Anjou* dead, the King to have no Children, and the King of *Navarre* Chief Prince of the Blood, through his Religion, as they thought, eſtranged from the People's Favour, they imagined the Way to be then open to their extream Ambition, and the Seaſon fit for hatching their Drifts. Then they began afreſh to to kindle their Practiſes and Conventicles, to ſearch out all Malecontents, to treat with the King of *Spain*, and ſuch other Potentates as envied that Realm, whereof, in ſhort Space, ſprung forth this War of the *League*, which now had ſo conſumed that State. Then they required the King to name his Heir, and the ſame to be a Catholic Prince, namely, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, ſo to exclude the King of *Navarre*: Becauſe they knew they could not climb ſo high but by Degrees, and might rule in *France* under the Cardinal's Wings; though he was very old, and that King in the Flower of his Age. The King of *Navarre* ſtopped their Paſſage, whereupon they declared him an Heretic, and ſo do ſtill pretend him to be deprived of all the Rights belonging to the Blood of *France*. The Miſchiefs of theſe Plots, and the Wars they occaſioned, being fully laid open, the only Remedy preſcribed, is, a ſincere and faithfull Peace.

395. The *Manſion* of *Magnanimitie*. Wherein is ſhewed the moſt high and honorable Acts of ſundrie *Engliſh* Kings, Princes, Dukes, Earles, Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, from Time to Time performed, in Defence of their Princes and Countrie: Set forth as an Encouragement to all faithfull Subjects, by their Example, reſolutely to addreſs Themſelves againſt all Foreine Enemies. Publiſhed by *Richard Crompton*, an Apprentice of the Common Law, 1599. Whereunto is alſo adjoyned a Collection of divers *Lawes* and *Statutes*, meete to be knowne of all Men: With a Briefe *Table*, ſhewing, what *Munition* ought to be kept by all Sorts of her Majeſties Subjects, for the Defence of her Highneſſe Realmes and Dominions. Printed for *William Ponſonby* (In 60 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1599

On the Back of this Title, is a Print of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Coat of Arms, with all the Quarterings. Then follows the Author's *Dedication* to him, in Praiſe of Valiant Men and Martial Diſcipline; and after that *An Oration to be made by the General to the whole Armie, afore the Battle*. The Work

is

is divided into Twelve Chapters. 1. Of the *Strength* of *England*, and its *Fruitfullneſs*; and how well repleniſhed with *Valiant Men* and a *Royal Navy*. 2. How happily *governed* under ſo gracious a Prince; how free from Taxes, Servitude, *&c.* 3. How happy in her Councellors; and of the Miſeries of War where the Enemy prevails. 4. Of our Succeſs againſt our Enemies by Prayer to God; with Perſuaſions to withſtand the Enemy, and of the Fame attained thereby. 5. Examples of divers *Noblemen* of this Land, who have ventured their Lives in Defence of their Country, *&c.* more eſpecially *John* Lord *Talbot*, with ſome Verſes in Honour of his Houſe by our Author. 6. That we muſt beware of *Sedition* among Ourſelves. 7. Of the Practiſes of the King of *Spain* and the Pope to invade our Country, and of the Preparations made to prevent them: More particularly of ſome *Engliſh Fugitives* entertained by the King of *Spain* to fight againſt their own Country; how rewarded, and to what Ends they came. 8. Of ſuppreſſing *Rebells*, with a Perſuaſion to Obedience; the Inconveniences of *Civil War*; the Odiouſneſs and Puniſhment of *Traytors*. 9. A Rehearſal of the *Statutes* making it *Treaſon* to withdraw the Queen's *Subjects* from their Allegeance, or be withdrawn. 10. Of the *Conſpiracies* of certain *Nobles*, and others, againſt their Country, with their *Rewards*; and how dangerous *Religious Controverſies* are. 11. Of divers *Victories* formerly obtained by the *Engliſh* by Sea and Land, to the Encouragement of their Poſterity, to maintain the Honour of their Progenitors. 12. That all ought to join in *Defence* of their *Country*, notwithſtanding any Difference in Religion: With a Repetition of certain *Laws* to preſerve the Queen's Perſon, and for the Safety of the Realm. The laſt Page contains the Table above in the Title deſcribed, whereby may at one Glance be ſeen the Effect of the *Statute* concerning the Furniſhing the Army with Horſes, Arms, *&c.* as made in the fourth and fifth Years of *Philip* and *Mary*.

396. A *Sermon* Preached at *Paules* Croſſe on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, *Martii* 1, 1600. With a ſhort *Diſcourſe* of the late Earle of *Eſſex* his *Confeſſion* and *Penitence*, before and at the Time of his *Death*. By *William Barlow*, Doctor of Divinitie. Whereunto is annexed, a True *Copie*, in Subſtance, of the *Behaviour*, *Speache*, and *Prayer* of the ſaid Earle, at the Time of his *Execution*. Printed for *Matthew Law* in St. *Paules* Churchyard. (In 39 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1601

This Diſcourſe, compoſed by the ſaid Chaplain of that unfortunate Earl (who, blown up to a rash Inſurrection by his Ambitious Dependants, and Incendiaries, in Hopes he could remove ſome Miniſters and and Officers at Court, that they might get into their Places; for which he, and ſome of them, now came to an untimely End) had ſeveral Cenſures paſſed upon it at its firſt Appearing in the World; as may be learnt in the Epiſtle to the Reader: Among the reſt, That he was a *Time-Server* and *Preacher for Reward*. The Truth was, he dared not in this Affair ſpeak any Good of the Earl, nothing that would juſtify or extenuate his ſaid Inſurrection, but only what might ſhew his Repentance and Acknowledgement of Juſtice; the better to ſatisfy her Majeſty for her ſtrict Execution.

397. The *Supplication* of certain *Maſs-Prieſts*, falſely called Catholicks. *Directed* to the *King*, now this Time of *Parliament*; but ſcattered in *Corners* to move *Mal contents* to *Mutinie*. Publiſhed with a Marginall *Gloſſe*, for the better Underſtanding of the *Text*: And an *Anſwer* to the Libellers *Reaſons* for the Clearing of all *Controverſies* thereof ariſing. Imprinted for *William Aſpley* (In 43 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1604

398. *The Flea*. Printed for *John Smethwick*; and are to be ſolde at his Shop in Saint *Dunſtane*'s Churchyard in *Fleetſtreet*, under the Diall. (In 18 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1605

This is a *Poem*; written by *Peter Woodhouſe*, as he ſigns himſelf under his Epiſtle to the Reader. It is otherwiſe called, *Democritus his Dreame: Or the Contention betweene the Elephant and the Flea*. There is, in the Frontiſpiece, a wooden Print, repreſenting ſome *Elephants*, and a *Flea* on the Ear of a Shepherd's Dog, whoſe Maſter is aſcending in a Tree for Fear of thoſe huge

huge Animals. There is a *Bull* ſitting before them in an Elbow-chair, and a *Wheezle* ſitting by him on the Ground, who were appointed Umpires of the Controverſy; a Mouſe being ſet aſide, having been rejected as the Elephant's known Enemy: In the Dream itſelf, after each Party has pleaded his own Merits, and made what Objection he could to his Opponent, and juſt when the Verdict was to be given, *Democritus* awakes; leaving the Reader to beſtow the Palm, and explain what is intended by the *Flea*, the *Dog*, the *Elephant*, &c. There is a Copy of Verſes at the Beginning in Praiſe of the Author, written by *R. P.* Gent. the laſt Stanza whereof is as follows:

Now let who liſt, this as a Toy diſpiſe,
Such worthy Patrons ſince thou haſt in Store:
What tho' thy Subject be of little Price,
Thy Wit thereby appears to be the more:
Then let thy *Flea* ſtep forth, ſince *Frogs* and *Mice*,
And little *Gnats* have led the Way before.
Fear not, tho' *Momus* Brood ſtill carping be,
He ſnarld at *Homer*, let Them bark at Thee.

399. Mr. *George Blackwel*, made by Pope *Clement* 8. *Arch-Prieſt* of *England*, his *Anſweres* upon ſundry his *Examinations*. Together with his *Approbation* and *Taking of* the *Oath of Allegeance*: And his *Letter* written to his Aſſiſtants and Brethren, *moving* them not only to take the ſaid Oath, but to *adviſe* all *Romiſh Catholicks* ſo to doe. Imprinted at *London*, by *Rob. Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie. (In 21 Leaves) *Quarto* 1607

This *George Blackwell* was appointed *Arch-prieſt* by *Henry* Cardinal *Cajetane*, the Protector of the *Engliſh* Nation, as appears by his Letter from *Rome* the 7th of *March* 1598, according to the Pope's Inſtructions, for the better Governing and Keeping in Peace the *Romiſh* Prieſts in this Realm. Here are Seven Examinations of the ſaid *Arch-Prieſt* taken at *Lambeth*, and his Letter aforeſaid, containing the Sum of them, with his Acknowledgment of its being his own Hand-writing, witneſſed by Seven Lords of the Council. After which follow the Summaries of the *Briefs* mentioned in the ſaid Examinations; and, leſt any Doubt ſhould be made of what is contained therein, Mr. *Blackwell* himſelf is referred to, now Priſoner in the *Gate-houſe*.

400. The Arraignment, Conviction, and Execution of *George Blewit* Prieſt, of the Order of Saint *Benedict*. Who was executed at *Tiburne* for Treaſon, on *Monday* laſt, the Eleventh of *Aprill*, 1608. Imprinted at *London*, for *Henry Goſſon*, &c. (In 4 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1608

401. A *Supplication* made to the *Privy Counſel*. By Mr. *Walter Travers*. *Oxford*, Printed by *Joſeph Barnes*, and are to be ſold by *John Barnes* dwelling near *Holborne-Conduit*. (In 25 Pages) *Quarto*, 1612

This *Travers* was a famous Puritan in in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, when this *Supplication* was made; who thought himſelf ſupplanted in the Benefice of the *Temple* Church, by Mr. *Richard Hooker*, and took Exceptions to ſome of his Doctrine, as appears herein; but being prohibited from Preaching, this *Supplication* to thoſe Lords, is, that he may be reſtored to his Miniſtry again, or, that they would take into Protection, under her Majeſty, his private Life. Joined hereunto, is, *The Anſwer of Mr. Richard Hooker to a Supplication preferred by Mr. Walter Travers* to the *H. H. Lords of the Privy Counſell*. Printed at the ſame Place and Time with that above. See *Hooker*'s Works, his Life by Mr. *Iſ. Walton* and *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory.

402. The Booke of *Carving* and *Sewing*: And all the *Feaſtes* in the Yeere, for the *Service* of a *Prince* or any other *Eſtate*, as yee ſhall finde each Office, the *Service* according in this Booke following. Printed by *Edw. Allde*, &c. (In 20 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo* 1613

There is a MS. Note written before this Copy by *Peter Le Neve* late *Norroy*, in theſe Words: 'There is another Edition of 'this Book, printed in the Year 1513, by '*Wynkyn de Worde*, in a *black Letter*, *Quarto*, 'which I have alſo.' It treats, 1. Of the *Tearmes of Carving*. 2. Of the *Butler* and *Panter*. 3. *The Names of Wines*. 4. *To make Ipocras*. 5. Of *Seething Fleſh*; with the Service. 6. Of *Carving of Fleſh*; with the Service.

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Service. 7. *Sauces for all Manner of Foules.* 8. The Feasts and Service from *Easter* to *Whitsontide.* 9. *Carving of all Manner of Foules*, and the Terms. 10. *The Feast from* Penticost *to* Midsommer. 11. *The Feast of S.* John *the* Baptist *to* Michaelmas. 12. *From the Feast of S.* Michael *to* Christmas. 13. *The Sewing of Fish.* 14. *The Carving of Fish.* 15. *Sauces for all Fish.* 16. Of the *Chamberlain.* 17. Of the *Marshall and the Usher.* At the End of which Chapter, it is said, there ends the Book of Carving. After this follows, 18. How to make good *Marchpane.* 19. Another Way. 20. To make *Ipocras.* 21. Another Receipt for the same.

403. The *Art* of *Jugling* or *Legerdemaine.* Wherein is *Deciphered* all the *Conveyances* of *Legerdemaine* and *Jugling*, how they are *effected*, and wherein they chiefly consist. *Cautions to beware of Cheating at Cards and Dice.* The *Detection* of the beggerly Art of *Alcumistry*, and the Foppery of foolish cousening *Charmes.* All tending to Mirth and Recreation, especially for those that desire to have the Insight and private Practice thereof. By *S. R.* Printed by *George Eld.* (In 24 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1614

This Tract is dedicated in Verse, by the Author *Sa. Rid.* to the ingenious Gentleman, and his loving Father, Mr. *William Bubb*; which is followed by an Epistle of Mr. *Bubb*'s to his said loving Friend, and adopted Son; promising to cherish him further in this his *Discovery*, by giving an *Addition* to his *Second* Treatise; but whether such second Treatise did come forth, we know not. There are some Tricks in this Tract taken out of *Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft*; and several others, which have been reprinted, and practised to this Day. He begins this Work with an Account of the *Egyptians*, or *Gypsies*; which, with the common *Cantors*, he had published some Discourse of before. He says, that certain *Egyptians*, being banished their Country, arrived in *England*, and began to gather to an Head about an Hundred Years ago, in the *Southern* Parts; and having many Slights and Devices, besides a Pretence to *Palmistry*, all clouded in their own Language; which the *English* Loiterers, who joined them, soon learned, they became much admired and followed; and they couzened the Country People of Money, Silver Spoons, Apparel, *&c.* very successfully. The first *Englishman* who took up their Trade, was *Giles Hather*; who, with his Trull *Kate Callot*, got a great Train after them in a short Space: He stiling himself the King, she the Queen of the *Egyptians*; and they rode about the Countries uncontrolled. About forty or fifty Years after, their Couzenages growing most exorbitant, a Statute was made in the first and second of *Philip* and *Mary*, That whoever transported any *Egyptians* into this Realm, should forfeit Forty Pounds. And further, that whoever took on them the Name of *Egyptians*, or frequented the Company of those Vagrants, who so called themselves, *&c.* should be adjudged Felons, without Benefit of Clergy. Many Executions nevertheless ensued, which, at last, dispersed them, for they had been sometimes above Two-hundred in a Regiment. But they still kept up their yearly Meetings at the *Devil's Arse in the Peak of Derbyshire*, at *Ketbrook* by *Black Heath*, and elsewhere. Queen *Elizabeth* revived the Statute aforesaid, in the twentieth Year of her Reign. Still they keep wandering up and down to this Day, says our Author, with discoloured Faces, and Fashion of Attire like their Founders, tho' they daily decreased, by turning into other Professions, as Pedlars, Tinkers, Jugglers, *&c.*

404. The *Praise of the Gout*: Or, The *Gout's Apology*: A *Paradox*, both pleasant and profitable. Written first in the *Latin* Tongue, by that famous and noble *Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus*, Councellor unto two Emperors, *Maximilian the First*, and *Charles the Fifth*: And now *Englished* by *William Est*, Master of Arts. Printed by *G. P.* for *John Budge.* (In 22 Leaves) *Quarto* 1617.

There is a wooden Print in the Frontispiece of this Tract, representing an old Man in an Elbow-Chair, with his Leg upon a

Stool; and upon the Phyſician's touching him, he cries out, Oh! The learned and ingenious Author had been many Years afflicted with the Gout, which ſhews him more a Philoſopher, in that, after ſuch Experience, he could give ſuch Encomiums of it. He ſays, in his Epiſtle, 'That as a 'Fool, perſuaded by fooliſh Phyſicians, I 'abſtained in vain, for the Space of Seven 'Years from the Uſe of Wines; and then, 'in my frequent Travels and Embaſſies, 'when I was conſtrained to follow my So-'vereign Lord *Cæſar Maximilian*, and 'ſometimes through thoſe Countries where 'the Waters were corrupt and contagious: 'But, at laſt, I became more wiſe, and 'found more Eaſe.' The Tranſlator, *W. Eſt*, dedicates it to The Right Worſhipfull, Sir *Bernard Grenville*, Knight, his very good Patron; whom he informs, That Age having inforced him to retire himſelf a little, and to think upon ſome convenient Recreation, whereby his drooping Spirits being refreſhed, he might be able with the more Alacrity to undergo the Burthen of thoſe grave Studies, which his Function inceſſantly requires; and this little Tract falling into his Hands, he beſtowed ſome ſpare Hours in tranſlating it into the *Engliſh* Tongue. The Tranſlator appears to have been the ſame *W. Eſt*, who, a few Years before, publiſhed certain *Sermons* upon ſome Parts of the Evangeliſts, and ſome *Lectures* upon other Parts of the New Teſtament.

405. *The Poor Vicar's Plea.* Declaring that a *Competency* of *Meanes* is due to them out of the *Tithes* of their Pariſhes, notwithſtanding the *Impropriations*. Written by *Thomas Ryves*, Doctor of the Civile Laws. Printed by *John Bill* (In 79 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1620

The Learned Author is ſaid to have been, about this Time, one of the Maſters of *Chancery*, and Judge of the *Faculties*, and *Prerogative Court* in *Ireland*; where he was held in great Eſteem for his Knowledge of the Laws. He was afterwards, in the next Reign, the King's Advocate, and Knighted by him; was a great Royaliſt, and Sufferer in the Cauſe, even of Wounds in Battle. He was alſo Author of other Works, in *Latin*; two of them upon *Naval Affairs*: And lived to the latter End of the Year 1651. As for this Treatiſe, it is dedicated to King *James*; and the Drift of it is to ſhew how poor and ſadly ſupplied the Churches were in *Ireland*. He imputes the ſole Cauſe of their Miſery to the Multitude of Beneſices long ſince taken from the daily Miniſters of the Churches, and converted to other Uſes, but principally to the Luxury of the Monks. For there was an Age when the *Chriſtian Religion* ſeemed to conſiſt only in building of *Monaſteries*, and beſtowing large Revenues upon them, which, as they were at firſt burdenſome to the Temporal State, ſo they grew baneful to the Churches, by reaſon of the Multitude of Livings they procured to be appropriated to their Uſes. Inſomuch that, as our Author obſerved, out of an old *Leiger-Book* of the Abbey of St. *Thomas*, in *Bermingham's* Tower in *Dublin*, a Houſe of no very old Foundation, within few Years after it was erected, it had procured *Fifty-nine Church-Livings*, in Part or in Whole, to be appropriated to its Uſe. And theſe *Monaſteries* corrupted, by their Example, many *Chantries*, *Colledges*, *Hoſpitals*, and *Nunneries*, to do the like. Whence Barbariſm, Ignorance, and Superſtition, ſo much prevailed, and few Churches were to be found, ſerved by other than poor Vicars and ſtipendary *Curates*, and thoſe chiefly Men of ſuch coarſe Qualifications as one can hardly ſay, Whether They are leſs worthy of better Maintenance, or ſuch Maintenance of better Men.

406. *Votivæ Angliæ*: Or, The *Deſires* and *Wiſhes* of *England*. Contained in a Patheticall *Diſcourſe*, preſented to the *King* on *New-Yeares* Day laſt. Wherein are unfolded and repreſented many ſtrong *Reaſons*, and true and ſolid *Motives*, to perſwade his *Majeſtie* to draw his Royall Sword, for the Reſtoring of the *Pallatynat*, and *Electorat*, to his Son in Law Prince *Fredericke*, to his onely Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, and their Princely Iſſue. Againſt the Treacherous *Uſurpation*, and formidable *Ambition* and *Power* of the *Emperour*, the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, who unjuſtlie poſſeſſe and detaine the ſame. Together with ſome *Aphoriſmes* returned, with a large Intereſt, to the *Pope*, in

in Anſwer to His. Written by *S. R. N. J.* Printed at *Utrecht.* (In 22 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1624

This excellent Author, who ſubſcribes himſelf by thoſe Initial Letters, was Mr. *Thomas Scot*, who had publiſhed many ſhrewd Pamphlets againſt the *Spaniſh* Match, and in Favour of the *Palatinat*. It is dedicated to Prince *Charles*, and he dates it at the End from his Chamber in *London*. We take this to be the ſame *Thomas Scot*, who was murdered not long after in *Holland*, as may hereafter be more particularly obſerved.

407. The Life of Mr. *Bernard Gilpin*, ſometimes Perſon of *Houghton* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. A Man, for his Piety and Integritie, famous and renowned over all the *Northern* Parts of this Kingdome of *England*. Faithfully collected and written in *Latine* by the Right Reverend Father in God, *George Carleton*, late Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; and publiſhed for the Satisfaction of his Countrimen, by whom it was long ſince earneſtly deſired. Tranſlated by *William Freake*, Miniſter. Printed by *William Jones*, &c. In 34 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1629

This Life is dedicated by the Author to *William Beluſis*, Knight, to whoſe Importunity the World is indebted for this Publication. There is alſo a Copy of Verſes upon Mr. *Gilpin*, by a Kinſman; in which Mention is made of the ſaid Mr. *Gilpin*'s having refuſed a Biſhoprick. Upon this Particular Biſhop *Nicholſon* thus obſerves, where ſpeaking of this Life of our *Northern* Apoſtle, *Bernard Gilpin*, Rector of *Houghton*, written in elegant *Latin* by his grateſull Scholar Dr. *George Charleton*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; he goes on thus: 'There is one 'Paſſage in this Hiſtory which has been ill 'applied by ſome of its Readers. The Re'fuſal of the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* has been 'interpreted as an Inſtance and Argument 'of the good Man's mean Opinion of the 'Order of Epiſcopacy: Whereas (not to 'mention the extraordinary Humility where'with he is noted to have been endowed, 'they who know the Values of that Biſho'prick, and the Rectory of *Houghton*, will 'eaſily apprehend there might be other 'Motives to incline one to Modeſty upon 'ſuch an Offer.'

408. *God's Love* to *Mankind*. Manifeſted, by *Diſproving* his *Abſolute Decree* for their *Damnation*. (In 58 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1633

This Treatiſe is learnedly handled againſt the Opinion of Abſolute *Reprobation*, and other pernicious Tenets in the *Sublapſarian* Doctrine, which is ready to drive ſome weak Minds or other to Deſpair, Deſtruction, *&c.*

409. A Short *Treatiſe* of *Politike Power*, and of the true *Obedience* which *Subjects* owe to *Kings*, and other Civil *Governours*. Chap. 1. Whereof *Politike Power* groweth; wherefore it was *Ordained*, and the right *Uſe* and *Duty* of the ſame. 2. Whether *Kings*, *Princes*, and other *Governours*, have an *Abſolute Power* and Authority over their *Subjects*. 3. Whether *Kings*, *Princes*, and other Politike Governours, be ſubject to *God's Laws*, and the poſitive *Laws* of their *Countries*. 4. In what Things, and how farre *Subjects* are bound to *obey* their *Princes* and *Governours*. 5. Whether all the Subjects *Goods* be the *Emperour*'s, or *King*'s own; and that they may lawfully take them as their own. 6. Whether it be lawfull to *depoſe* an *evill* Governour, and kill a *Tyrant*. 7. What *Confidence* is to be given to Princes and Potentates. Compoſed by me, *D. J. P. B. R. W.* Printed in the Year 1556, and now reprinted (In 35 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1639

This Tract was written by Dr. *John Poynet*, ſometime Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and upon the Deprivation of *Stephen Gardiner* was tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, in *March* 1551. But, when Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, he left the Kingdom, and died at *Straſburg* in *Germany*, *April* 11, 1556. *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Vol. V.

410. An Humble *Remonſtrance* to the High Court of *Parliament*; By a Dutifull Sonne of the Church. Printed for *Nathaniel Butler*. (In 23 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1640

This Remonſtrance, againſt any Alterations that were or might be offered to be made in the *Church Liturgy*, is ſaid in the Title-

Title-page of this Copy to have been written by Dr. *Hall*, Biſhop of *Exon*, and publiſhed *January* 30, 1640.

411. No Poſt from Heaven, nor yet from Hell: But a True Relation, and Animadverſion, written and ſent as an Antidote to all Unbelieving Browniſts, Profane Anabaptiſts, Schiſmatical Monſters, and ſuch like Incendiaries of the State. Proving by *Hiſtories*, and apparently ſhewing by *Records* and *Examples*, that his Majeſties *Taxations* have not been unuſuall, nor his *Government* Tyrannicall, as hath been through impious and impudent Pamphlets, by ſome of them malitiouſly invented, diabolically printed, and, by a moſt ſuperſtitious and unheard-of Way, protected, divulged and ſcattered Abroad. Dedicated to his Sacred Majeſty. By *G. A.* Printed at *Oxford* (In 18 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1643

412. A more exact and perfect Relation of the Treachery, Apprehenſion, Conviction, Condemnation, Confeſſion, and Execution of *Francis Pitt*, aged 65, who was Executed in *Smithfield*, on *Saturday*, *October* 12, 1644, for Endeavouring to betray the Garriſon of *Ruſhall-Hall* in the County of *Stafford* to the Enemy. Publiſhed by *Ithiel Smart* and *Edward Archer*, two Miniſters, who were acquainted with him in his Life, and preſent with him at his Death. By ſpecial Command. Printed for *John Field*, *October* 18. (In 16 Pages) *Quarto*, 1644

413. A Looking-Glaſs for the Parliament: Wherein they may ſee the Face of their unjuſt, illegal, treaſonous and rebellious Practices, 1. Againſt Almighty *God*. 2. Againſt their *King*. 3. Againſt the Fundamental *Lawes* of the Kingdome. 4. Againſt their own *Oaths* and *Covenants*. Argued between two learned *Judges*; the one remaining an Exile beyond the Seas; the other a Priſoner for his Allegiance and Fidelity to his King and Country. Printed in the Eighth Yeer of the Parliament of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. (In 25 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1648

The Epiſtle to the Reader is ſubſcribed *D. J.* and *R. H.* which probably are intended for *David Jynkins* and Sir *Robert Holborne*.

414. The ſeveral *Speeches* of Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, and *Arthur* Lord *Capel*, upon the Scaffold, immediately before their Execution, on *Friday* the 9th of *March*. Alſo the ſeveral Exhortations and Conferences with them upon the Scaffold, by Dr. *Sibbald*, Mr. *Bolton*, and Mr. *Hodges*. Publiſhed by ſpeciall Authority. Printed for *Peter Cole*, &c. (In 22 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1649

415. *Mutatus Polemo*: The Horrible Stratagem of the *Jeſuits* lately practiſed in *England*, during the Civil Wars, and now diſcovered by a *Reclaimed Romaniſt*, imployed before as a *Workman* of the *Miſſion* from his *Holineſs*. Wherein the *Royaliſt* may ſee himſelf out-witted and forlorn, while the *Presbyterian* is cloſed with, and all to draw on the Holy Cauſe. A *Relation* ſo particular, and with ſuch exquiſite Characters of Truth ſtampt upon it, that each of our *Three* Grand *Parties* may here feel how each others *Pulſes* beat. Alſo a Diſcovery of a Plot for a ſpeedy Invaſion. By *A. B. Novice*. Publiſhed by ſpecial Command. Printed for *Robert White*, *Dec.* 5. (In 40 Pages) *Quarto*, 1650

416. His Highneſs's *Speech* to the *Parliament* in the *Painted-Chamber*, at their Diſſolution, upon *Monday* the 22d of *January*, 1654. Publiſhed to prevent Miſtakes and falſe Copies. Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to his Highneſs, *&c.* (In 19 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1654

There is an Order of Councill, at the End of this Speech, that none preſume to print it, but the ſaid *Henry Hills*, and ſuch as he ſhall Imploy and Appoint in that Behalf. Signed *William Jeſſop*, Clerk of the Councill.

417. A Brief *Anſwer* unto the *Cambridge Moddel*: Which is to go to the two *Univerſities*, to be read by all the Doctors and Students, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows; as they will Anſwer it to God. And likewiſe this is to go to all thoſe they call Gentlemen of the Countreys to whom this Moddel is directed; from the *Doctors*, for Money to maintaine the *Students*. And is to go amongſt all the Prieſts that are, and have been heretofore made Miniſters by the ſame Doctors of Colleges, now planted themſelves in the Countreys. And this is to go amongſt all the Country-Men; that

that they may see the Fruits of the Learning from the Doctors; which Fruit is *Perſecution*. And alſo, that they and all People might come to learn of Christ the Prophet which is raiſed up, which doth *enlighten every Man which comes into the World*, high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, male and female; that all through him might believe, who is the Covenant of God, the Leader of the People whom they ſhould hear; who reconciles, in one, things in Heaven and things on Earth; who brings into Unity, which is, in the Light, which every Man which comes into the World lightned with all, which is Chriſt, that *Abraham* and the Prophets ſpake of; he being enjoyed, the End is ſeen. By *E. M. London*, Printed for *Thomas Simmons*, at the *Bull* and *Mouth*, neer *Alderſgate*. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto* 1658

The Author of this Tract was a Quaker, tho' his Name ſeems not to have been known by any of the *Friends* who have mentioned it. The Pamphlet, it is deſigned to anſwer, is before mentioned in this Catalogue.

418. General *Monck*'s Laſt *Letter* to his Excellency the Lord *Fleetwood*, Declaring his Reſolution to ſend Col. *Wilkes*, Lieut. Col. *Clobery*, Major *Knight*, by Way of Treaty in order to a happy Union between the two Armies of *England* and *Scotland*. With two other Letters from Perſons of Honour, ſignifying great Hopes of Peace, and a Prohibition of either Armies proceeding any further in their March. Publiſhed by his Excellencies ſpeciall Command. Printed for *Fra. Smith*, &c. (In 4 Pages) *Quarto* 1659

419. His Majeſties *Reaſon* why he cannot in *Conſcience* conſent to *aboliſh* the *Epiſcopal* Government. Delivered by Him in Writing to the Divines that attend the Honorable Commiſſioners of Parliament at the Treaty at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*: With the Anſwer of the ſaid Divines, delivered to his Majeſtie in Writing, *October* 3. 1648. Printed for *Abel Roper*, &c. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto* 1660

420. A Full and Certain *Account* of the laſt great *Wind* and *Storm*: Being a Narrative of the ſeveral *Accidents*, *Hurts*, and *Damages* cauſed thereby, both by *Sea* and *Land*, at *Home* and *Abroad*. Collected out of Domeſtick and Foreign *Letters*, with a great deal of Care and Diligence; and faithfully Publiſhed. Printed by *J. B.* for *Dorman Newman*, *&c.* (In 16 Pages) *Quarto* ——

It may be found that this Pamphlet was printed in the Year 1661, by that Expreſſion of the Author's, P. 6, where he ſays, 'This famous Wind happened on *February* '18; ſome Days before which, deceaſed 'that moſt noble Royal Lady, the Queen 'of *Bohemia* his Majeſties onely Aunt, who 'had for ſo many Years been abſent from 'this Kingdom, and was driven and toſſed 'through a Sea of Troubles; ſo that it may 'be thought theſe Winds gave Notice that 'ſhe was gone to her Reſt.' Several fatal Accidents, occaſioned by this Storm, in Town and Country, are here related; particularly of Mr. *Blith*, a *Lincolnſhire* Attorney, who, though adviſed not to paſs by a tottering Houſe in *Pickadilly*, could not avoid it; ſo was buried in its Ruins. And the Lady *Saltenſtone*, as her Maid was dreſſing her in her Lodgings near the *Fleece* Tavern in *Covent-Garden*, was bruiſed to Death with the Fall of a Chimney. The *Thames* flowed not in ſixteen Hours together, nor was there the leaſt Sign of any Alteration in the Tide; ſo that the River was fordable in many Places; juſt as it happened before the Death of *Oliver*. In the Earl of *Eſſex* his Park in *Hertfordſhire*, no leſs than 500 Trees were blown down, and it did the like Miſchief in many other Places, as *Lincoln's-Inn* Walks, *Moorfields*, *&c.* At *Weſton* in *Cambridgeſhire*, it blew a Man off from a Barn up into the Air, and, after having twirled and ſpun him about ſome Time, ſet him down lightly upon the Ground. It blew Sollicitor *Cook*'s Head off from *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and it might have been loſt in the *Thames*, but it was carefully recovered, and ſtaked up again in the ſame Place. Much Damage it alſo did by Sea as well as by Land, and in *France* and *Holland* as well as in *England*.

421. *A Wonder of Wonders*: Or a *Metamorphoſis* of *Fair Faces*; voluntarily *transformed* into *Foul Viſages*. Publiſhed by *R. Smith*, Gent. Printed by *J. G.* for *Richard Royſton*. (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto* 1662

This Pamphlet is written againſt the ſtrange and whimſical Faſhion, which prevailed amongſt the Ladies at that Time, of adorning, or diſguiſing their Faces with Abundance of black *Patches*, cut into various Forms and Figures. The Author dedicates his Work, To the young Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Society of *Black-ſpotted Faces*, newly taken into the Fellowſhip of the Company of *Painter Stainers*, &c. But he has ſaid Nothing, from all his Fathers and Philoſophers, that would be more likely to diſcountenance and deter theſe phantaſtical Affectations, than that Story in Sir *Kenelm Digby*; who informs us, that, ſoon after this *Faſhion* of *Patching* appeared at Court, a Lady with Child, was ſo deeply moved at the Sight of one of thoſe new-ſpotted Faces, that ſhe was delivered of a Daughter, whoſe Face was naturally ſo ſpotted, or marked over with black Patches. But the Females were now grown to be ſignificant in the Shapes of them, as appears here in one of the Poems before this Pamphlet, where the Poet ſays,

And yet the Figures Emblematick are,
Which our She-wanton's ſo delight to wear;
The *Coach* and *Horſes*, with the hurrying Wheels,
Shew both their giddy Brains, and gadding Heels;
The *Croſs* and *Croſlets* in their Face combind,
Demonſtrate the croſs Humours of their Mind;
The *Bias* of the *Bowls* doth let us ſee,
Theyl play a Rubbers, and the Miſtreſſe be;
The *Rings* do in them the Black Art diſplay,
That Spirits in their Circles raiſe and lay:
But Oh, the fable *Starrs* that you diſcry!
Benights their Day, and ſpeakes their darkned Skie;
The ſeveral *Moons* that in their Faces range;
Eclipſe fond *Proteus* in his various Change;
The long *Slaſh*, and the ſhort, report the Scars
Their Skirmiſhes have gaind in *Cupid*'s Wars.
For thoſe that into Patches clip the *Crown*;
'Tis Time to take ſuch Pride and Treaſon down.

422. *Conſiderations* and *Propoſals* in Order to the *Regulation* of the *Preſs*: Together with divers Inſtances of *Treaſonous* and *Seditious Pamphlets*, proving the *Neceſſity* thereof. By *Roger L'Eſtrange*. Printed by *A. C. June* 3. (In 26 Leaves) *Quarto* 1663

423. The Surveyor of the Preſs Surveyd: or Mr. *Roger L'Eſtrange* appearing in his proper Colours: Being an Account of ſome (of his many irregular Actions, before and ſince he was in that Imployment, which may ſerve as an *Anſwer* in part to his Book, entitled, *Conſiderations and Propoſals in Order to the Regulation of the Preſs*. Recommended to all that have, or may have to do with this Gentleman. By a Wellwiſher to his King and Country. (In 20 Pages) *Quarto* 1663

424. *Don Juan Lamberto*, Or a Comical *Hiſtory* of our *late Times*: Wherein the ſubtil Contrivances, Arch-Rogueries, and villanous Treaſons of the late notorious *Knaves*, under ſeveral feigned Names, are Jovially diſcovered, and to the very Life diſplayed. In Two Parts. By *Montelion*, Knight of the Oracle, &c. The Third Edition Corrected. Printed for *Henry Marſh*. (In 44 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto* 1664

The comical Author of this Hiſtory divides it into Chapters of Adventures like the old Romances, and the principal Perſons in the Rebellion, whom he treats of, and of whom he has ſeveral Stories, not to be met with elſewhere, are, 1. *Cromwell* the Soldan; and, 2. His Son *Richard*, the Meek Knight. 3. Sir *Harry Vane*, Knight of the Myſtical Allegories. 4. Sir *Lambert*, Knight of the *Golden Tulip*. 5. Sir *Fleetwood*, the Contemptible Knight. 6. The Grim Giant *Deſborough*. 7. Don *Hazlerigo*, Knight of the Hot-Head. 8. *Scoto* the Negromancer. 9. The *Seer Wareſton*. 10. The Giant *Huſonius*. 11. The Loyal Knight (*Monck*) 12. The Seer *Liſle*. 13. Sir *Baxtero*, Knight of the Lions. 14. Sir *Ludlojus*, Knight of the *Green Powdering-Tub*. 15. The Giant *Okey*. 16. *Hugh Petres*, and the Butcher's Wife. 17. The Vandal *Vennezo*. 18. Sir *Haringtonius*, Knight of the *Rota*. 19. Sir *Harry Martino*, Knight of the Turpentine Pill; Sir *Munſonius*, the Slovenly Knight, &c.

425. A *Looking Glaſs* for *England*: Being an Abſtract of the Bloody Maſſacre in *Ireland*, by the Inſtigation of the Jeſuites Prieſts and Friars, who were chief Promoters of thoſe horrid Murthers, prodigious Cruelties, barbarous Villanies, and inhumane Practices, executed by the *Iriſh Papiſts* upon the *Engliſh Proteſtants* in the Year 1642. As alſo, A Brief Apology in the Behalf of the *Proteſtants* in the Vallies of

of *Piedmont*; with a Narrative of the barbarous Butcheries, inhumane Cruelties, moſt execrable and unheard of Villanies, perpetrated on them by the Popiſh Party during the Heat of the late Maſſacre in *April* 1655, ſtirred up by the Malice and Inſtigation of the Devil acting in the Popiſh Clergy. (In 30 Pages) *Quarto* 1667

426. *Liberty of Conſcience the Magiſtrates Intereſt:* Or the grant of *Liberty of Conſcience* to Perſons of *different Perſwaſions*, in Matters of *Religion*, is the greateſt *Intereſt* of all Kingdoms and States, and particularly of *England*; *Aſſerted* and *Proved*. By a Proteſtant, a Lover of Peace, and the Proſperity of the Nation. (In 22 Pages) *Quarto* 1668

427. The *Act* of *Parliament* againſt *Religious Meetings* proved to be the *Biſhop's Act:* Or a Letter of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his Fellow-Biſhops to promote the Perſecution intended by it. *Printed*, to ſave the Trouble of *Copying* it out. With ſome Animadverſions thereupon. (In one Sheet) *Quarto* 1670

428. The *Downfall* of *Coffee-Pence*: Or a true and perfect Account of the ſhort Life, deſerved Death, and deſired Burial of Coffee-Pence and Half-pence. With the ſad Lamentation of their Owners, on their Changing them for Silver; in purſuance of his Majeſties Gracious Proclamation, publiſhed the 19th of this Inſtant *Auguſt*, 1672. Printed for *Phil. Brookſby*, &c. (In one Sheet) *Quarto* 1672

In this Diſcourſe, the Author treats, 1. Of a *Penny* in general; its Etymology, ancient Form, Value, &c. 2. Of the firſt Occaſion of private Perſons ſtamping *Half Pence* and *Pence*. 3. The Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies thence ariſing. 4. The Advantages accruing by a general *Farthing*; and the Lamentation of the Owners of the *prohibited* Pence and Half-Pence. He has this Obſervation upon our ancient *Penny*, P. 4. 'From the *Saxon's* Time, unto the Reign 'of King *Edward* III, our *Engliſh Penny*, 'like a *Good Fryday* Bun, had a Croſs ſtruck 'ſo deep into the Midſt of it, that you 'might break out any Part of *Four*, to buy 'what you had Occaſion for, which was in 'thoſe Times their *Farthing*, ſo called from '*High Dutch*, whence our *Engliſh* Tongue 'derives its Pedegree, *Ein Viertding*; that 'is, a *fourth Thing*, or Part.'

429. An *Eſſay* to *Revive* the *Antient Education* of *Gentlewomen* in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues. With an *Anſwer* to the *Objections* againſt this Way of Education. (In 22 Leaves) *Quarto* 1673

There are many Examples of learned and accompliſhed Women mentioned in this Treatiſe: And there was a School now erected at *Tottenham High-Croſs*, where Mrs. *Makin*, the Governeſs, ſome Time Tutoreſs to Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to King *Charles* I, now propoſed to inſtruct young Ladies in Arts and Languages, for Twenty Pounds *per Annum*, or ſomething more, if ſuch Improvement be made in the Tongues and other Qualifications here mentioned.

430. My Lord *Lucas* his *Speech* in the Houſe of Peers, *Feb.* 22. 167$\frac{9}{1}$, upon the Reading of the Subſidie Bill the Second Time, in the Preſence of his Majeſty. *Middleburg*, Printed (In one Sheet) *Quarto* 1673

This excellent *Speech* was publickly burnt by the common Hangman. The Editor ſays, He would have ſubmitted himſelf to the *ſame Fate*, if his Death might have prevented thoſe *fatal Calamities*, and *evil Counſels* which have ſince been ſo deſtructive to this Kingdom: 'But, adds he, God has 'taken him from an *ungrateful Generation*, 'and from the Evil to come, and left us to 'lament the Loſs of ſo worthy a Patriot.' His Objection to the Lords in this Speech, is, that the Commons had ſent them a Bill up, and were preparing others, for Money for his Majeſty, amounting to little leſs than Three Millions, which prodigious Sum he exhorts their Lordſhips to moderate. At the End, there is a Liſt of the *Miſchiefs* which happened ſince this *Speech*, as follows: 1. The ſtrict Alliance with *France*. 2. Shutting up the *Exchequer*. 3. Breach of the *Tripple League*; and the preſent War. 4. Fall of *Lands*, and Decay of *Trade*. 5. Sending great Forces into *France*, under *French* and Popiſh Commanders. 6. Loſſes at Sea by *Privateers*, amounting to at leaſt two *Millions*. 7. Corrupting of Members of Parliament. 8. Drunken and debauched Elections. 9. Oppreſſion in Quartering of Soldiers. 10. *Preſſing* of *Engliſhmen* to ſerve in *Foreign* Wars. 11. Loſs of many Thouſand *Seamen* in this War. 12. Making

king Papiſts, Atheiſts, and *French* Penſioners, Miniſters of State. 13. Great Conſumption of the Treaſure by the *Privy-Purſe*. 14. Sending ignorant and ill-affected Embaſſadors Abroad. 15. Debauching the Nation by *Maſquerades*. 16. *Favour* ſhewn to Papiſts at Court. 17. Continuing *Salaries* to thoſe that refuſed to abjure *Tranſubſtantiation*. 18. *Diſſentions* at Sea between *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh* Officers. 19. Encouragement of *Popery* in *Ireland*. 20. Defrauding the *Seamen* of their Pay. 21. Grievous *Taxes* in the moſt grievous *Poverty*. 22. Suſpending of Penal *Laws* againſt Popiſh *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*. 23. Loſs of the *Dominion* of the *Seas* by the Treachery of the *French*. 24. His Highneſs refuſing the *Teſts* for Prevention of Popery, and marrying a Papiſt (Niece to a Cardinal) to the great Strengthening of the Popiſh and *French* Intereſt. 25. Making a *French Lieutenant-General*, to the great Diſhonour of the *Engliſh* Nobility. 26. Making *French Cazwell* an *Engliſh* Dutcheſs, to the great Diſgrace of the Ladies and Gentlewomen of this Nation.

431. A Brief *Memorial*, wherein the Preſent Caſe of the Ancient Leaſees, the Inward Pawn Sub-Tenants, and the Outward Pawn Preſent Tenants, of the *Royal Exchange* is truly, and impartially ſtated. As alſo, Some Animadverſions and remarkable Paſſages, relating to the preſent and publick *Revenue* of the ſaid Place: With ſome modeſt *Propoſals* for the future *Benefit*, and moſt certain *Advantage* of the ſame. Humbly preſented to the Conſideration of the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Viner* Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of the City of *London*; and to the reſt of the Right Worſhipful and Worthy Members of the Grand Committee for *Greſham* Affairs. By an unfeigned Well-wiſher to the flouriſhing Eſtate of the City of *London*, and in particular to all the preſent Inhabitants of the *Royal Exchange*, within the ſaid Place. (In 26 Leaves) *Quarto* 1674

At the End of this Tract is a *Latin* Diſtich, importing that, Whoever would know the Author's Name, he may ſeek it in theſe Letters, *D E H N K R V Y*. Quere, if the Author's Name was not *Henry Duke*, and compare it with Page 17, where it is ſaid —— 'The next Court-Day comes Mr. *Rutland*, Mr. *Duke*, and Mr. *Henry Joyce*, 'according to the Court's own Order and 'Appointment, with full Power and Au'thority from the reſt of their Neighbours, '*&c.* to repreſent the whole, *&c.*'

432. *England's Great Happineſs*: Or a *Dialogue* between *Content* and *Complaint*. Wherein is demonſtrated that the great Part of our Complaints are Cauſeleſs. And we have more *Wealth* now, than ever we had at any Time before the *Reſtauration* of his ſacred Majeſtie. By a real and hearty Lover of his King and Country. Printed by *J. M.* for *Edward Croft*, &c. (In 15 Leaves) *Quarto* 1677

The Author of this Treatiſe was *John Houghton*, Fellow of the *Royal Society*. See his *Collection* of *Letters*. P. 96.

433. The *Jeſuites* Manner of *Conſecrating* both the *Perſons* and *Weapons* imployed for the Murdering Kings and Princes, by them accounted Hereticks: Being Matter of Fact. Tranſlated out of *Hoſpinian's* Hiſtory of the Jeſuites, *P. 366*. Printed at *Zurich* in the Year 1670. (In 6 Leaves) *Quarto* 1678

434. The *Tryal* and *Execution* of Father *Henry Garnet*, Superior Provincial of the *Jeſuites* in *England*, for the *Powder-Treaſon*. Collected by *Roger Widdrington*, a *Roman* Catholick, and by him addreſſed unto Pope *Paul* the Fifth; Printed in *Latin*, 1616, in his Appendix to his *Humble Supplication*, P. 124; and thence Tranſlated. Now publiſhed to make it further Evident, that it is no New Thing for Jeſuites to curſe and ban, to juſtifie a Lie. Printed for *Jonathan Robinſon*, &c. (In 2 Sheets) *Folio* 1679

435. A ſeaſonable *Memorial*, in ſome *Hiſtorical Notes* upon the Liberties of the *Preſs* and *Pulpit*: With the Effects of Popular *Petitions*, *Tumults*, *Aſſociations*, *Impoſtures*, and Diſſaffected Common-Councils. To all good Subjects, and true Proteſtants. Printed for *Hen. Brome*, &c. (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto* 1680

436. The *Laſt Speech* of Mr. *Oliver Plunket* Titular *Primate* of *Ireland*: Who was *Executed* at *Tyburn*, on *Friday* the 1ſt of this Inſtant *July*, 1681. *Written by his own Hand*. Printed by *N. Thompſon*. (In one Sheet) *Folio* 1681.

437.

Continued. NUMBER XXXI.

437. *A Tryal of Witches*, at the Aſſizes held at *Bury St. Edmonds* for the County of *Suffolk*; on the Tenth Day of *March*, 1664. Before Sir *Matthew Hale*, Knt. then Lord *Chief Baron* of his Majeſties Court of *Exchequer*. Taken by a Perſon then attending the Court. Printed for *William Shrewſbery*, at the *Bible* in *Duck-Lane*. (In 22 Leaves) *Octavo* 1682

Here it appears, that one *Roſe Cullender* and *Amy Duny*, two poor old Widows of *Leyſtoff* in the County aforeſaid, were indicted for bewitching ſome Girls and a Youth, named *Elizabeth*, *Anne*, and *William Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Suſan Chandler*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, who were all ſubject to violent Fits; occaſioned, as the Evidence ſets forth, by thoſe reputed Witches, who being thereby Convicted, and the Judge having acquainted the Jury, they had only two Things to enquire after, *Firſt*, Whether theſe Children were bewitched? *Secondly*, Whether the Priſoners were Guilty of it? They, within Half an Hour, brought in their Verdict, *both Guilty*. And this was on *Tueſday* in the Afternoon, *March* 13, 1662, as the Date is printed at the End of the Trial: And the ſaid Women were executed on *Monday* the ſeventeenth of *March* following; but they confeſſed Nothing. In ſhort, it is a ſtrange Trial for a Man of Judge *Hales*'s reputed Knowledge and Wiſdom, to have pronounced Sentence in. Moſt of the fooliſh Tales, by Nurſes and ignorant Goſſips aſcribed to Witches, are here uſed as Evidence againſt thoſe two poor Women; as the Catching of a Toad in a Blanket, and Burning it in the Fire; and *Amy Duny*'s Appearing next Day all lamentably ſcorched in her Face, Legs and Thighs: Juſt like the Cat in one of *Cleveland*'s Poems, which having had one of its Legs cut off, it proved, next Day, to be an old Woman's Arm, as a *Lancaſter* Grand Jury, ſays he, will report. Then there were ſome Quantities of crooked Pins produced, and atteſted to be vomited up by thoſe Girls, in their Fits; and a Two-penny Nail, that was thruſt into one of their Mouths, by a Bee! with ſeveral other ſuch Abſurdities; beſides the filthy Search and Diſcovery of ſeveral Teats, or Excreſcences like them, upon *Roſe Cullender*, at which ſhe was ſuppoſed to ſuckle her Imps. Serjeant *Keeling* ſeemed very rationally unſatisfied with all this Stuff; and the Draughtſman of this Trial, did very well not to publiſh the Opinions herein by him aſcribed to Sir *Thomas Brown*, about Witchcraft, before that learned Man was ſecure from Contradicting them, he being newly dead, or dying, juſt as this Pamphlet was publiſhed; which was ſix Years after the Death of Sir *Matthew Hale*. There was an Experiment made, P. 45, upon which the Lord *Cornwallis*, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, and Serjeant *Keeling*, openly proteſted, that they did believe the whole Tranſaction of this Buſineſs was a mere Impoſture. This put the Court and all Perſons into a Stand; till the Credulity or Prejudice of the Witneſſes over-ruled, and the *Condemnation* paſſed as aforeſaid; and then, it was affirmed that the Children were perfectly reſtored from their Fits, to their Speech and Health.

438. *The Preſent Intereſt of England*: Or a Confutation of the *Whiggiſh* Conſpiratours *Anti-Monyan* Principle. Shewing, From Reaſon and Experience, The Ways to make the Government Safe; the King, Great; the People, Happy; Money Plentiful, and Trade Flouriſh. Printed for *Thomas Dring*, &c. (In 24 Leaves) *Quarto* 1683.

By a Note written in the Title-Page of this Copy, it appears, that the Author of the ſaid Pamphlet was Dr. *John Nalſon*. Accordingly he ſubſcribes his Epiſtle to the Reader with the laſt Letters of the ſaid Name, *N. N.*

439. *The Penitent Recognition of* Joſeph's *Brethren*: A *Sermon*, occaſioned by *Elizabeth Ridgeway*; who, for the *Petit-Treaſon* of *Poyſoning her Huſband*, was on *March* 24 1683-4, according to the Sentence of the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Street*, one of his Majeſties Judges of Aſſize for the *Midland* Circuit, *Burnt* at *Leiceſter*: When and where, were alſo Executed *William Tanneſly* and *Edward Orton*, for *Burglary*; Sons of one Woman. To which is prefixed a full *Relation* of the *Woman's Fact*, *Tryal*, *Carriage* and *Death*. By *John Newton*, A. M. Sometime *Fellow* of

Clare-Hall, Cambridge; and now *Vicar* of St. *Martin's, Leiceſter. Lond.* Printed for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's Church-yard.* (In 19 Leaves) *Quarto* 1684

440. *Seaſonable Adviſe* to the Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Freeholders of *England*, concerning *Parliaments* and the preſent Elections. By a Divine of the Church of *England.* Printed for *Walter Kettilby*, &c. (In 21 Leaves) *Quarto* 1685

There is written upon the Title-Page of this Copy, that the Author of it was Dr. *Grove* of St. *Andrew Underſhaft.*

441. *What Manner of Men* the *Clergy* of the *Church* of *England*, and their Creatures, are, briefly *ſhown*, in a *Letter* to one of the late *Anſwerers* to a *Letter* to a *Diſſenter:* Occaſioned by a *Poſtſcript* to the ſaid *Anſwer.* Printed for *T. Jones.* (In 12 Pages) *Quarto* 1687

That *Anſwerer* of a *Letter to a Diſſenter*, having, in a *Poſtſcript* thereto, threatened, upon a freſh Provocation, to give a *Deſcription of the Clergy of the Church of England, and their Creatures*, this Author anticipates him, and writes in their Juſtification.

442. An *Account* of the *whole Proceedings* againſt the Right Reverend Father in God *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, before the Lord *Chancellor*, and the other *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.* (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto* 1688

Setting forth the ſaid Biſhop's Reaſons, by his Learned Council, why he could not ſo peremptorily ſuſpend Dr. *John Sharp* of St. *Giles's* from Preaching as King *James* had enjoined, by his Letter to his Lordſhip, dat. *June* 14, 1686. His Lordſhip was therefore cited, the 9th of *Auguſt* following, before the Commiſſioners; and, on the 6th of *September* next enſuing, the whole Proceeding ended, with a Suſpenſion of the Biſhop himſelf.

443. A Brief *Vindication* of the *Parliamentary Proceedings* againſt the late King *James* II. Proving that the *Right* of *Succeſſion* to *Government* (by Nearneſs of *Blood*) is not by the Law of *God* and *Nature*, but by *Politick* Inſtitution. With ſeveral Inſtances of *Depoſing Evil Princes*; ſhewing, That no *Prince* hath any *Title Originally*, but by the *Conſent* of the *People.* Licenſed *July* 20, 1689. *J. Fraſer.* Printed and ſold by *Randall Taylor* at *Stationers-Hall.* In 36 Leaves) *Quarto* 1689

444. A *Letter* from Major General *Ludlow* to Sir *E. S.* comparing the *Tyranny* of the firſt four Years of King *Charles* the *Martyr*, with the *Tyranny* of the four Years Reign of the late *Abdicated* King. Occaſioned by the reading Dr. *Pelling's* Leced *Harangues* upon the 30th of *January*, being the *Anniverſary*, or General *Madding Day.* (In 16 Leaves) *Amſterdam* *Quarto* 169[illegible]

445. The *Life* of Captain *James Whitney.* Containing his moſt Remarkable *Robberies* and other *Adventures*, &c. Continued to his *Execution* near *Smithfield* Bars, the Firſt of *February* 1692-3. Printed for *A. R.* near *Temple-Bar.* (In 17 Leaves) *Quarto* ——

446. King *William* and Queen *Mary Conquerors:* Or a Diſcourſe, endeavouring to prove that Their *Majeſties* have on their Side, againſt the late *King*, the Principal *Reaſons* that make *Conqueſt* a good *Title:* Shewing alſo how this is conſiſtent with that *Declaration* of *Parliament*, King *James Abdicated* the *Government*, &c. Written with an eſpecial Regard to ſuch as have hitherto refuſed the *Oath*, and yet encline to allow of the *Title* of *Conqueſt*, when conſequent to a juſt *War.* Licenſed 11 *January* 1693 *Edmund Bohun.* Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, &c. (In 34 Leaves) *Quarto* 1693

447. An *Account* of Mr. *Blount's* late Book, entituled, King *William* and Queen *Mary Conquerors*; ordered by the Houſe of Commons to be Burnt by the Hand of the Common-Hangman, on *Wedneſday* Morning next, at Ten of the Clock in the *Palace-Yard*, *Weſtminſter.* The Second Edition. (In 20 Pages) *Quarto* 1693

448. *Juſtice* the beſt *Support* to *Government:* Or a brief Account of ſome Publick Tranſactions during the Late War. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto* 1697

Thi

This is dedicated to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, by that industrious Discoverer of many Corruptions in the Administration of those Times, *Robert Crosfeild.* And here are the whole Proceedings of Mr. *Everett's Discoveries* of the like Nature, with relation to the *Admiralty* and *Navy-Office*; for which he had an Hundred Pounds given him, which did not hear countervail the Charges he had been at. And though, by Vertue of a Commission given him, he made *one Hundred* and *Thirty Seizures* of *Anchors*, *Cables*, *Cordage*, *Timber*, *Ammunition*, and *Ordnance*, which delivered into the King's Stores, he was but slandered, abused, and ill-treated for his Services, by the Navy-Board, the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office, and those he detected were cherished and harboured from Justice. Here is moreover a great Deal of Loss and Damage charged upon the Admiralty by their *Embargoes*, and their insufficient Guard of the Seas, whereby an Hundred Ships of War and some Thousand Merchant-Ships were lost. The barbarous Usage of our sick Seamen in the Hospitals, &c. is also hinted at, with the dangerous Consequences of some unjustifiable Practices in the *Post-Office*, relating to secret Correspondences with *France*, &c. He concludes, with applying some of Sir *Robert Cotton's* Reflections, in his Life of King *Henry* III, and makes this Note upon one of them at the Bottom of the Page in his own Words: 'In our Age, the wicked Practise of *buying* and *selling Employments*, as it were by Inch of Candle, who bids most, has been of fatal Consequence to the whole Body of this Nation; and the only Reason why publick Crimes have not been looked into? All, generally speaking, partaking of the Spoil; for it is notorious to the World, that, as *Employments* have advanced in Value, the Misery of the People has encreased. But if my Lord Mayor, &c. be obliged to keep Port and Grandeur, it is fit it should be, by some *Publick Allowance*, or on his own *Demaines*, and not live upon the Blood and Tears of the People. Vide, *England's Calamities Discovered:* Sold by *Joseph Fox* in *Westminster-Hall*, and *Robert Clavell*, at the *Peacock* in *Fleet-street*, &c.'

449. The *Cause* of *England's Misery:* Or a Brief *Account* of the *Corrupt Practice* of the *Law:* Humbly *offered* to the *Consideration* of the *Lords* Spiritual and Temporal, and *Commons* in *Parliament* assembled. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto* 1698

This is a Collection of Cases that had then lately happened within the Author's own Knowledge, and in some whereof he had been a Sufferer, by the Practises of Attornies, Lawyers, and Judges in their Courts of Law, &c. The Author signs himself, at the End of his Treatise, *Richard Collins.*

450. The *Free State* of *Noland:* Or the Frame and Constitution of that *Happy*, *Noble*, *Powerful*, and *Glorious* State. In which all Sorts and Degrees of People find their Condition Better'd. Printed for *D. Brown*, at the *Black Swan* and *Bible* without *Temple-Bar.* (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto* 1701

451. An *Account* of the Last *Bartholomew-Fair*, and the late City *Order* for *Regulating* the same. With two *Letters* to a Citizen of *London* on that Occasion. (In 2 Sheets) *Quarto* 1702

Those Letters, written by *G. S.* were occasioned by the late City-Order for prohibiting *Interludes*, *Drolls*, *Comedies*, *Lotteries*, and *Musick-Booths*, in *Bartholomew* Fair, &c. Nevertheless, the Strollers found some Expedient to maintain their customary Revels, or triumph in a Fortnight's Carnival of Debauchery, and marched off unmolested with the Spoils of Vice, and Trophies of Vanity. Whereupon the *Letter-writer* observes—'I presume not to determine how far 'some Amusements and Diversions may be 'tolerated, to draw Company to the Fair, 'for the Profit of honest Wareshops; but 'certainly, even this can be no Equivalent 'for such Pastimes and Places, as make '*Smithfield*, for that Season, a Congress of 'all Impiety; and the Wickedness of a 'Fortnight sufficient, by modest Computation, to stock a Nation with Calamities 'and Judgments, for an Age.'

452. King *William's Affection* to the *Church* of *England Examin'd.* (In 14 Leaves) *Quarto* 1703

There

There is a Note written with a Black Lead Pencil in the Title-page of this Copy, that the Author of it was the Lord *Somers*.

453. *Spiritual Wickedneſs* in *High Places*: Or the Corruption and Oppreſſion in the *Spiritual Courts* Laid open, in the Caſe of *Peter Slynehead*, of the Pariſh of *Preſcot*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, and Diocels of *Cheſter*. Printed by *R. Tookey*, &c. (In 22 Leaves) *Quarto* 1704

This Tract is divided into Ten Chapters: Shewing, 1. The Defectiveneſs of a pretended *Spiritual Law*, and the illegal and corrupt Practice therein. 2. The profane and vexatious Practice of the *Spiritual Judges*. 3. The grievous Practice of the *Lords Spiritual*. 4. The Reaſonableneſs of the *Statute Law*, and the excellent Uſe of a *Jury*. 5. The corrupt Practice of the *Spiritual Courts*, by many ſuitable Compariſons. 6. The evil Practice of *Spiritual Officers*, ſet forth in Rhime both Human and Divine. 7. The Uncertainty of lewd Women's Accuſations, and the Prodigiouſneſs thereof. 8. A Precedent for a more regular and ſafe Filiation of Baſtard Children, under the Penalty of ſuch a Law. 9. The Reaſonableneſs of ſuch a Law. 10. The Reaſonableneſs of this Book. It appears, Page 33, *&c.* That the Author had been falſly accuſed by a certain Woman, with getting her a Baſtard Child; and, though ſhe afterwards confeſſed that one *Holland* was the true Father of it, the Churchwarden, who was become a common Promoter of the Spiritual Office, ſo proſecuted him by falſe Witneſſes, *&c.* and the Spiritual Judges gave ſuch falſe Judgment againſt him, never ſhewing any lawful Proof, Cauſe, or Reaſon whereby they condemned him; that, after he had continued in Suit above five Years, he was Excommunicated for Non-payment of Fifty Shillings, cauſed to travel backwards and forwards Three thouſand Miles, obliged to ſpend above Two-hundred Pounds; beſides other unſpeakable Damages thereby ſuſtained.

454. An *Accompt Current* betwixt *Scotland*, and *England*, *Ballanced*: Together, with an *Eſſay* of a *Scheme* of the *Product* of *Scotland*, and a few Remarks on each. As alſo a View of the ſeveral *Products* of the Parts or Nation we trade to, by comparing and holding forth, how our Products and Manufactures may *Ballance* theirs, with Returns. By *J. S.* a Lover of our Proteſtant Queen, Country, and Trade. *Edinburgh*, printed by the Heirs and Succeſſors of *Andrew Anderſon*, Printer to the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty, City and College. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1705

The Author dedicates this Work to *John* Duke of *Argyle*, her Majeſty's High Commiſſioner; and the Right Honourable the Eſtates of Parliament: And ſubſcribes himſelf, at the End of his Dedication, *John Spruel*. Therein he offers, by his *Scheme* and *Remarks* following, to prove: "That "Scotland's *Products and Manufactures are* "*able to Ballance our Trade with any, or all* "*Parts and Kingdoms, we do, or need trade* "*to.* So that it may be ſeen plainly, That, "though *England* join with *Us* in Union, "or Communication of Trade, they will "not be married to a Beggar, with whom "they ſhould find Nothing but a Louſe in "our Boſom the firſt Night, as Sir *Edward Seymor* was pleaſed to reflect on us; "yet that this Land is full of Product, if "by your Wiſdoms and Care it be ſtirred "up to improve it, Abroad and at Home; "and not always ſuffer ourſelves to be ſerved, as is fabled of the two Crows, hopping on the Sea-ſhore, where Shell-fiſh were; which they liked, but knew not "how to open them; till the *Royſton* Crow, "which was cunning as *E*———, adviſed "the plain Country Crow, which I compare "to *S*——, to fly up very high with the "Shell-fiſh in his Bill, and let it fall on "the Rocks, and it would open, which the "Country Crow did; but no ſooner lets "ſhe the Fiſh fall, that it opened, but the "*Royſton* Crow picked the Fiſh out of the "Shell, before the Country Crow got down: "And may I not ſay, ſo does *England* "with *Scotland*, both as to Profit, Honour, and Glory, of all wherein we are "concerned with them, Abroad in their "Armies, and Navies, and at Home in "our Trade; as is evidently ſhown forth "in the *Schemes* following, and the *Remarks* on them."

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